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THE PRINCIPAL

AVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQVES,

AND

DISCOVERIES

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

MADE BY SEA OR OUER-LAND

TO THE

REMOTE AND FARTHEST DISTANT QUARTERS OF THE EARTH,

AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600 YERES:

DIUIDED INTO THREE SEUERALL VOLUMES,

ACCORDING TO THE POSITIONS OF THE REGIONS, WHEREUNTO THEY WERE DIRECTED.

THE FIRST VOLUME CONTAINETH

THE WORTHY DISCOUERIES, &c. OF THE ENGLISH

TOWARD THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST BY SEA,

AS OF

AND, SCRIKFINIA, CORELIA, THE BAIE OF S. NICOLAS, THE ISLES OF COLGOLIEVE, VAIGATZ AND NOVA ZEMBLA, TOWARD THE GREAT RIUER OB WITH THE MIGHTY EMPIRE OF RUSSIA, THE CASPIAN SEA, CATHAIA, ARMENIA, MEDIA, PERSIA, BOCHAR IN BACTRIA, AND DIUERS KINGDOMES OF TARTARIA.

TOGETHER WITH MANY

NOTABLE MONUMENTS AND TESTIMONIES OF THE ANCIENT FORREN TRADES,

AND OF THE WARRELIKE AND OTHER SHIPPING OF THIS REALME OF ENGLAND IN FORMER AGES,

WHEREUNTO IS ANNEXED

A BRIEFE COMMENTARY OF THE TRUE STATE OF ISLAND,

AND OF THE

NORTHREN SEAS AND LANDS SITUATE THAT WAY:

4°969

AS ALSO

THE MEMORABLE DFFEAT OF THE SPANISH HUGE ARMADA, ANNO 1588.

THE SECOND VOLUME COMPREHENDETH

THE PRINCIPALL

NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH NATION

MADE BY SEA OR OUER-LAND,

TO THE

SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST PARTS OF THE WORLD,

AS WELL WITHIN AS WITHOUT THE STREIGHT OF GIBRALTAR,

AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600 YERES

DIUIDED INTO TWO PRINCIPALL PARTS, &c.

BY RICHARD HAKLVYT PREACHER,

AND SOMETIME STUDENT OF CHRIST-CHVRCH IN OXFORD.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY GEORGE BISHOP, RALPH NEWBERIE,

AND ROBERT BARKER.

ANNO 1599.

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DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM KNIGHT,

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHIE OF LANCASTER, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIUIE COUNCELL.

RIGHT Honorable. I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiesties scholars Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard ckluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an vniuersall ſappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, y shewing me the diuision of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then cording to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the owen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and rritories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, hich by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From e Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 1 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by e great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which ords of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolued, if euer were preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time, and more conuenient place might be inistred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was remoued to Christ-church Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees ad ouer whatsoeuer printed or written discoueries and voyages I found extant either in the reeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and in my publike ctures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the w lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demon- ation in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my ditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I ew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and e best Mariners of our nation: by which meanes hauing gotten somewhat more then com- on knowledge, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her iesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my fiue yeeres abood with him in his ngerous and chargeable residence in her Highnes seruice, I both heard in speech, and read books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoueries and notable enterprises by , but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like tempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or eedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had

beene blessed with, their protestations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwise haue vsed. And that the trueth and euidence heerof may better appeare, these are the very werds of Popilinere in his booke called L' Admiral de France, and printed at Paris. Fol. 73 pag. 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodians, who being (a we are) Islanders, were excellent in nauigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasse in that qualitie, in this sort; Ce qui m'a fait autresfois recherch les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d' esprit, de moyens, & valeur assez pour s'aquerir vn grand honeur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'elemen qui leur est, & doit estre plus naturel qu' a autres peuples: qui leur doiuent ceder en l structure, accommodement & police de nauires: comme i' ay veu en plusieurs endroits parm eux. Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or non of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to haue care to re comend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull trauels of our countrey men: fo stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter returned from Franc with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her passing good behauior highly esteemed in a the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to vndertake the burden of th worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficien argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were t chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voya lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in seuerall hucksters hands, that I now woonder my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardnesse of ma from whom I was to receiue my originals: so that I haue iust cause to make that con plaint of the malicious nes of diuers in our time, which Plinie made of the men of his ag At nos elaborata ijs abscondere atq; supprimere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alie bonis, &c.

Plinius lib. 25. cap. 1. Naturalis historiæ.

To harpe no longer vpon this string, & to speake a word of that iust commendation whi our nation doe indeed deserue: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they ha bene men full of actiuity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, in this most famous and peerlesse gouernement of her most excellent Maiesty, her subiec through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corn and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the ea more then once, haue excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of t kings of this land before her Maiesty, had theyr banners euer seene in the Caspian sea? whi of them hath euer dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Maiesty hath done, and obtein for her merchants large & louing priuileges? who euer saw before this regiment, an Engli Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who euer found Engli Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is mo who euer heard of Englishman at Goa before now? what English shippes did heeretofore eu anker in the mighty riuer of Plate? passe and repasse the vnpassable (in former opinio straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Noua H pania, further then any Christian euer passed, trauers the mighty bredth of the South s land vpon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike w the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Iaua, double the famous Cape of Bona Speran ariue at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al returne home most richly lade with the c modities of China, as the subiects of this now florishing monarchy hane done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his historie de gestis Romanorum recordeth as a wond full miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of Cathay, or China) sent A bassadors to Rome, to intreate frindship, as moued with the fame of the maiesty of the I mane Empire. And haue not we as good cause to admire, that the Kings of the Moluccs and Iaua maior, haue desired the fauour of her maiestie, and the commerce & traffike of l people? Is it not as strage that the borne naturalles of Iapan, and the Philippinaes are h to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing vs of the st of their Easterne habitations? For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further

tiour both vnto vs and them: to them especially, vnto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by vs caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we vse and exercise common trade with their marchants. I must confesse to haue read in the excellent history intituled Origines of Ioannes Goropius, a testimonie of king Henrie the viij. a prince of noble memory, whose intention was once, if death had not preuented him, to haue done some singular thing in this case: whose words speaking of his dealing to that end with himselfe, he being a stranger, & his history rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Kneuetto Equite Anglo homine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua conuenerat, Regio sumptu me totam Asiam, quoad Turcorum & Persarum Regum commendationes, & legationes admitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Asiæ principibus facile se impetraturum sperabat, vt non solùm tutò mihi per ipsorum fines liceret ire, sed vt commendatione etiam ipsorum ad confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, sed tanta erat principi cognoscendi auiditas, vt nullis pecuniis ad hoc iter necessarijs se diceret parsurum. O Dignum Regia Maiestate animum, O me fœlicem, si Deus non antè & Kneuettum & Regem abstulisset, quàm reuersus ab hac peregrinatione fuissem, &c. Ioannis Goropij Becani origin. lib. 5. pag. 492.

But as the purpose of Dauid the king to builde a house and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforesaid most renowmed prince may seeme no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reserued for the person of our Salomon her gratious Maiesty, whome I feare not to pronounce to haue receiued the same Heroicall spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

Now wheras I haue alwayes noted your wisdome to haue had a speciall care of the honor of her Maiesty, the good reputation of our country, & the aduancing of nauigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle is reported to haue spoken of the sea forces of Athens: and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull sort how honorably both by your letter and speech I haue bene animated in this and other my trauels, I see my selfe bound to make presentment of this worke to your selfe, as the fruits of your owne incouragements, & the manifestation both of my vnfained seruice to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I haue done with the lesse suspition either of not satisfying the world, or of not answering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath passed the sight, and partly also the censure of the learned phisitian M. Doctor Iames, a man many wayes very notably qualified. Plutarch in the life of Themistocles.

And thus beseeching God, the giuer of all true honor & wisdome to increase both these blessings in you, with continuance of health, strength, happinesse, and whatsoeuer good thing els your selfe can wish, I humbly take my leaue.

London the 17 of Nouember.

Your honors most humble alwayes to be commanded RICHARD HAKLUYT.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

RICHARD HAKLUYT TO THE FAVOURABLE READER.

I Haue thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee briefly with the Methode and order which I haue vsed in the

whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee vnderstand by whose friendly aide in this my trauell I haue bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true then ingenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoscere per quos profeceris, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indeuours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoeuer testimonie I haue found in any author of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I haue recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I haue first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoeuer els, and thereunto in the next roome haue annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall trauellers might reape that good opinion, and iust commendation which they haue deserued, and further, that euery man might answere for himselfe, iustifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of vniuersall Cosmographie which some mē that I could name haue published as their owne, beyng in deed most vntruly and vnprofitably ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring vs to the certayne and full discouerie of the world.

Moreouer, I meddle in this worke with the Nauigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done, yet are they none but such as either faythfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the trauels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I haue receiued more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians could afforde me in this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered, that I stand not vpon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not vpon that victorious exploit not long since atchieued in our narow Seas agaynst that monstrous Spanish army vnder the valiant and prouident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not vpon the good seruices of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not vpon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales vpon a great part of the enimies chiefest shippes, the other neere the Islands vpon the great Carrack of the East India, the first (though peraduenture not the last) of that employment, that euer discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowmed countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discouerie of strange coasts, the chiefe subiect of this my labour.

Thus much in breuitie shall serue thee for the generall order. Particularlie I haue disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I haue martialled all our voyages of any moment that haue bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards vs: For I find that the oldest trauels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Iudea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for deuotions sake according to the time, although I read in Ioseph Bengorion a very authenticall Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to the siege and feirefull sacking of Ierusalem vnder the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men haue pierced further into the East, haue passed downe the mightie riuer Euphrates, haue sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselues are herein to be read. To these I haue added the Nauigations of the Englishe

lish made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the riuer of Senega, to the Isles of Cape Verde, to Guynea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as farre as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I haue produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our trauailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that haue bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Vnder this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Nauigations of our Brittish Kings, as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna vnder the North pole: next to them in consequence, the discoueries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieue, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Noua Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towardes the riuer of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange iourney of Master Ienkinson to Boghar in Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleuen hundred verstes vp against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda: thence one hundred and fourescore verstes by land to Yeraslaue standing vpon the mighty riuer of Volga: there hence aboue two thousand and fiue hundred versts downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship ouer the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels vnto Georgia, Armenia, Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscouie Marchants to the perpetual honor of their Citie, and societie, haue performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers, and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action, not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I haue concluded this second part.

Touching the westerne Nauigations, and trauailes of ours, they succeede naturallie in the third and last roome, for asmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400 yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince giuen to Iohn Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discouer & conquer in his name, and vnder his Banners vnknowen Regions: who with that royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant reigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discouerie: for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Maiesties selfe, do approoue and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Noua Hispania. Then immediately ensue 3. voyages made by M. Iohn Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: vpon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal aduantage. The next leaues thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake vpon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is ioyned an action more venterous then happie of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth

Robert Fabian.

written,

written, and confessed by a Spanyard, which with his companie passed ouer the streight Isme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe ouer Master Frobisher, and his actions, which I haue also newly though briefely printed, and as it were reuiued, whatsoeuer Master John Danis hath performed in continuing that discouery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I haue faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry haue risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Nauigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the proofe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose entrance vpon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seriuously followed, as it was cheerefully vndertaken. I could not omit in this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in diuers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of Master Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I d ubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Frauncis Drake, so in relation of the Philippinaes, Iapan, China, and the Isle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therfore the want of the first made by Sir Frauncis Drake will be the lesse: wherein I must confesse to haue taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to haue inserted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or preuent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the seruices of that worthie Knight into one volume, I haue yeelded vnto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedinges to those intended discourses.

Now for the other part of my promise, I must craue thy further patience friendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen, and others which partly for their priuate affection to my selfe, but chiefely for their deuotion to the furtherance of this my trauaile, haue yelded me their seuerall good assistances: for I accompt him vnworthy of future fauours, that is not thankefull for former benefites. In respect of a generall incouragement in this laborious trauaile, it were grosse ingratitude in me to forget, and willfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and loue, and that is Master Edward Dier, of whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his friendly meanes haue bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars haue much steeded me. More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with diuers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrowgh, Clarke of her Maiesties nauie, and Master Anthonie Ienkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and obseruations in the north Regions, haue much pleasured me in the second part. In the third and last besides myne owne extreeme trauaile in the histories of the Spanyards, my cheefest light hath bene receiued from Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, roots, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singuler delight haue bene as it were rauished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserued with no

litle

tide diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Vssher to the right Honourable and most prudent Counseller (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasourer of England.

Nowe, because peraduenture it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceiued of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I haue contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, vntill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoueries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for diuers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson. The excellent newe Globe of M. Mollineux.

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour haue bene in bringing these rawe fruits vnto their ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order. Farewell.

DEDICATION TO THE SECOND EDITION.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGVLAR GOOD LORD,

THE LORD CHARLES HOWARD,

EARLE OF NOTINGHAM, BARON OF EFFINGHAM, KNIGHT OF THE NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, LORD HIGH ADMIRALL OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES, &C. ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVIE COUNSELL.

RIGHT Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Nauigations and Discoueries of Strangers in diuers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my fiue yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her maiesties most prudent and carefull Ambassedor ligier with the French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceiue, that with diligent obseruation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular actiuitie in the Search and Discouerie of the most vnknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to vndertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but euery man to folow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad prouoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and

and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and trauels, and wearying out of my weake body: at length I haue collected three seuerall Volumes of the English Nauigations, Traffiques, and Discoueries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages: but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & reteilelesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to haue bene buried in perpetuall oblision. The first Volume of this worke I haue thus for the present brought to light, reserning the other two vntill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honourable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subiect and matter, might iustly challenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembered how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the gouernment and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted vnto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady Sheffield, my singular good lady & honorable mistresse, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Moscouie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the first fauourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discouerie of Russia, the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remebred the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not onely to be inheriters of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours. But what speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth, are very great, and such as our Cronicles haue notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time haue shewed themselues so admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the like. To come to some particulars, when the Emperors sister, the spouse of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Maiesties Nauie Roiall, enuironed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to vnderstand that olde speach of the prince of Poets:

Non illi imperium pelagi sæuúmque tridentem,
sed tibi sorte datum.

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Maiesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie seruice, began to cast an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordship, and deeply to conceiue that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull seruice, your L. hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieued against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander vnder her sacred and roiall Maiestie, your noble gouernment and worthy behauior, your high wisedom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heauenly blessing of the Almightie, are shewed most euidently to haue bene such, as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall neuer cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage vnto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleete, the chasing of so many braue and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, sacking,

sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon vpon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that enterprise, because they be hereafter so iudicially set downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly deprined no man of his right. Vpon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and reuerence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoueries vnto your Honors fauourable censure and patronage.

And here by the way most humbly craiuing pardon, and alwayes submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships more deep and pereing insight, especially in this matter, as being the father and principall fauourer of the English Nauigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding vp of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred vp to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to haue a better education, then hitherto they haue had; all wise men may easily iudge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships haue been lost, how many worthy persons haue bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impouerished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I haue greatly wished there were a Lecture of Nauigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discouer all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor deuice of mine, it may please your Lordship to vnderstand, that the late Emperour Charles the 5th, considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in passing and repassing betweene Spaine and the West Indies, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a Pilote Maior, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at Siuil. The readers of which Lecture haue not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish Mariners by word of mouth, but also haue published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and incouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of Alonso de Chauez, of Hieronymo de Chauez, and of Roderigo Zamorano came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the straight and sphere examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge for the West Indies. Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee so excellent and so exact a course, as I greatly wished, that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with vs. This matter, as it seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most renowmed and victorious prince King Henry the eight of famous memory; who for the increase of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three seuerall Guilds or Brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here vpon the Thames, the other at Kingston vpon Hull, and the third at Newcastle vpon Tine: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motiues which induced his princely wisedome hereunto, himselfe expresseth in maner following. Vt magistri, marinarij, gubernatores, & alij officiarij nauium, inuentutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis nauium transigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod releuamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solùm illi reficiantur, verùm etiam alij iuuenes moueantur & instigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cuius, doctiores & aptiores fiant nauibus & alijs vasis nostris & aliorum quorumcunque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quàm belli tempore, cum opus postulet, &c. To descend a litle lower, king Edward the sixt

that prince of peerelesse hope, with the aduise of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entred into the Northeasterne discouery, aduanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166.li. vj.s. viij.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he dealt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Maior (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other priuate vses) so his princely Maiestie would haue shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir Thomas Gresham, who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the aduancement of Marine causes; I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Nauigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased vnder the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this one thing be added thereunto, together with seuere and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoeuer it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discouerie of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknown, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let me now I beseech you speake vnto your Lordship, as in times past the elder Scipio spake to Cornelius Scipio Africanus: Quo sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conseruauerint, adiuuerint, auxerint, certum esse in cœlo, ac definitum locum, vbi beati æuo sempiterno fruantur. It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordship from time to time vnder her most gracious and excellent Maiestie, haue shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a careful conseruer, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enioy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such diuine and heroical vertues. And euen here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare iewels, your generous off-springs, but also vpon all the rest wheresoeuer of that your noble and renowmed family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

¶ A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages and discourses in this first part.

HAuing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much

much trauaile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserue certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieued, from the greedy and deuouring iawes of obliuion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Nauigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and trafliques of merchandise by both: and hauing (so much as in me lieth) restored each particular member, being before displaced, to their true ioynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred each particular relation to the due time and place: I do this second time (friendly Reader, if not to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer vnto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I haue indured; how many long & chargeable iourneys I haue trauailed: how many famous libraries I haue searched into; what varietie of ancientand modernewriters I haue perused; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c. I haue redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I haue entered: what expenses I haue not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate gaine, preferment, and ease I haue neglected; albeit thyselfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment vnto me.

For (to conteine myselfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse, and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme vnto our English nation, to haue bene the first discouerers of a Sea beyond the North cape (neuer certainly knowen before) and of a conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicholas and the riuer of Duina; as for the Portugales to haue found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to haue discouered vnknowen landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowmed Portugale Vasques de Gama trauersed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spirited Genuois escried vnknowen landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman accoast Noua Zembla, Colgoieue, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is that our successe hath not bene correspondent vnto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and iudicial in Cosmographie, who writ aboue 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene, signified vnto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterrin sea, was on all sides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Ægyptian King, who (for trials sake) senta fleet of Phœnicians downe the Red sea; who setting forth in Autumne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noone-tide vpon their sterbourd (that is to say, hauing crossed the Æquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Nauigation, directed their course to the North, and in the space of 3. yeeres enuironed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan streites, and arriuing in Ægypt? And doth not ‖ Plinie tel them that noble Hanno, in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage, sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia fœlix, and put downe his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention that in the time of Augustus Cæsar, the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to

‖ Lib. 2. nat. hist. cap. 67.

be ouer tedious in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and valing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arriued at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not diuine ‖ Plato (who liued so many ages ago, and plainely described their West Indies vnder the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer vnto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle lib. ‖ de admirabil. auscult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them vp, and pricke them forward vnto their Westerne discoueries: yea, to be their chiefe leads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the load-starre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed vp in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to vndertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting foorth for their Northeasterne discouery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to giue them encouragement.

In Timæo.

‖ περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων

But besides the foresaid vncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselues, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselues vnto the rigour of the sterne and vncouth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waues and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the vnhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and vnlocke the seuen-fold mouth of Duina. Moreouer, in their Northeasterly Nauigations, vpon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, Ioughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigats, vnto what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce euen in lune, luly, and August, vnto what hideous ouerfals, vncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were subiect and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres haue discouered to 78. yea (as themselues affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with this prouiso: that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch. But nowe it is high time for vs to weigh our ancre, to hoise vp our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, ouer which the Spaniards and Portugales haue made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Nauigations haue indured many tempests, dangers, and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them haue satisfied their fame thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misaduentures seeme tolerable vnto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand vpon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it neuer barred with ice, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Nauigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreouer they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Açores, of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conueniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaues, for sugar, for Elephants

phants teeth, graines, siluer, gold and other precious wares, which serued as allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to stay them from giuing ouer their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto ourselues.

In this first volume (friendly Reader) besides our Northeasterne Discoueries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narue, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke fiue strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the aduauncing of traffique by riuer and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chanceler his first fortunate arriuall at Newnox, his passing vp the riuer of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslaue, Rostoue, Peraslaue, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts trauell in all. Moreouer, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding vnto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the maiestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not hauing so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Ienkinsons discourse as touching that argument, to the smooth verses of M. George Turberuile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe, pag. 536. of this volume, and the pages following. Vnto all which (if you please) you may adde Richard Iohnsons strange report of the Samoeds, pag. 316. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that difficult iourney of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, vp the great riuer of Onega, and so by other riuers and lakes to the citie of Nouogrod velica vpon the West frontier of Russia, to be right woorthy of obseruation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 339. & that also of M. Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the riuers of Moscua, Occa and Volga, to visite Cazan and Astracan, the farthest Easterne and Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselues within all that maine circumference they haue aduentured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times ouer the vnknowen and dangerous Caspian sea; that valiant, wise, and personable gentleman M. Anthonie Ienkinson being their first ring-leader: who in Anno 1558. sailing from Astracan towards the East shore of the Caspian sea, and there arriuing at the port of Mangusla, trauelled thence by Vrgence and Shelistur, and by the riuers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes iourney ouer desert and wast countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murses. Then haue you a second Nauigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd Caspian sea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arriuall at Shabran, his proceeding vnto Shamaky, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his iourney after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yaunte, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the seate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia, with diuers other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you haue set downe in fiue seuerall voiages the successe of M. Ienkinsons laudable and well-begun enterprise, vnder the foresayd Shaugh Thamas, vnder Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and lastly our traffique with Osman Basha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreouer, as in M. Ienkinsons trauel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of liuing, appareil, food, armour, &c.

&c. are most liuely represented vnto you: so likewise in the sixe Persian Iournals you may here and there obserue the state of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his subiects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of gouernment, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this first Volume, all the Ambassages and Negociations from her Maiestie to the Russian Emperor, or from him vnto her Maiestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568: then the employment of M. Ienkinson 1571. thirdly, Sir Ierome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arriuall in Scotland, his most honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismission into Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Sauin; and lastly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phisemski. And to be briefe, I haue not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Priuileges, Instructions, Obseruations, or any other Particulars which might serue both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection vnto this discourse of Russia; I haue prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Russian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes: as likewise about the conclusion, I haue signified in the branch of a letter, the last Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich vnto the Empire.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise haue bene comprised within some few yeeres, or at least wise haue not bene of any long continuance; let vs now withdraw our selues from our affaires in Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let vs take a sleight survey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the reader may haue recourse vnto the 137 page of this Volume, & there with great delight and admiration, consider out of the iudicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renoumed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas, and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou obserue (friendly Reader) what priuileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchant Aduenturers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend vnto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted vnto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barborossa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchats to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king Iohn his fauourable safe conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the same priuileges here in England, which our English merchants enioied abroad in their seuerall countreys. Or what should I signifie vnto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene

king

king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subiects: or tell you what fauours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoeuer was by the same prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceiue of the letters & negotiatiõs which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Norusgian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained vpon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely setled Mart-towne for the vttering of English woolls & woollen fells, instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subiects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Iungingen, and Vlricus de Iungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subiects, with the common societie of the Hans-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most vsuall kinds of wares vttered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well vpon the coast of Norway, as euery where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise haue bene vtterly darke and vnknowen to the greater part of Readers, I haue set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambassage, pagina 138 a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the first originall and institution of themselues and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of reuenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieued vpon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall ouerthrow, partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Castles vnder their iurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with diuers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixt.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise de politia conseruatiua maris: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chanceller pag. 264 of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his maiesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an inualuable and huge masse of gold and siluer plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and vnaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to haue bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to haue proceeded from the mother of Euander: but take you off his vtmost weed, and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence; and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many liuely descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discouery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares; that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome. And

notwithstanding

notwithstanding (as I said) his stile be vnpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of vse; yet, so neere as the written copies would giue me leaue, I haue most religiously without alteration obserued the same: thinking it farre more conuenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enioy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a view of our state of merchandise vnder K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet prouisoes, iust ordinations, & gratious priuileges conteined in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I haue not bene vnmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would giue me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and trauels of our English nation, which haue bene atchieued of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his Agnomia) I haue published vnto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Octher making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, vnto his soueraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolstans Nauigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter vnto the Russian duke Ieroslaus. Neither is that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to trauelle with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous inciuilitie of the people there inhabiting, were neuer yet throughly trauelled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowen vnto vs: I haue here annexed vnto the said Englishmans trauelle, the rare & memorable iournals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that trauailed farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadours vnto the sauage Tartars (who had as then wasted and ouerrunne a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel vnto them. The former, namely Iohannes de Plano Carpini (whose iourney, because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander the great; vnto the riuer of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the authoritie and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered ouer more vast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could haue done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253 by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus imployed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) vnto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith vnto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted ouer many large territories vnto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them haue so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and vnmanerly welcomming they had at their first arriuall, what cold intertainment they felt in trauelling towards the great Can, and what slender cheere they found at his Court; that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adiacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and ouerspreading Empire, in registring their manifolde warres and bloody conquests, in making relation of their hords and moueable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their vnmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall liues, their vicious maners, their slauish subiection to their owne superiours,

and

and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie vnto strangers, they deserue most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall obiect that they haue certaine incredible relations: I answere, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not auouch them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther imagine that they did auouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; euery one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers between the both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleeue ech word and syllable. Moreouer sithens these two iournals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters vnto me do testifie) were many yeeres very inquisitiue, and could not for all that attaine vnto them; and sithens they haue bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they haue described in their Mappes a great part of those Northeastern Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those vnknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that euer I could set mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the translation should chance to swerue in ought from the originals (both for the preseruation of the originals themselues, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned. And for these two rare iewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deepely hounded vnto the right renerend, graue and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner vnto her Maiestie; by whose friendship and meanes I had free accesse vnto the right honor. my. L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two iournals and some others also.

After these Friers (thought not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.

Then succeedeth the long iourney of Henry Earle of Derbie, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there: as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew diuers of his captains, aduanced his English colours vpon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his trauel into Prus, and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Gefrey Chaucer, vnder the person of his knight, doeth full iudicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither haue we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also haue scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would giue vs leaue) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and grouth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great nauie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Houeden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, Flores historiarum, & in the libel of English policie, pag. 224. and 225. of this present volume. Of which Authors some affirme the sayd fleet to haue consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze vpon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage vnto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoeuer it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soueraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Ile of Britaine it selfe, but also that he brought vnder his yoke of subiection,

most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adiacent. And for that most of our Natigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either vtterly ignorant, or but meanely skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I haue for their better encouragement (if any weighty action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into English a briefe treatise called, A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts, for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most ordinarie and accustomed nauigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that euen then (when men were but rude in sea-causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now haue) first Godredus Crouan with a whole Fleet of ships, throughly haunted some places in that sea: secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arriued vpon the Isle of Lewis: then, that Magnus the king of Norway came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and hauing subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) euen through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides, who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing ouer from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olaaus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second iourney into Norway; of Sumerled his second arriuall with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin vpon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely vpon those seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks vnto the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrelike shipping of this land, the reader shall giue me leaue to borow one principall note out of this litle historie, before I quite take my leaue thereof: and that is in few words, that K. Iohn passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500 sailes; so great were our sea-forces euen in his time. Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king Iohn, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of William the Conquerour, of William Rufus and the rest, there were diuers men of warre which did valiant seruice at sea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag. 19. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentish Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were infranchi-ed, what gracious priuileges and high prerogatiues were by diuers kings vouchsafed vpon them, and what seruices they were tied vnto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers, mariners, Garsons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the kings vse; and lastly what great exploits they performed vnder the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, vpon 200 French ships, and vnder the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then haue you, pag. 130. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the first, vpon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seuen hundred ships which K. Edward the third had with him vnto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me giue you a double obseruation. First that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151 persons, seeme to haue bene of great burthen; and secondly, that Yarmouth an hauen towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set foorth almost twise as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and euident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreouer the Reader may behold, pag. 205. a notable testimonie of the mightie ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recouer Harflew had hired certain Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had vnited their owne strength vnto them) sent his brother Iohn Duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell

battell got the victory, taking some of their ships, and sinking others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also ouercome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry: & propter eorum naues (saieth mine Author) that is for the resistance of their ships, the sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.

But to leaue our ancient shipping, and descend vnto later times; I thinke that neuer was any nation blessed of IEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory vpon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing; when as the greatest part of them escaped vs, and were onely by Gods out-stretched arme ouerwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his iudgements vnto all Christendome. An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the honourable expedition vnder two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane the renoumed Erle of Essex, and the right honorable the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. vnto the strong citie of Cadiz, I haue set downe as a double epiphonema to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to haue bene placed among the* Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to depriue the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses; I haue made bold to straine a litle curtesie with that methode which I first propounded vnto my selfe.

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Iseland, and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely, Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus and others, are by euident arguments conuinced of manifold errors: that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places; touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discouerie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountaines, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which those authors haue fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to be the more acceptable; first in that it hath brought sound trueth with it; and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not afoord any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the briefe summe and scope of all my labours for the common-wealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed vpon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankefully accept, as I haue willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westerne parts of the World.

* They are so placed in this edition, and commence the second volume.

ΕἸΣ ἈΠΟΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΩΝ ΠΟΝΗΜΑ ΡΙΧΑΡΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ἈΚΛΥΙΤΟΥ,

Ὕγων ὁ Βροχθωνός.

Ὅσσοι γαῖαν ἔχουσι βροτοὶ ἑνὸς ἐκπέφυασι
  ὡς ἄλληλα ὁρᾶν ἔθνεσι χάρμα φύσει.
Ὅς δὲ θ' ἁλίπλαγκτος μετεκίαθεν ἔθνεα πλεῖστα,
  οἴκοι μιμνάζουσ' ἀξιάγαστος ἔφυ.
Ἔξοχα Βρεττανοὶ δ', ἄλλων σχισθέντες ἔραυται,
  ἴδμεναι ἀλλοθρόων φῦλα πολυσπερέα.
Ἰνδοὺς ἑσπερίους καὶ ἑώους, Αἰθίοπάς τε
  καὶ Μόσχους, καὶ πάντ' ἐσχατόωντα γένη.
Τούτων δ' οἷα μάλιστα κλυτὰ, κλυτὸς Ἀκλυῖτος
  γράψεν ἀριφραδέως, μνῆμ' ἀεὶ ἐσσόμενον.

In nauales Richardi Hakluyti Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum fœcunda puerpera rerum,
  siue solum spectes nobile, siue salum;
Quæ quantum sumptis se nobilitauerit armis,
  siue domi gessit prælia, siue foris;
Multorum celebrant matura volumina: tantæ
  Insula materiem paruula laudis alit.
At se in quot, qualesq;, & quando effuderit oras,
  qua fidit ignotum peruia classis iter,
Solius Hakluyti decus est, prædiuite penna
  ostendisse suis ciuibus ausa mari.
Quæcunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica naui,
  Oceani tristes spernere docta minas,
A prima generisq; & gentis origine gessit,
  qua via per fluctus vlla patere potest,
Siue decus, laudémq; secuta, vt & hostibus alas
  demeret, atque suis læta pararet opes:
Hoc opus Hakluyti; cui debet patria multum,
  cui multum, patriæ quisquis amicus erit.
Qua re námque magis se nostra Britannia iactat,
  quàm quod sit præter cætera classe potens?
Quam prius obsessam tenebris sic liberat, vt nunc
  quisque sciat, quàm sit nobile classis opus.
Quam si Dædalicè vtemur, surgemus in altum,
  sin autem Icaricè, quod voret, æquor habet.

Rich. Mvlcaster.

Eiusdem

Eiusdem in eundem.

QVi graui primus cecinit camœna
Aureum vellus, procerésque Græcos,
quos sibi adiunxit comites Iason
Vectus in Argo
Naue, quam primùm secuisse fluctus
prædicant salsos, sibi comparauit
Inde non vnquam moritura magnæ
præmia famæ.
Tanta si merces calamum secuta
Vnicæ nauis referentis acta,
Quanta Richardum manet Hakluytum
gloria? cuius
Penna descripsit freta mille, mille
Insulæ nostræ celeres carinas,
Quæ per immensi loca peruolarunt
omnia mundi.
Senties gratam patriam, tuæq;
Laudis æternùm memorem, & laboris:
Quæ tua cura, calamóque totum
ibit in orbem:
Quam doces omni studio fouere
Nauticum robur, validámq; classem.
Hac luet quisquis violentus Anglo
vsserit hostis.

In eximium opus R. Harlvvti de Anglorum ad disiunctissimas regiones nauigationibus Gvlielmi Camdeni Hexastichon.

Anglia quæ penitùs toto discluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, parvus & orbis erat.
Nunc cùm sepositos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.
At quid Haklute tibi monstranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

Di Marc' Antonio Pigafeta Gentilhuomo Vicentino.

Ignota mi starei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oscure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con spesa & arte
Non hauesse hor scoperto il mio splendore.

Ramusio pria pieno d' ardente amore
Manifesto le mie piu riche parte,
Che son lá doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e l' Gange scorre,
Hakluyto poi senza verun risguardo
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà insieme,
Ciò c' hà potuto hauer da typhi Inglesi.
Onde vedrassie doue bella sguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l' Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben palesi.

EXTRACT FROM OLDYS'S BRITISH LIBRARIAN, 1738.

(Article Hakluyt's Voyages.) p. 137.

This elaborate and excellent collection, which redounds as much to the glory of the English Nation as any book that ever was published in it; having already had sufficient complaints made in its behalf, against our suffering it to become so scarce and obscure, by neglecting to translate it into the universal language, or at least to republish it in a fair impression, with proper illustrations, and especially an Index, wherewith the author himself supply'd the first edition, printed in one volume, Folio, 1589; we shall not here repeat those complaints; because we must necessarily wait for the return of that spirit, which animated the gallant adventurers recorded therein to so many heroic exploits, before we can expect such a true taste of delight will prevail to do them so much justice; or that envy of transcendent worth, will permit a noble emulation of it, so far to perpetuate the renown of our said ancestors, as to render, by this means, their memory no less durable and extensive, than their merits have demanded. For it may, perhaps, be thought impolitic, thus to display the most hazardous, and the most generous enterprises, which appear in this book, for the honour and advantage of our country, till the vertues of our predecessors will not reflect disadvantageous Comparisons upon the Posterity who shall revive them. But there may be still room left for a more favourable construction of such neglect, and to hope that nothing but the casual scarcity or obscurity of a work, so long since out of print, may have prevented its falling into those able and happy hands, as might, by such an edition, reward the eminent examples, preserved therein, the Collector thereof, and themselves according to all their deserts.

Oldys (having given a list of the contents of the three volumes of Hakluyt) concludes, And this summary of it, may sufficiently intimate what a treasury of maritime knowledge it is; wherefore we shall here take our leave of it, with referring only to a needful observation or two:

And first, As it has been so useful to many of our authors, not only in Cosmography, and Navigation, but in History, especially that of the glorious reign in which so many brave exploits were atchieved? As it has been such A LEADING STAR TO THE NAVAL HISTORIES since compiled; and saved from the wreck of oblivion many exemplary incidents in the lives of our most renowned navigators; it has therefore been unworthily omitted in the English historical library. And lastly, though the first volume of this collection, does frequently appear, by the date, in the title page, to be printed in 1599, the reader is not thence to conclude the said volume was then reprinted, but only the title page, as upon collating the

books

books we have observed; and further, that in the said last printed title page, there is no mention made of the Cadiz Voyage; to omit which, might be one reason of reprinting that page; for it being one of the most prosperous and honourable enterprizes that ever the Earl of Essex was ingaged in, and he falling into the Queen's unpardonable displeasure at this time, our author, Mr. Hakluyt, might probably receive command or direction, even from one of the patrons to whom these Voyages are dedicated, who was of the contrary faction, not only to suppress all memorial of that action in the front of this book, but even cancel the whole narrative thereof at the end of it, in all the copies (far the greatest part of the impression) which remained unpublished. And in that castrated manner the volume has descended to posterity; not but if the castration was intended to have been concealed from us, the last leaf of the preface would have been reprinted also, with the like omission of what is there mentioned concerning the insertion of this Voyage. But at last, about the middle of the late King's reign, an uncastrated copy did arise, and the said Voyage was reprinted from it; whereby many imperfect books have been made complete.

EXTRACT FROM ZOUCH'S LIFE OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY. page 317.

Every reader conversant in the annals of our Naval transactions will cheerfully acknowledge the merit of Richard Hakluyt, who devoted his studies to the investigation of those periods of the English history, which regard the improvement of navigation and commerce. He had the advantage of an academical education. He was elected Student of Christ-Church in Oxford in 1570, and was therefore contemporary with Sidney at the University. To him we are principally indebted for a clear and comprehensive description of those noble discoveries of the English n tion made by sea or over land to the most distant quarter of the earth. His incomparable industry was remunerated with every possible encouragement by Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Philip Sidney. To the latter, as to a most generous promoter of all ingenious and useful knowledge, he inscribed his first collection of voyages and discoveries, printed in 1582. Thus animated and encouraged, he was enabled to leave to posterity the fruits of his unwearied labours—an invaluable treasure of nautical information, preserved in volumes, which even at this day, affix to his name a brilliancy of reputation, which a series of ages can never efface or obscure.

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

VOYAGES OF THIS FIRST VOLUME,

MADE TO THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST QUARTERS.

1 THe voyage of Arthur K. of Britaine to Island and the most Northeastern parts of Europe, Anno 517. pag. 1

2 The voyage of Malgo king of Britaine to Island, Gotland, Orkney, Denmark and Norway, Anno 580. 3

3 The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland, Anno 624. 4

4 The voyage of Bertus into Ireland, Anno 684. 4

5 The voyage of Octher to the North parts beyond Norway about the yeere 890. 5

6 The second voyage of Octher into the Sound of Denmarke. 6

7 Wolstans Navigation into the East sea, or the Sound of Denmarke. 6

8 The voyage of King Edgar with 4000. shippes round about his large Monarchie, Anno 973. 7

9 The voyage of Edmund and Edward the sonnes of King Edmund Ironside, into Hungary, Anno 1017. 11

10 The mariage of the daughter of Harald vnto Ieruslaus duke of Russia in his owne Countrey, Anno 1067. 19

11 The voyage of a certaine Englishman into Tartaria, and from thence into Poland and Hungary, Anno 1243. 22

12 The long and wonderfull voyage of Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, Anno 1246. 24, 42, 59

13 The iournall of Frier William de Rubricis, Anno 1253. 80, 101

14 The voyage of Nicolaus de Linna a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford to all the Regions situate vnder the North-pole, Anno 1360. 134

15 The voyage of Henry Earle of Derby, afterward King of England, into Prussia and Letto, Anno 1390. 135

16 The voyage of Thomas of Woodstock duke of Glocester into Prussia, Anno 1391. 136

17 The voyage of sir Hugh Willoughby knight, wherein he vnfortunately perished at Arzina Reca in Lapland, Anno 1553. 258

18 The voyage of Richard Chancellor Pilote maior, the first discouerer by sea of the kingdome of Moscouia, Anno 1553. 263, 270

19 The voyage of Stephen Burrough toward the Riuer of Ob, intending the discouery of the Northeast passage, Anno 1556. 306

20 The landing of Richard Iohnson among the Samoeds, Anno 1556. 316

21 The voyage of the aforesaide Stephen Burrough from Colmogro in Russia to Wardhouse, in search of certaine English ships not heard-of the yeere before, Anno 1557. 324

22 The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinson into Russia, wherein Osep Napea, first Ambassadour from the Emperour of Moscouia to Queene Mary, was transported into his Countrey, Anno 1557. 346, 351

23 The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinson from the Citie of Mosco in Russia to Boghar in Bactria, Anno 1558. 362

24 The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinson through Russia, and ouer the Caspian sea into Persia, Anno 1561. 384

25 The voyage of Thomas Alcock, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheyney, seruants vnto the Company of Moscouy Merchants in London, into Persia, Anno 1563. 395

26 The voyage of Richard Iohnson, Alexander Kitchin, and Arthur Edwards seruants to the foresaid company into Persia, Anno 1565. 397

27 The voyage of Thomas Southam and Iohn Sparke by land and riuer from Colmogro to Nouogrod in Russia, Anno 1566. 409

28 The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinson into Russia the third time, Anno 1566. 418

29 The

29 The voyage of Arthur Edwards Agent for the Moscouy company, Iohn Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle, seruants, into Persia, An. 1568. 437
30 The voyage of Thomas Banister and Geffrey Ducket, Agents for the Moscouy Company, into Persia the fift tiine, Anno 1569. 443
31 The voyage of William Burrough Captaine of 13. English ships to the Narue in Liefland, Anno 1470. 450
32 The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinson into Russia the fourth time, Anno 1571. 452
33 The voyage of Christopher Burroogh into Persia the sixt time, Anno 1579. 471
34 The voyage of Arthur Pet and Charles Iackman, sent to discouer the Northeast seas beyond the Iland of Vaigats, Anno 1580. 502
35 The voyage of Master Ierome Horsey ouer land from Mosco in Russia to England, Anno 1584. 529
36 A voyage to the Northeast, performed by certaine Russes, and translated out of Sigismundus ab Herberstein. 556
37 A voyage to Sibier and the Riuer of Ob, by land, declared in a letter written to Gerardus Mercator. 575

The Ambassages, Treatises, Priuiledges, Letters, and other obseruations, depending vpon the Voyages of this first Volume.

1 Two testimonies of Galfridus Monumetensis in his history of the Kings of Britaine, concerning the conquests of King Arthur. pagina. 1, 2.
2 A testimony of M. Lambard in his Αρχαιονομια, touching the right and appendances of the Crowne of the kingdoune of Britaine. 2
3 A Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie. 11
4 The ancient state of the shipping of the Cinque Ports 19
5 Libellus historicus Iohannis de Plano Carpini. 24
6 Part of the great Charter graunted by King Edward the first, to the Barons of the Cinque Ports. 130
7 The rolle of the huge Fleete of Edward the thirde before Calcis. 131
8 The summe of expences layde out in the siege of Calcis. 133
9 A note of Thomas Walsingham touching King Edward the thirde his huge Fleete of 1100. ships, wherewith he passed ouer vnto Calcis, Anno 1359. 133
10 Certaine verses of Geffrey Chaucer, concerning the long Voyages, and valiant exploits of the English knights in his dayes. 136
11 A testimonie out of Cornelius Tacitus, prouing London to haue bene a famous Mart-towne in the raigne of Nero the Emperour. 137
12 A testimony out of venerable Beda, prouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffique in his time. 137
13 The league betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia, concerning the safe trade of English Merchants. 138
14 An ancient testimony translated out of the olde Saxon Lawes, conteining the aduancement of Merchants, for their thrice crossing the wide seas. 138
15 A testimony of certaine Priuileges obteined for the English and Danish Merchants by Canutus the King of England. 139
16 The flourishing state of Merchandise in the City of London in the dayes of Wilhelmus Malmesburiensis. 139
17 A testimony of the said Wil. of Malmesbury concerning traffique to Bristow in his time. 140
18 The league betweene Henry the second, and Frederick Barbarossa Emperour of Germany, partly touching trade of Merchandise. 140
19 A generall safe conduct granted by King Iohn to all forreine Merchants. 141
20 The letters of King Henry the third, vnto Haquinus king of Norwey. 142
21 A mandate for the king of Norway his ship called, The Cog. 143
22 A Charter granted for the behalfe of the Merchants of Colen, in the 20. yeere of Henry the thirde. 143
23 The Charter of Lubeck graunted for seuen yeeres in the time of Henry the third. 144
24 A Charter of the Merchants of Almaine, or the Stilyard-merchants. 149
25 A mandate of King Edward the first concerning outlandish Merchants. 145
26 King Edw. the first his great Charter granted to forreine Merchants, Anno Dom. 1305. 148
27 The letters of Edward the second vnto Haquinus King of Norway, concerning certain English Merchants arrested in Norway. 150
28 Another

28 Another letter of Edw. the second vnto the said Haquinus for the Merchants aforesaid. 152
29 A third letter of King Edward the second to the said Haquinus in the behalfe of our English Merchants. 153
30 An Ordinance for the Staple to be holden at one certaine place. 155, 156
31 A Catalogue of the great Masters of Prussia. 158
32 The Oration or speach of the Ambassadours sent from Conradus de Zolner, Master generall of the land of Prussia, vnto Richard the second king of England. 162
33 An agreement made by the Ambassadours of England and Prussia, confirmed by king Richard the second. 165
34 The letters of Conradus de Iungingen, Master generall of Prussia, vnto Rich. the second. 168
35 A briefe relation of William Esturmy and Iohn Kington, concerning their Ambassages into Prussia and to the Hans-townes. 169
36 Certaine Articles of complaint exhibited by the Liuonians. 171
37 Other complaints exhibited by the Cities of the Hans. 172
38 Compositions and Ordinances concluded betweene the Ambassadours of Prussia, and the Chanceller and Treasurer of England, Anno 1403. 173
39 The letters of the Chanceller and Treasurer of England vnto Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of Prussia. 174
40 The letters of king Henry the fourth vnto Conradus de Iungingen, the master generall of Prussia for entercourse of traffique. 175
41 The letters of Conradus de Iungingen vnto king Henry the fourth. 176
42 An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth, and Conradus de Iungingen. 177
43 An agreement betweene king Henry the fourth, and the Hans-townes. 181
44 A testimonie out of Albertus Krantzius concerning the surprise of Bergen in Norway, wherein 21 houses of the English merchants were burnt. 187
45 The grieuances and offences where at the merchants of the Hans found themselues agrieued. 188
46 A letter of Henry the fourth king of England vnto Conradus de Iungingen, Master generall of Prussia. 193
47 A letter of Wernherus de Tettingen commander in Elbing vnto sir William Sturmy Ambassadour vnto king Henry the fourth: Together with an other letter of king Henry the fourth, vnto Vlricus de Iungingen, master of Prussia. 194
48 The letters of Vlricus de Iungingen master generall of Prussia, signifying vnto king Henry the 4. that he was contented with certeine agreements concluded by his messengers at Hage. 197
49 The letters of king Henry the fourth vnto Vlricus de Iungingen, wherein he doth absolutely approue the foresaid conference holden at Hage. 198
50 A new concord betweene king Henry the fourth, and Vlricus de Iungingen. 200
51 A Charter of king Henry the fourth, graunted in the fifth yeere of his raigne vnto the English merchants resident in the parts of Prussia. 203, 204
52 A note touching the mighty ships of king Henry the fift, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Winchester. 205
53 A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the 6. for the trade to Norway, Sweueland, Denmarke and Finmarke. 206
54 Another branch of a Statute made in the 10. yeere of king Henry the sixt concerning the state of English merchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke. 206
55 Libellus de politia conseruatiua Maris. Or, The pollicy of keeping the Sea. 207
56 A large Charter granted by king Edward the fourth, in the second yere of his raigne, to the English merchants residing in the Netherland. 230
57 A perswasion of Robert Thorne merchant of Bristol, and dwelling long in Siuil in Spaine, to king Henry the eight of noble memory, to set out and further Discoueries toward the North. 235
58 The discourse of the foresaid Robert Thorne, written to Doctour Leigh the Kings Ambassadour in Spaine touching that matter. 237
59 A briefe treatise of the Emperour of Moscouia his genealogie. 243
60 The excellent orders and instructions of Sebastian Cabot giuen to sir Hugh Willoughby and his Fleete in their voyage intended for Cathay. 251
61 The names of the twelue Counsellers appointed in sir Hugh Willoughbies voyage. 255
62 The letters of king Edward the sixt, written at that time to all the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates of the Northeast. 256, 257
63 The names of the Ships, Captains, Mariners, and other officers of that first worthy enterprise. 258
64 The othe ministred to the Captaine of the Fleete. 259
65 The othe ministred to the Masters of the ships. 260
66 A testimonie of Richard Eden, concerning Clement Adams his discourse of Richard Chancellers voyage. 270
67 The letters of the Emperour of Russia sent to king Edward the sixt, by Richard Chanceller. 284

68 The coynes, waights and measures vsed in Russia. 285
69 The letters of King Philip and Queene Mary to Iuan Vasilouich the Emperor of Russia. 287
70 The Commission giuen to the merchants Agents resiant in Russia. 288
71 The othe ministred to the seruants of the Moscouie company. 292
72 The letter of George Killingworth the first Agent in Russia, written to the Company. 292
73 The first Priuileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia, to the English merchants. 293
74 The Charter of the merchants of the Moscouie company granted by Queene Mary. 295
75 Instructions giuen to the Pursers of the Moscouie voyage. 304
76 The strange discourse of Richard Iohnson concerning the Samoeds. 316
77 A discourse of the honourable receiuing into England of the first Ambassadour frō the Emperour of Russia. 318
78 Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners of the ships of the Moscouie Company, sayling towards the Bay of S. Nicolas, Anno 1557. 330
79 A letter of the Company of the Moscouie merchants vnto their Agents, George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane in Russia. 331
80 A letter of M. Thomas Hawtree to the Moscouie Companies Agent M. Henry Lane at Colmogro. 337
81 A letter of M. Richard Gray, one of the first Agents of the Moscouie Company, to M. Henry Lane at Mosco. 338
82 A letter of Thomas Alcock to M. Richard Gray and Henry Lane, Agents in Moscouia from Tirwill in Poland. 339
83 A letter of M. Anthony Ienkinson vpon his returne from Boghar to M. Henry Lane resident in Vologda. 340
84 A letter of the Moscouie Company to their Agents in Russia, M. Henry Lane, Christopher Hudson, and Thomas Glouer, sent in their seuenth voyage to S. Nicolas 341
85 Another letter to the aforesaid parties. 344
86 The maner of Iustice by lotts in Russia, written by M. Henry Lane. 345
87 The description of Russia, with the customes and maners of the inhabitants. 357
88 Notes and obseruations gathered by Richard Iohnson of the seuerall wayes from Russia to Cathay ouer-land. 375
89 A letter of Sigismund king of Polonia 1559. vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 378
90 The letters of the Queenes Maiestie written to the Emperour of Russia, requesting licence and safe-conduct for Anthonie Ienkinson, to passe through his dominions into Persia. 379, 380
91 The Queenes Maiesties letters to the great Sophie of Persia, sent by M. Anth. Ienkinson. 381
92 Instructions giuen by the Gouernours and Assistants of the Moscouie Company, vnto M. Anthonie Ienkinson. 382
93 The priuileges giuen by Obolouican K. of Hircania to the Company of English merchants trading in Russia, obteined by M. Anthony Ienkinson. 395
94 Certaine letters of Arthur Edwards written out of Russia, Media, and Persia, to the Company of the Moscouie merchants in London. 397, 398, 401, 405
95 The distance of diuers places in Russia. 407
96 The way and distances from S. Nicolas in Russia to the Caspian sea. 408
97 An Acte for the corporation of merchants Aduenturers for the discouering of newe trades made in the eighth yeere of the Queenes Maiestie. 414
98 The priuileges granted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants, obteined by M. Anthony Ienkinson. 418
99 A letter of M. Henry Lane to M. Richard Hakluyt concerning the first Ambassage from the Russian Emperour to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth. 420
100 A letter of her Maiestie, sent by Stephen Twerdico and Phoodata Pogorella, Messengers of the Emperour of Russia, vnto their master. 421
101 The Ambassage of M. Thomas Randolfe Esquier, from the Queenes Maiestie to the Emperour of Russia. 422
102 The priuileges graunted to the English merchants, at M. Randolfe his sute. 424
103 A Commission granted by M. Randolfe for a discouery to the Northeast by sea. 430
104 Instructions giuen to the discouerers for that action. 431
105 Certaine letters in verse, written out of Moscouia, by M. George Turberuile, Secretary to M. Randolfe, touching the state of the Countrey, and maners of the people. 432
106 Notes concerning the fourth English voyage into Persia. 440
107 Obseruations of the Sophy of Persia, and of the Religion of the Persians. 447
108 A letter of Richard Vscombe to M. Henry Lane touching the burning of the Citie of Mosco by the Crimme Tartar. 452
109 The Ambassage of M. Anthony Ienkinson from the Queenes Maiestie to the Emperour of Russia, Anno 1571. 453
110 A briefe rehearsall of all the trauailes of M. Anthony Ienkinson. 465
111 A

111 A letter of James Alday to M. Michael Locke Agent in London for the Moscouie Company touching a trade to be established in Lappia. 464
112 A note of all the necessary instruments and appurtenances belonging to the killing of the Whale. 466
113 The deposition of William Burrough to certeine Interrogatories mooued vnto him concerning the Narue and Kegor. 466
114 The reasons of M. William Burrough to diswade the vse of a trade to the Narue by the way through Sweden. 468
115 A remembrance of aduise giuen to the Moscouie merchants, touching a voyage for Cola aboue said. 468
116 An Epistle dedicatorie vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, written by M. William Burrough. 469
117 The Queenes Maiesties letters to Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia. 470
118 The Latitudes and Meridian Altitudes of diuers places in Russia, from the North to the South. 485
119 Directions giuen by M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, & Morgan Hubblethorne Dier, sent into Persia. 486
120 A Commission giuen by sir Rowland Heyward knight, and George Barne Aldermen, and gouernours of the Moscouie Company, to Arthur Pet and Charles Iackman, for the discouery by Sea towards Cathay. 487
121 Rules and orders giuen to be obserued by them in that Discouery. 491
122 Briefe aduises giuen by M. Iohn Dee to that purpose. 492
123 Instructions giuen them by Richard Hakluyt Esquire to that purpose also. 493
124 The letter of Gerard. Mercator to Richard Hakluyt of Oxford touching that discouery. 499
125 Instructions giuen by the Moscouie Company vnto Richard Gibbs, William Biggat, Iohn Backhouse, &c. Masters of their ships. 511
126 The opinion of M. William Burrough, sent to a friend requiring his iudgement for the fittest time of the departure of our ships toward S. Nicolas in Russia. 513
127 The Queenes Maesties Commission giuen to sir Ierome Bowes, authorizing him her highnesse Ambassadour with the Emperour of Moscouie. 513
128 The Queenes Maiesties letters written to the Emperour by sir Ierome Bowes in his commendation. 515
129 The discourse of the Ambassage of sir Ierome Bowes to the aforsaid Emperour. 516
130 The maner of preferring suites in Russia. 522
131 A letter of M. Henry Lane to M. William Sanderson merchant of London, conteyning a briefe discourse of all things passed in our Northren discoueries for the space of 33. yeeres. 523
132 The most solemne and magnificent Coronation of Pheodor Ioanowich Emperour of Russia, set downe by M. Ierome Horsey. 525
133 The Priuileges graunted by the neere Emperour, to the English merchants, and obteined by the foresaid Ierom Horsey. 530
134 The Ambassage of M. Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Ciuil lawe, from her Maiestie to the Emperore of Russia. 533
135 A notable description of Russia. 535
136 A speciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Cosmographer M. Iohn Baptista Ramusius, concerning the Northeast passage. 559
137 The Lord Boris Pheodorowich his letter to the right honourable William Burghley Lord high Treasurer of England. 562
138 The Queenes Maiesties letter to Pheodor Ioanowich, Emperour of Russia. 563
139 The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich. 565
140 The L. Treasurer sir William Cecil his letter to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich. 566
141 A letter of Pheodor Ioanowich to the Queenes Maiestie. 567
142 An other letter to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich. 568
143 A second letter from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich to the L. William Burghley. 569
144 A most gracious letter of Priuileges giuen to the English merchants by Pheodor Ioanowich. 570
145 The contents of M. Garlands Commission vnto Thomas Simonson for the bringing of M. Iohn Dee to the Emperour of Russia his Court 573
146 A letter to the right worsh. M. Iohn Dee Esquier, conteyning the summe and effect of M. Garlands message 573
147 A branch of a letter from Iohn Merick touching the death of Pheodor Ioanowich 574
148 A learned Epistle written vnto the famous Cosmographer M. Gerardus Mercator, concerning the Countreys, Riuers and Seas, towards the Northeast 575, 576
149 The honourable testimonies of diuers strangers touching the notable discoueries of the English, made in the North-east parts. 579
150 A briefe Commentarie of the true state of Island. 580 & 621
151 A letter written by the graue and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Groenland. 699

THE FIRST VOLVME

OF THE PRINCIPALL

NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOVERIES,

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

MADE TO THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST QUARTERS OF THE WORLD

WITH THE

DIRECTIONS, LETTERS, PRIVILEDGES, DISCOURSES, AND OBSERVATIONS

INCIDENT TO THE SAME.

CERTEINE TESTIMONIES CONCERNING

K. ARTHUR AND HIS CONQUESTS OF THE NORTH REGIONS,

TAKEN OUT OF

THE HISTORIE OF THE KINGS OF BRITAINE,

WRITTEN BY GALFRIDUS MONUMETENSIS, AND NEWLY PRINTED AT HEIDELBERGE,

ANNO 1587.

Lib. 9 cap. 10.

ANNO Christi, 517. Arthurus, secundo regni sui anno, subiugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, classem suam direxit in Islandiam, eámque debellato populo subiugauit. Exin diuulgato per cæteras insulas rumore, quòd ei nulla Prouincia resistere poterat, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius rex Orcadum vltrò venerunt, promissóque vectigali subiectionem fecerunt. Emensa deinde hyeme, reuersus est in Britanniam, statúmque regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The same in English.

IN the yere of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, hauing subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his subiection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldauius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promising

The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

EDuinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id est, eius quæ ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuarios tantùm, necnòn & Menauias Britonum insulas, quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam sitæ sunt, Anglorum subiecit protestati.

The same in English.

EDwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to say, of them which inhabit to the North of the riuer Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine, bare rule as well ouer the English as the British nation, exceptionely the people of Kent: who also brought in subiection vnder the English, the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and the other Northwesterne Isles of the Britons, which are situate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another testimonie alledged by Beda to the same purpose. Lib. 2. cap. 9.

ANno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo vicesimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbrorum, hoc est, ea natio Anglorum quæ ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege suo Eduino, verbum fidei (prædicante Paulino, cuius supra meminimus) suscepit: cui videlicèt regi in auspicium suscipiendæ fidei, & regni cœlestis potestas, & terreni creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britanniæ fines, qua vel ipsorum vel Britonum Prouinciæ habitabantur, sub ditione acceperit. Quin & Menauias insulas (sicut & supra docuimus) imperio subiugauit Anglorum. Quarum prior quæ ad austrum est, & situ amplior, & frugum prouentu atque vbertate fœlicior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, iuxta æstimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum & vltrà spatium tenet.

The Same in English.

IN the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, sixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, those English people which inhabit on the North side of the riuer of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Christian preaching and perswasion of Paulinus aboue mentioned, embraced the Gospel. Vnder which king, after he had once accepted of the Christian faith, the power both of the heauenly & of his earthly kingdome was inlarged; insomuch, that he (which no English king had done before him) brought vnder his subiection all the prouinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the English men themselues, or by the Britons. Moreouer, he subdued vnto the crowne of England (as we haue aboue signified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Westerne Islands. The principall wherof being more commodiously and pleasantly seated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the rest, conteineth according to the estimation of the English, roome enough for 960. families, and the second for 300. and aboue.

The voyage of Bertus, generall of an armie sent into Ireland by Ecfridus king of Northumberland, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall Hystorie.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto, Ecfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum excercitu duce Berto, vastauit miserè gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita vt nec eccle-ijs quidem aut monasterijs manus parceret hostilis. At insulani & quantum valuere armis arma repellebant, & innocantes diuinæ auxilium pietatis cœlitus se vindicari continuis diù imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum tamen est, quòd hi qui merito impietatis suæ maledicebantur, ocyùs Domino vindice, pœnas sui reatus luerent.

The

The same in English.

IN the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly vnto the people of England, insomuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and crauing Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curses, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of Octher made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe vnto Alfred the famous king of England, about the yere 890.

OCther said, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furthest North of any other Norman. He sayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the West coast: and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marueilous farre towards the North, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, vnlesse it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coast, who liue by hunting all the Winter, and by fishing in Summer. He said that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to prooue and know how farre that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the desert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, hauing vpon his steereboord alwayes the desert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his course for the space of 3. dayes. In which space he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters vse to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the North so farre as he was able to saile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceiued that the coast turned towards the East, or els the sea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wist and remembred, that he was faine to stay till he had a Westerne winde, and somewhat Northerly: and thence he sailed plaine East along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he was compelled againe to stay till he had a full Northerly winde, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the South, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discouered a mightie riuer which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which riuer he stayed his course, and in conclusion turned back againe, for he durst not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiuing that on the other side of the riuer the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually thorowout all his voyage he had euermore on his steereboord, a wildernesse and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way vpon his leereboord was the maine ocean. The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afrayed to go vpon shore. But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue sayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of stories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreys adioyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth; forsomuch as he was not vpon land, nor saw any himselfe. This onely he iudged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language. The principall purpose of his traueile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discouerie of these coasts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of fishing of ‖ horsewhales, which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought some at his returne vnto the king. Their skinnes are also very good to make cables for shippes, and so vsed. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie then other kindes, hauing not in length aboue seuen elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof

Fynnes liue by hunting and fishing.

The place wher the whale hunters trauell.

The riuer of Duina of likelihood.

A desert countrey. Fynnes. Biarmia. Terfynnes.

The Fynnes and Biarmes speake one language.

Ox, morses, their teeth esteemed.

Vse of ye Morses skinne for cables.

some

some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the sixe, which in the space of 8. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6. were stall Rane Deere, a beast of great value, and maruellously esteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. Their principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes. Euery man payeth according to his ability. The richest pay ordinarily 15. cases of Martens, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long a piece, the one made of Whales skin, the other of Seales.

Sixe hundreth raine Deere.

The Fynnes tribute.

Note.

Cables of Whales and Beares skins.

A description of Norway.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: and all Eastward, all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broade-st toward the South, & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peradueuture threescore miles in bredth or broader in some places: about the middest, 30 miles or aboue, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it prooeth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to traueile ouer in a fortnight, and in some places no more then may be trauailed in sixe dayes. Right ouer against this land, in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the South, lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Quenes sometimes passing the mountaines, inuade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes vse to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer lande, and thereby inuade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

The breath of the mountaines of Norway.

Swethland. Queeneland.

Boats caried on mẽ backs.

The voyage of Octher out of his countrey of Halgoland into the sound of Denmarke vnto a port called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rostorke.

OCther sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the South, there is a certeine ‖ port called Scirings hall, whither, he sayth, that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had euery day a full winde. And he shall saile all the way along the coast, hauing on his steereboord, first Iutland and the Islands which lie betwixt this countrey & Iutland, still along the coast of this countrey, till he came to Scirings hall, hauing it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is so broad, that a man cannot see ouer it: and on the other side against the same, is Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles vp into the land. From Scirings hall he sayd that he sailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of ‖ Weodles, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is subiect. And as he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his steereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arriued in Hetha, he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland, with diuers other Islands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came into this land. And these 2. dayes he had vpon his leereboord the Islands that are subiect to Denmarke.

‖ Or, streight. It seemeth to be about Elsenburg.

The description of the sound of Denmarke.

Gotland.

Vandals.

Hetha but two dayes sayling from Seland. It seemeth to be Wismer or Rostocke.

‖ Within the sound of Denmarke.

Wolstans nauigation in the ‖ East sea, from Hetha to Trusco, which is about Dantzig.

Wolstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arriued at Trusco, in the space of 7. dayes, and

and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually vnder saile. All this voyage Wenedland was still vpon his steerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreyes are subiect to Denmarke. Vpon his leerboord also, was Bargenland, which hath a priuate king, vnto whom it is subiect. Hauing left Bargenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, hauing them on his leerboord: all which countreys are subiect to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way vpon his steerboord, vntil he came to Wixel mouth. Wixel is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is apperteining to the Easterlings: and the riuer of Wixel runneth out of ‖ Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. There runneth also another riuer called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Ilsing comming out of ‖ Eastland, and Wixel out of Wenedland, fall both together into Eastmeere, and there Wixel depriueth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

Bargenland, or Borholme.

Witel is the riuer that falleth into the sea by Dantzig.

‖ Or, Prutia.

Fruso.

‖ Or, Lituania.

Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fish.

The description of Eastland.

The wealthiest men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and slaues meade. There is no ale brewed among the Easterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

Mares milke a chiefe drinke.

The nauigation of King Edgar, taken out of Florentius Wigorniensis, Houeden, and M. Dee his discourse of the Brittish Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I haue often times (sayd he) and many waues looked into the state of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Christian men commonly) being a studie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpose somewhat answerable to a perfect Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie vniuersall, and so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the King almightie, passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this British Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, yea this, haue surpassed by iustice, and godly sort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth since mans creation, and that to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be vtterly past, and for euer) discreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Brittish monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as (al circumstances duely and iustly apperteining to peace & amitie with forrein princes being offred & vsed) this may become the most peaceable, most rich, most puissant, & most florishing monarchie of al els (this day) in christendome. Peaceable, I say, euen with the most part of the selfe same respects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by sundry such meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and vre triumphantly, whereupon his sir name was Pacificus, most aptly and iustly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about six hundred yeeres past, the representation of a great part of the selfe same Idæa, which from aboue onely, & by no mans deuise hath streamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a subiect carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire vnder our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, Ædgarus pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas cõgregauit naues è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago cõtituit, vt ad defensionem regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorũ discrimina sustinerent. Flores Historiarum.

O wisedome

O wisedome imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, *videlicet, prospicere*, to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and also the peaceable enioying thereof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, seeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is historically mentioned to haue bene for the charges leuied: if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O marueilous politicall, & princely prudencie, in time of peace to foresee, and preuent, (and that most puissantly, and inuincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischiefe forain. O most discreet liberalitie to such excellent vses, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthy subiects, of such an Imperiall and godly Gouernour. O your true, and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Nauies maintenance: so (I say) as neither dearth of famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreasonable enhaunsed by you, finding for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

Charta Regis Henrici secundi. Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & decus Ædgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Iulij obijt, & apud Glaston sepelitur.

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasurie of the carcases of so famous, and so many persons (*Quæ olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, ædificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas*) how lamentable is thy case nowe? howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation? though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant British Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar, (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progresses, and yerely chiefe pastimes were, the sailing round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand nauie of 4000. saile at the least, parted into 4. equall parts of peue Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded. Rauulphus Cestrensis.

Idem quoque Ædgarus 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem statuit, sic, æstate Insulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad sui exercitium, & ad hostium fecit terrorem.

Could, and would that peaceable & wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically, and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships, and that yerely? and shall we being not assured of such neighbors friendship, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not iudge it some part of wisdome, to imitate carefully in some little proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea, prosperous pastimes these may be iustly counted, by which he also made euident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this British Empire, so that he could and would royally, iustly, and triumphantly enioy the same, spite of the deuil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest prelates and counsellors of those

dayes

dayes (so counted of and recorded) coulde best aduise and direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and duetifully incourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first inuincibly to fortifie the chiefe and vttermost walles of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forreine encombrance possible. And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne ouersight and iudgement, in yeerely viewing the same in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime Imperiall, also in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all securitie, hee might in Winter time (*vacare*) be at conuenient leisure on land, chiefly to set foorth God's due honour, and secondly to vnderstand, and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Westmonasteriensis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

Habebat autem præterea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias transire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum, à principibus obseruarentur, & no pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur, diligenter inuestigare solebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iustitiæ studens, & Reipub. regnique vtilitati consulens in vtroque. Hinc hostibus circumquáque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat subditorum.

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithfull subiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, safely and securely employ their wits and trauels for the marueilous enriching of this kingdome, and pleasuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our necessary vses (and due store reserued) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessary and not superfluous forreine commodities, fet from farre or foreign countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly prouidence, Reipub. Regnique vtilitati consulens, &c. besides with great vtilitie and profite publique foreseene, and by his meanes enioyed, he himselfe vsed most gladly the aduantage of that securitie, in ministring of iustice, or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not squemishly, frowningly or skornefully shunning the ragged and tattered sleeue of any suppliant, holding vp to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contriued, or afrayde at, and timerously hasting from the sickly pale face or feeble limmed suter, extreemely constrained so to speake for himselfe, nor parcially smoothering his owne conscience, to fauour or mainteine the foule fault and trespasse vnlawfull of any his subiects, how mightie or necessary soeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique securitie frō forrein foe abroad, and true loue of his owne subiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause iustice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, hee became not insolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as some princes in other countreis haue made their liues Comicotragical) but with all his foreside inuincible Seaforce, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with securitie and Iustice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creator, the heauenly and euerlasting king, by such principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him vndoubtedly testifie: As this, for one.

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est rex Regium, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus omniūmq; Regum, Insularum, Oceaniq; Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium sic ampliauit, & exaltauit super regnum patrū meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti sunt à tempore Athelstani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quæ Britanniam incolunt, sibi Armis subegit) nullus tamen eorū vltra eius fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, vsq; Noruegiam, maximámq; partem Hyberniæ, cum sua nobilissima

Ex hasta fundationis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorniæ.

nobilissima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subiugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla subdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius seruitium amplificare deuotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, secundum quod disposui, effeci, &c.

And againe this in another Monument.

Fundatio Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Elienſis. OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipsius nutu & gratia suffultus, Ego Ædgarus Basileus dilectæ Insulæ Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, studiosus sollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupo addendis: Ne nunc inertia, nostrisq; diebus (plus æquo) seruitus eius tepescere videatus, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis

Thaumate confirmaui.

So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most euident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this British monarchie, might haue bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enioye the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past haue either by intent gone about, or by wise and valiant exploit, haue meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reasonable meanes was vsed, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contriued, to al purposes sufficient, but only by our sea forces preuailing, and so by our inuincible enioying al within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political mysterie attaining, no easier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the present and continuall seruice of threescore good and tall warlike ships, with twentie smaller barkes, and those 80. ships (great and smal) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for seruice both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order, as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occasion offered) may declare.

This grand nauie of peaceable king Edgar, of so many thousand ships, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so inuincible, continually mainteined, the order of the execution of their seruice, the godly and Imperial successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and prophetical incouragements to vs left, euen now to bee as prouident for publique securitie as he was, to be as skilful of our sea right and royal limits, and wisely to finde our selues as able to recouer and enjoy the same as he was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and yeerely sayling about this British Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such ful and peaceable possession, find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soueraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser islands next adiacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious iewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembred.

Note the Queenes Maiesties regalitie ouer the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire. Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniúmque Regum, Insularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

The

The voyage of Edmund and Edward the sonnes of King Edmund Ironside into Hungarie. Anno D. 1017. Recorded by Florentius Wigorniensis pag. 391.

DEdit consilium Edricus Canuto regi, vt clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur, vt in Anglia perimerentur, paruo elapso tempore, ad regem Suauorum occidendos misit. Qui, licèt fœdus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenùs voluit acquiescere, sed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine misit nutriendos vitæque reseruandos. Quorum vnus scilicet Eadmundus processu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus verò Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Christinam Sanctimonialem, & Clitonem Eadgarum suscepit. An. Dom. 1017

The same in English.

EDric counselled king Kanutus to murther the young princes Edward and Edmund the sonnes of King Edmund. But because it seemed a thing very dishonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee sent them, after a short space, vnto the king of Sweden to be slaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no case condescend vnto Canutus his bloody request, but sent them vnto Salomon the king of Hungarie to be nourished and preserued aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in processe of time there deceased. But Edward receiued to wife Agatha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Scots, and Christina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar.

A Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1066, Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome; against which Harald the king of Norwale called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stainford bridge, where the English winning the fielde put all the Noruegians to flight: out of which flight one Godredus sirnamed Crouan (the sonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Island) repaired vnto Godred sonne of Syrric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably enterteined by him.

In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England, and Godred the sonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal. Fingal.

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ships, and sailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also hauing gathered his armie and ships together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramsa, hid 300, of his men in a wood standing vpon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no sooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themselues and with great furie set vpon Godred. And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300, men rising out of their ambush, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw § they were ouercome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramsa) and seeing the enemie so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their liues. Then hee being mooued with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sounded a retreat and forbad his souldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his souldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themselues and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to waste the whole Island and to enrich themselues with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part

thereof, vpon condition, that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to challenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that vnto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. Also Godredus subdued Dublin vnto himselfe & a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle. He left behinde him three sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus. Lagman being the eldest chalenged the kingdome and reigned seuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Ierusalem, in which iourney also he died.

Boats hauing not past three yron nailes in them.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers vnto Murecardus O-Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would send some wel-disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus sonne of Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly condescended vnto their request, and sent vnto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vsurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselues against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come vnto the Island of Leodus, he sent messengers vnto all the princes of the Islands to come vnto him, commaunding them to assemble themselues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, rauished women and virgines, and addicted themselues to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things were reported vnto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselues to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and comming vpon him in the night, they burnt the house wherein hee was, and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword, and partly with fire.

Lewis.

In the yeere 1098. the abbey of S. Maries at Cistertium was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochia was taken by the Christians, and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer, the same yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Santwat, and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were slaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras, chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olauus, sonne of Harald Harfagre, being desirous to view the corps of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commaundement that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, caused the cophin to be opened. And when hee had seene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare came vpon him, and he departed with great haste. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a vision, saying: Chuse (I say) vnto your selfe one of these two, either within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart from Norway and neuer to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked out of sleepe, called his princes and Senatours, and expounded the foresaide vision vnto them. And they also being astonished thereat gaue him this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay caused a Nauie of 160. ships to be prouided, and so sailed vnto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and passing along through all the Islands and conquering

quering them, at length he came vnto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arriued, but hee went vnto the Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in such awe, that he constrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his shore for the building of his fortes. Hee sailed on further vnto the Isle of Anglesey neere vnto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts vnto him, and so bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he sent his shooes, commaunding him that he should cary them on his shoulders, vpon the birth-day of our Lord through the midst of his Palace, in the sight of his Embassadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them, that he was subiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they toke it grieuously and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduised, I had rather (said he) not onely beare his shooes, but eate his shooes, then that king Magnus should destroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundement, and honourably enterteined his Embassadours. Many giftes also he sent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the messengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulnesse of the soile, and of the holesomnesse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolued to conquer all Irland vnto himselfe. And for the same purpose he commaunded that a Fleet should be made ready. But he taking his voyage with sixteene ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had vndiscreetly departed from his Nauie, he was suddenly inuironed by the Irish, and was himselfe slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned sixe yeeres. After his death the Princes of the Islands sent for Olauus the sonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England son vnto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olauus sonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He took to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of ‖ Herergaidel, which afterward occasioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of the Islands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus, and Olauus. ‖ Argile.

In the yeere 1134. Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin. Also hee inriched with reuenues and indued with priuiledges al places of religion within his islands.

In the yeere 1142. Godredus § son of Olauus sailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably enterteined. The same yere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother vnto Olauus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome resorted vnto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants cõspired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselues vnto the hauen towne called Ramsa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stoode a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would haue saluted him, and lifting vp his glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. Nowe hauing committed this outragious § 1143.

outragious villanie, within a short space they diuided the Island betweene themselues, and gathering an armie together sailed vnto Galway, intending to subdue that also; howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olaaus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin sent for him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecanlus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himselfe at the citie called Coridclis, he sent his brother Osibel with 3000. horsemen vnto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whome one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went vnto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Ilands, and subdued many of the said Islands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete Sumerledus
1156. comming against him with 80. ships: and in the yeere 1156. vpon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Islands among themselues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Islands, from which time the sonnes of Sumerled inioyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Island: and Gedred sailed vnto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arriued at Rhinfrin, intending to subdue all Scotland vnto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots, and his brother William succeeded in the kingdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August, before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Island, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Island.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlster vnto himselfe. And at the same time also Viuianus legate frō the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irlād, mother of Olaaus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very same day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, & slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselues put him, & almost almost al his folowers to the sword.

In

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was ecclipsed vpon the feast of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Islands, vpō the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next sommer his body was translated vnto the island of Hy. He left 3. sonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olauus to be his heire apparant, because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was scarce ten yeeres olde, sent vnto the islands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne ouer the islands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Russin remooued vnto Dufglas, howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Russin.

In the yere 1203. Michael bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlster with an armie and encountered with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Vlster vnto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably entertained by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of *S. Mary de lugo domini*, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands inuading Vlster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy coming vpō them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yeere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3 sonnes were slaine.

At the same time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it vnto himselfe: and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the isle of Man, his souldiours almost vtterly wasted it in the space of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man. King Iohn passed into Irland with 500. sailes.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Vlster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olauus.

REginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the island called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the most part vpon hunting and fishing. Olauus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life: and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his followers, hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the islands, & spake on this wise vnto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of the islands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbeit because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue me that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beseech you to prouide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly liue. For the island of Lewis which you gaue me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premisses. And on the morow, when Olauus was sent for to parle, Reginald comanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine prisoner: and Olauus remained in prison almost for the space of

of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came vnto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. Iames: and his brother Reginald caused the said Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, cousine german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands hauing gathered a Synod, separated Olauus and Godred his sonne, and Lauon his wife, namely because shee was cousin german vnto his former wife. Afterward Olauus maried Scristina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters vnto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which cõmandement Godred putting in practise, & entring the isle of Lewis for ỹ same purpose, Olauus fled in a little skiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the islands, because he would not consent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ship vnto Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained secure with a smal company in a certaine Isle called ỹ isle of S. Columba. And vniting vnto themselues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanched 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they enuironed the said Island on all sides. Now Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselues beset with their enemies on all sides, they were vtterly astonied. Howbeit arming themselues they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with al their souldiers, entred the Island, and hauing slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Vnto which action Olauus gaue not his cõsent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next sommer folowing Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32. ships sailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwaht. At the same time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Islands betweene themselues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olauus hauing receiued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his compẽy, vnto his owne portion of Islands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subiects of Man, sailed vnto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and subdue it vnto himselfe. Howbeit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olauus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home vnto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, vnder pretense of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

The Isle of Man adiudged to a kingdome.

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recouered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had gouerned for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part of his people, sailed vnto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue all the men whom they coulde take, insomuch, that the South-part of the saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned with his

his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and substitutes in Man, which should gather vp and render vnto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olaus came suddenly vpon them, chaced them away and recouered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were dispersed and scattered abroad, began to vnite themselues, and to inhabite without feare. The same yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the sudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with fiue ships, & burnt all the ships of his brother Olauus, and of the nobles of Man, at the isle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes: in the meane while hee allured vnto himselfe all the Islanders vpon the South part of Man, who sware, that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrary wise Olauus ioyned vnto himselfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14. of February in the place called Tingualla, a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the South part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes of Russin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had chosen for the purpose. After these things Olauus trauelled vnto the king of Norway, but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund to be king of the Islands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the son of Reginald, and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the Islands: and while they were giuing an assault vnto a castle in the Island of Bath, Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus, with Godredus Don, and certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themselues, Olauus stil reteining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the Islands, was slaine in the Isle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the kalends of Iune, Olauus sonne of Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Russin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was aliue, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The first yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the three sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioseph vnto Man, that they might enter into cosultation together, Wherefore the 25. day they assembled themselues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen, they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Ioseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the Isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gospatricius and Gillescrist sonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, because the said Harald refused to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gospatricius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went unto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed unto him, his heires and successors, vnder seale, all the islands which his predecessors enioyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man, and being honourably receiued by the inhabitants, he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also before him) was knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts, he returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he maried his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olauus, and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next before the nones of May: and vpon the 30. day of the same moneth he was slaine by Yuarus a souldier, and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine medow, neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Russin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ships, that he might conquere the islands vnto himselfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the isle of Kerwary, he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don vsurped the name of a king ouer the islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olauus, and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway, who deteined him in prison because he had vniustly possessed the kingdome. The same yeere Magnus the sonne of Olauus, and Iohn the sonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwhat, which Iohn named himselfe king, but the Mannians taking it grieuously, that Magnus was not nominated, draue them from their shoare, and many of the company perished by shipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordained king. The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway, & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of the islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In ye yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Russin was dedicated by Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin, and was buried at the Church of St. Mary at Russin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

IN the yeere 1270. vpon the seuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the sunne rising there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 539. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are slaine:
against all haps,
Yee Mannians arme your selues, for feare
of afterclaps.

IN the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots beseiged the castle of Russin, which Dingaway Dowil held against him, howbeit at the last the king tooke the castle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandeuile and his brethren, with diuers great personages of Irland arriued at Ramaldwath, demaunding to haue victuals and money ministred vnto them, because they had bene spoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Irish ouercame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Russin also: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their ships they returned home.

The

The mariage of the daughter of Harald, slaine by William the conquerour, vnto Ieruslaus duke of Russia, taken out of the 9. booke of the Danish historie written by Saxo Grammaticus. An. D. 1067.

HAraldo cæso, filij eius duo confestim in Daniam cum sorore migrarunt. Quos Sweno, paterni illorum meriti oblitus consanguineæ pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipse Iarislaus a suis est appellatus) nuptum dedit. Eidem postmodum nostri temporis dux, vt sanguinis, ita & nominis hæres, ex filia nepos obuenit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, indè Eous sanguis in salutarem nostri principis ortum confluens communem stirpem duarum gentium ornamentum effecit. 1067.

The same in English.

HArald being slaine his two sonnes with their sister sped themselues immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deserts receiued in most kinde and friendly maner, and bestowed the yong damosell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Russia who was also called by his subiects Iarislaus. Afterward the said Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this present, who succeeded his predecessour both in lineal descent and in name also. Wherefore the English blood on the one side and the Russian on the other side concurring to the ioyful birth of our prince, caused that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

The state of the shipping of the Cinque ports from Edward the Confessour and William the Conquerour, and so downe to Edward the first, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. William Lambert in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.

I Finde in the booke of the generall suruey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, because (as Matthew Parise saith) it spared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Douer, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confessour, discharged almost of all maner of imposicions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such seruice to bee done by them vpon the sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appeare. The exemptie of the Ports. 1070.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the hauen Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of sundry kings to the Fiue Ports, the same reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of K. Edwards first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in some maner of array, I will first shewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Ports, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what seruice they ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what persons they haue bene gouerned.

If I should iudge by the common, and rude verse,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

Which be the Fiue Ports.

I must say that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Fiue Ports: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then adde to these, Hastings and Hyde, for they also haue their Barons as well as the other: and so should I not onely, not shew which were the first Fiue, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulnesse. Leauing the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authoritie, and

1250. forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder K. Henry the thirde, and wrote (aboue three hundreth yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

He (I say) in the third booke of his worke, and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hand to shewe the articles inquirable before the Iustice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, because they vsed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of iustice) setteth forth a special fourme of writs, to be directed seuerally to the Bailifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they should cause twentie & foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or townesmen, and the citizens of London likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iustices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should be giuen in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreouer, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes cõtention betwene them of the Fiue Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke, and Donwich in Suffolke, there should be seuerall writs directed to them also, returnable before the same Justices at the same day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs sommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the same townes had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the said Ports) he should be at Shipwey to propound against him, and there to receiue according to law and Iustice.

Citizens were called Barons in old time.

Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the Fiue Ports.

1250. Antiquitie of Yarmouth fishing.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Plees of the Fiue Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controuersie that long time since was betweene these Ports, and those other townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to proue, that Hastings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Ports, which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

1268. Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. For I find in an old recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therefore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucestershire, & diuers other lands in Lincolneshire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly because of a great disobedience & excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Wincelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue ports, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no punishment vnto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne king Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the first that apparelled them with that preeminence.

Winchelsey first builded. 1277.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priuiledge: which (because they were 5. in number) both at the first graue, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shalbe said, as touching the seruices that these Ports of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, vpon their owne charges) shall partly appeare by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall bee made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of king Edward the first in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie vessels at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and saith further

urther, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like seruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderstoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and seruice, or of the (like) in respect of seruice, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, should likewise finde twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the fiue Ports were subiect to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the first layd vpon them: And on the other side, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this as I find it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proofe. And first I will haue recourse to king Edward the first his Chartre in which I read, that At ech time that the King passeth ouer the sea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and seuen ships, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.

And thus it stoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, 1257.
for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I haue seene two diuers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.
The lowie of Peuensey, one
Bulwerhithe and Petit Iahn, one.
Bekesborne in Kent, seuen.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.
The towne of Rie, fiue.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.
The towne of Winchelsey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, seuen.
The Port of Hythe, fiue.
The Port of Douer, nineteene.
The towne of Folkestone, seuen.
The towne of Feuersham, seuen.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. fiue.

These ships they ought to finde vpon fortie dayes summons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, besides the Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise mainteine fiue dayes together at their owne costs, giuing to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable sixe pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after those fiue dayes ended, the King shall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Fiue Ports of our soueraigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Ports haue not: Hasting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.
The seruices due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Peuenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westhethe.

Douer 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it pertaine, Folkstane, Feuersham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattels.

Sandwich

Sandwich 5. ships, 21 Romenal and hethe. To it perteine Fordwich, Recluer, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.

Summe of ships 57.

Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This seruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. dayes together, at their owne costs and charges, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to goe towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serue so long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of these ancient notes, whereby your selfe may easily discerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, haue place at this day, I must referre it to them that be prinie, and of counsell with the Ports: and so leauing this also vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefore (being deuised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely most diligently euer since that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaued themselues against the enemie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene proferred, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

The good seruice of the fiue Ports.

And amongst other feats not vnworthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into France for new 1217. supply of Souldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the oracle of the wooden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of Frenchmen vpon the high seas, gaue them a most couragious encounter, in which he tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henrie the third also, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the seruice of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull seruice (and especially their good endeuour, then lately shewed against the Welsh- 1278. men) the principall cause, and motiue of that his liberall grant.

Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same king, an hundreth saile of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwith- 1293. standing the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and slew, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the the fourth, the nauie 1406. of the Fiue Ports, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprised one hundreth and twentie French ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no worse merchandize.

The priuiledges of the fiue Ports.

The priuiledges of these Ports, being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reason of the same.

Part of an Epistle written by one Yuo of Narbona vnto the Archbishop of Burdeaux, conteining the confession of an Englishman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the Tartars, which had liued long among them, and was drawen along perforce with them in their expedition against Hungarie: Recorded by Mathew Paris in the yere of your Lord 1243.

THe Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reason of this and other sinnes committed among vs Christians, is become, as it were, a destroying enemie, and a dreadful auenger. This I may iustly affirme to be true, because an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whose law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, euen the rod of Gods anger, ouerrunneth, and vtterly wasteth infinite countreyes, cruelly abolishing all things where they come,

come, with fire and sword. And this present Summer, the foresayd nation, being called Tartars, departing out of Hungarie, which they had surprised by treason, layd siege vnto the very same ‖ towne, wherein I my selfe abode, with many thousands of souldiers: neither were in the sayd towne on our part aboue 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. crosbowes, the captaine had left in garrison. All these, out of certeine high places, beholding the enemies vaste armie, and abhorring the beastly crueltie of Antichrist his complices, signified foorthwith vnto their gouernour, the hideous lamentations of his Christian subiects, who suddenly being surprised in all the prouince adioyning, without any difference or respect of condition, fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them destroyed: with whose carkeises, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutish and sauage followers, glutting themselues, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a strange thing it is to consider, that the greedie and rauenous vultures disdeined to praye vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Olde, and deformed women they gaue, as it were for dayly sustenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but smothered them lamenting and scritching, with forced and vnnaturall ruishments. Like barbarous miscreants, they quelled virgins vnto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for deinties vnto their magistrates, they engorged themselues with their bodies. Neuitat.

Howbeit, their spials in the meane time discrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Austria, the king of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as some report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accursed crew immediatly vanished, and all those Tartarian vagabonds retired themselues into the distressed and vanquished land of Hungarie; who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on the sudden: which their celeritie caused all men to stand in horrour and astonishment of them. But of the sayd fugitiues, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Austria knew to be an English man, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the most tyrannicall king of the Tartars, had bene twise, as a messenger and interpreter, with the king of Hungarie, menacing and plainely foretelling those mischiefes which afterward happened, vnlesse he would submit himselfe and his kingdome vnto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the trueth, he made such oathes and protestations, as (I thinke) the deuill himselfe would haue beene trusted for. First therefore he reported of himselfe, that presently after the time of his banishment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, hauing lost all that he had in the citie of Acon at Dice, euen in the midst of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a shirt of sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cappe onely, being shauen like a foole, and vttering an vncouth noise as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his iourney, and so trauelling many countreyes, and finding in diuers places friendly entertainment, he prolonged his life in this maner for a season, albeit euery day by rashnesse of speech, and inconstancie of heart, he endangered himselfe to the deuill. At length, by reason of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in Caldea, he fell into a grieuous sicknesse, insomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backeward, and staying there a while to refreshe himselfe, he began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which hee heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly to pronounce, and to vtter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a natiue member of that countrey: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie languages. This man the Tartars hauing intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion ouer the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull seruice, by reason that they wanted interpreters. But concerning their maners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their countrey and maner of fighting &c, he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, hasty, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremitie of punishments to be inflicted vpon them by their superiours, they are restreined from brawlings, and from mutuall

strife

strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne feasts vnto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselues alone. They esteeme it none offence to exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardie and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-shouldered, hauing flatte and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their vpper iawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noses, their eies inconstant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame ioynts strong with bones and sinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs is supplied in the vpper parts of their bodies. Their countrey in olde time was a land vtterly desert and waste, situated far beyond Chaldea, from whence they haue expelled Lions, Beares, & such like vntamed beasts with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beasts being tanned, they vse to shape for themselues light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound to their horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and mainteined with little prouender. They vse to fight constantly and valiantly with iauelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But specially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are slightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselues from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standerd of their Generall giue backe. Vanquished, they aske no fauour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world vnder their owne subiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being sent before vpon light horses to prepare a place for the armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three dayes iourney. And suddenly diffusing themselues ouer an whole province, and surprising all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprouided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the king or prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say, that they will make a voyage to Colen, to fetch home the three wise kings into their owne countrey; sometimes to punish the auarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquere barbarous and Northren nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feats and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes againe in derision they say, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to S. Iames of Galicia. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine vndiscreet gouernours concluding a league with them, haue granted them free passage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruine and destruction vnto the foresayd gouernours, &c.

Libellus historicus Ioannis de Plano Carpini, qui missus est Legatus ad Tartaros anno Domini 1246. ab Innocentio quarto Pontifice maximo. Incipit Prologus in librum Tartarorum.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum peruenerit, frater Ioannes de Plano Carpini ordinis fratrum minorum, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, nuncius ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, Dei gratiam in præsenti, & gloriam in futuro, & de inimicis suis gloriam triumphalem. Cum ex mandato sedis apostolicæ iremus ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, & sciremus Domini Papæ & venerabilium Cardinalium voluntatem, elegimus priùs ad Tartaros proficisci. Timebamus enim ne per eos in proximo ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Et quamuis a Tartaris & alijs nationibus timeremus occidi, vel perpetuo captiuari, vel fame, siti, algore, æstu, contumelia, & laboribus nimijs, & quasi vitra vires affligi (quæ omnia multo plusquam prius credidimus, excepta morte vel captiuitate perpetua nobis multipliciter euenerunt) non tamen pepercimus nobis ipsis, vt voluntatem Dei secundum Domini papæ mandatum adimplere possemus, & vt proficeremus in aliquo Christianis, vt saltem scita veraciter

raciter voluntate & intentione ipsorum, possemus illam patefacere Christianis, ne forte subito irruentes inuenirent eos imparatos, sicut peccatis hominum exigentibus alia vice contigit: & fecerunt magnam stragem in populo Christiano. Vnde quæcunque pro vestra vtilitate vobis scribimus ad cautelam, tanto securius credere debetis, quanto nos cuncta vel ipsi vidimus oculis nostris, qui per annum & quatuor menses & amplius, ambulauimus per ipsos & cum ipsis, ac fuimus inter eos, vel audiuimus a Christianis qui sunt inter eos captiui, & vt credimus fide dignis. Mandatum etiam a supremo pontifice habebamus, vt cuncta, perscrutaremur & videremus omnia diligenter. Quod tam nos quàm frater Benedictus eiusdem ordinis qui nostræ tribulationis fuit socius & interpres fecimus studiose.

Annus & 4. menses & amplius.

Frater Benedictus Polonus comes Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De terra Tartarorum, situ, qualitate & dispositione aeris in eadem. Cap. 1.

VOlentes igitur facta scribere Tartarorum, vt lectores facilius valeant inuenire, hoc modo per capitula describemus. Primo quidem dicemus de terra. Secundo de hominibus. Tertio de ritu. Quarto de moribus. Quinto de ipsorum imperio. Sexto de bellis. Septimo de terris quas eorum dominio subiugauerunt. Octauo quomodo bello occurratur eisdem. De terra possumus hoc modo tractare. In principio quidem dicemus de situ ipsius: secundo de qualitate: tertio de dispositione aeris in eadem. Terra vero prædicta est in ea posita parte Orientis in qua oriens sicut credimus coniungitur Aquiloni. Ab Oriente autem est terra posita Kyraiorum & etiam ‖ Solangorū: a meridie sunt terræ Saracenorum: inter Occidentem & Meridiem Huyrorum. Ab Occidente prouincia Naymanorum; ab Aquilone mari oceano circundatur. Hæc vero in parte aliqua est nimium montuosa, & in aliqua est campestris, sed fere tota admixta glarea, raro argillosa, plurimum est arenosa. In aliqua parte terræ sunt aliquæ modicæ siluæ: alia vero est sine lignis omnino. Cibaria autem sua decoquunt & sedent tam imperator quàm principes & alij ad ignem factum de boum stercoribus & equorum. Terra autem prædicta non est in parte centesima fructuosa: nec etiam potest fructum portare nisi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur. Sed aqua & riui ibidem sunt pauci: flumina vero rarissima vnde ibidem villæ sunt paucæ; nec aliquæ ciuitates excepta vna, quæ esse dicitur satis bona; nos autem non vidimus illam, sed fuimus prope ad dimidium diem, cum apud Syram ordam essemus, quæ curia est maior imperatoris eorum. Et licet aliàs infructuosa sit, quamuis non multum, tamen competenter est alendis pecoribus apta. Aer in ipsa est mirabiliter inordinatus. In media etiam æstate quando in alijs partibus solet calor maximus abundare; ibi sunt tonitrua magna & fulgura, ex quibus homines quàm plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ niues. Ibi sunt etiam frigidissimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempestates, quod cum labore vix possunt homines aliquando equitare. Vnde cum essemus apud ordam (sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos & principum appellantur) iacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti prostrati, & propter pulueris multitudinem videre minime poteramus. In ea etiam in hyeme nusquam pluit, sed in æstate: & tam modicum, quod vix potest aliquando puluerem & radices graminum madidare. Grando etiam ibi sæpe maxima cadit. Vnde eo tempore quando fuit electus, & in sede regni poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione, sicut plenius intelleximus, plusquam centum & quadraginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res autem & habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. Ibi est etiam in æstate subito magnus calor, & repente maximum frigus. In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ niues, in alia autem paruæ. Et vt breuiter de terra concludam, magna est, sed aliter, sicut vidimus oculis nostris, (quia per ipsam circuendam quinque mensibus & dimidium ambulauimus) multo vilior est, quàm dicere valeamus.

‖ Al. Sclangorum.

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syra orda, curia maior imperatoris.

Maximæ niues in æstate in Tartaria.

Grando maxima.

Maxima inundatio ex subita grandinis resolutione.

Iter quinq; mensium & dimidij.

De formis Tartarorum, de coniugio, vestibus & habitaculis eorum. Cap. 2.

DIcto de terra, de hominibus est dicendum. Primò quidem formas describemus personarum. Secundò de ipsorum coniugio supponemus. Tertio de vestibus. Quarto de habitaculis. Quinto de rebus eorum. Forma personarum ab hominibus alijs est remota. Inter oculos enim & genas plusquam alij homines sunt lati. Genæ etiam satis prominent a maxillis. Graciles sunt generaliter in cingulo exceptis quibusdam paucis. Pene omnes sunt

mediocris staturæ. Barba fere omnibus minime crescit. Aliqui tamen in inferiori labio & in barba modicos habent crines, quos minime tondent. Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, & ab aure vna vsque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Quæ rasura coronæ prædictæ iunguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui sunt inter coronam & prætaxatam rasuram crescere vsque ad supercilia sinunt. Et ex vtraque parte frontis tondendo plusquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt crescere vt mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, & ligant vnamquamque post aurem. Pedes etiam modicos habent. Vxores vero habet vnusquisque quot potest tenere. Aliquis centum, aliquis quinquaginta, aliquis decem, aliquis plures vel pauciores: & omnibus parentibus generaliter iunguntur, excepta matre, filia, vel sorore ex eadem matre, sororibus etiam ex patre: tamen & vxores patris post mortem ducere possunt. Vxorem etiam fratris alter frater iunior post mortem vel alius de parentela iunior ducere tenetur. Reliquas mulieres omnes sine vlla differentia ducunt in vxores, & emunt eas valde pretiose a parentibus suis.

Vestes. Post mortem maritorum de facili ad secunda coniugia non migrant, nisi quis velit suam nouercam ducere in vxorem. Vestes autem tam virorum quàm mulierum sunt vno modo formatæ. Pallijs, cappis vel capputijs vel pellibus non vtuntur. Tunicas vero portant de Bukeramo, purpura, vel Baldaquino in hunc modum formatas. A supremo vsque deorsum sunt scissæ, quia ante pectus duplicantur. A latere vero sinistro vna, & in dextris tribus ligaturis nectuntur, & in latere & in sinistro vsque ad brachiale sunt scissæ. Pellicia cuiuscunque sunt generis in eundem modum formantur: superius tamen pellicium exterius habet pilum, sed a posterioribus est apertum. Habet autem caudulam vnam vsque ad genua retro. Mulieres vero quæ sunt maritatæ habent tunicam valde amplam & vsq; ad terram antescissam. Super caput vero habent vnum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum, quod in longũ protenditur ad vnam vlnam, & in summitate desinit in quadrum: & ab imo vsque ad summum in amplitudine semper crescit, & in summitate habet virgulam vnam longam & gracilem de auro vel de argento seu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: & est assutum super vnum pileolum, quod protenditur vsque ad humeros. Instrumentum prædictum est tectum de buccaramo, siue purpura vel baldaquino: sine quo instrumento coram hominibus numquam vadunt, & per hoc ab alijs mulieribus cognoscuntur. Virgines autem & iuuenes mulieres cum magna difficultate a viris suis possunt discerni: quum per omnia vestiuntur ut viri. Pileola habent alia quàm aliæ nationes, quorum formam intelligibiliter describere non valemus.

Tabernacula. Stationes rotundas habent in modum tentorij præparatas, de virgis & baculis subtiliter factas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent fenestrã vnde lumen ingreditur, & vt possit fumus exire: quia semper in medio ignem faciunt. Parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt cooperta. Ostia etiam de filtro sunt facta. Quædam stationes sunt magnæ, quædam paruæ, secundum dignitatem & hominum paruitatem. Quædam soluuntur subito & reparantur, & super somarios deferuntur. Quædam dissolui non possunt, sed in curribus deferuntur. Minoribus autem in curru ad deferendum vnus bos; maioribus tres vel quatuor, vel etiam plures, vel quod est magis, sufficiunt ad portandum. Quocunque vadunt siue ad bellum, siue alias,

Opes in pecore. semper illas deferunt secum. In animalibus sunt diuites valde: in camelis, bobus, ouibus, capris, & equis. Iumentorum tantam habent multitudinem, quantam non credimus habere totum mundum. Porcos & alias bestias minime habent.

De cultu & de hijs quæ credunt esse peccata, & de diuinationibus & ritu funeris eorum, & de purgationibus suorum peccatorum. Cap. 3.

Dicto de hominibus, dicendum est de ritu: de quo tractabimus in hunc modum. Primo de cultu: secundo de hijs quæ credunt esse peccata: tertio de diuinationibus, & purgationibus peccatorum: quarto de ritu funeris. Vnum Deum credunt, quem credunt esse factorem omnium visibilium & inuisibilium. Et credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quàm pœnarum esse factorem: non tamen erationibus vel laudibus, aut ritu aliquo ipsum colunt. Nihilominus habent idola quædam de filtro ad imaginem hominis facta; & illa ponunt ex vtraque parte ostij stationis, & subtus illa ponunt quiddam de filtro in modum vberis factum, & illa

& illa credunt esse pecorum custodes, & eis beneficium lactis & pullorum præstare. Alia vero faciunt de pannis sericis, & illa multum honorant. Quidam ponunt illa in pulchro curru tecto ante ostium stationis: & quicunq; aliquid de illo curru furatur, sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Duces, millenarij, & centenarij vnum semper habent in medio stationis. Prædictis idolis offerunt primum lac omnis pecoris & iumenti. Et cum primo comedere & bibere incipiunt, primo offerunt eis de cibarijs & potu. Et cum bestiam aliquam occidunt, offerunt cor Idolo quod est in curru in aliquo cypho, & dimittunt vsque mane, & tunc auferunt de præsentia eius, & decoquunt & manducant. Primo etiam imperatori faciunt idolum, quod ponunt in curru, ante quam stationem honorifice, sicut vidimus ante ordam imperatoris istius, offerunt munera multa. Equos etiam offerunt ei, quos nullus audet ascendere vsque ad mortem. Alia etiam animalia eidem offerunt. Quæ vero occidunt ad manducandum, nullum os ex eis confringunt, sed igni comburunt. Et etiam ad meridiem tanquam Deo inclinant, & inclinare faciunt alios nobiles, qui se reddunt eisdem. Vnde nuper contigit quod Michael, qui fuit vnus de magnis ducibus Russiæ, cum iuisset ad se reddendum Bati, fecerunt eum prius inter duos ignes transire: Post hoc dixerunt, quod ad meridiem Cyngis can inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod Bati & seruis suis inclinaret libenter, sed imagini hominis mortui non inclinaret, quia non licet hoc facere Christianis. Et cum sæpe diceretur, quod inclinaret, & nollet, mandauit ei prædictus per filium Ieroslai, quod occideretur si non inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod potius vellet mori, quàm hoc faceret, quia non liceret. At ille satellitem vnum misit, qui tam diu contra cor eum in ventre calce percussit, quousque deficeret. Tunc quidam de suis militibus quia astabat confortans eum dixit: Esto robustus quia hæc pœna non diu tibi durabit, & statim sequetur gaudium sempiternum: post hoc fuit caput eius cultello præcisum. Militi vero prædicto fuit caput etiam cultello amputatum. Solem igitur lumina & ignem venerantur & adorant, & aquam & terram, eis ciborum & potus primitias offerentes, & mane potissime antequam comedant & bibant: quia de cultu Dei nullam legem obseruant. Neminem cogunt suam fidem vel legem negare. Accidit tamen dum adhuc nuper essemus in terra quod Andreas dux de ‖ Saruogle quæ est in Russia fuit apud Bati accusatus, quod ‖ Vel, Seirnogle. Andreas dux Russiæ. educeret equos Tartarorum de terra & venderet aliàs, & cum tamen non esset probatum fuit, occisus: quod audiens iunior frater eius, venit cum vxore occisi ad ducem prædictum Bati, volens supplicare, ne terra tolleretur eisdem. Qui dixit par esse, quod vxorem fratris carnalis prædicti duceret in vxorē: & mulieri præcepit ducere illum in virum secundum consuetudinem Tartarorum. Qui respondit, quod prius vellet occidi, quàm faceret contra legem. At ille, nihilominus tradidit eam illi, quamuis renuerat quantum posset: & duxerunt ambo in lecto, & posuerunt puerum super illam præcantem & clamantem & cogerunt eos commiscere coactione non conditionali, sed absoluta. Quamuis de iustitia facienda, vel peccato cauendo nullam habeant legem, nihilominus tamen habent aliquas traditiones, quas dicunt esse peccata: quas confinxerunt ipsi & patres eorum. Vnum est, cultellum figere in igne, vel etiam quocunque modo tangere cum cultello: vel cum cultello extrahere carnes de caldario: iuxta ignem etiam incidere cum securi. Credunt etiam quod sic auferri quat debeat igni. Item appodiare se ad flagellum, cum quo percutitur equus: Ipsi enim calcaribus non vtuntur. Item tangere flagellis sagittas. Item iuuenes aues occidere, vel accipere: cum fœno equum percutere. Item os cum osse alio frangere. Item lac vel aliquem potum vel cibum super terram effundere. In statione mingere, sed si voluntarie facit occiditur: si autem aliter, oportet quod pecunia soluatur incantatori, qui purificet eos: faciat etiam stationem & ea quæ in ipsa sunt inter duos ignes transire. Sed antequam sic purificetur nullus audet intrare vel aliquid de ipsa portare. Item si alicui morsus imponitur, & deglutire non potest, & de ore suo eijcit cum, fit foramen sub statione, & extrahunt per illud foramen, & sine vlla misericordia occiditur. Item si aliquis calcat limen stationis alicuius ducis interficitur eodem modo. Et multa habent similia, de quibus longum est narrare. Sed homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, res aliorum accipere, quocunque iniusto modo fornicari, alijs hominibus iniuriari, facere contra Dei prohibitiones & Dei præcepta, nullum est peccatum apud eos. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua, nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen quod post mortem in alio seculo viuant, greges multiplicent, comedant, bibant, & alia faciant, quæ in hoc seculo a viuentibus hominibus fiunt.

Martyrium Michaelis ducis Russiæ.

De superstitiosis traditionibus earum.

Ethnicorum.

Diuinationibus, augurijs, aruspicijs, veneficijs, incantationibus multum intendunt. Et cum a dæmonibus ipsis respondetur, credunt quod Deus ipsis loquatur, quem Deum vocant Itoga: sed Comani Cham, id est, imperatorem ipsum appellant, quem mirabiliter timent & reuerentur: acoblationes offerunt multas, & primitias cibi & potus. Secundum autem responsa ipsius faciunt vniuersa. In principio etiam lunationis vel plenilunio incipiunt quicquid nouj agere volunt. Vnde illam magnum imperatorem appellant, eique genua flectunt & deprecantur. Solem dicunt esse matrem lunæ, eo quod lumen a sole recipiat. Et vt breuiter dicam per ignem credunt omnia purificari. Vnde cum nuncij veniunt ad eos, vel principes, vel qualescunq; personæ, oportet ipsos & munera quæ portant per duos ignes transire, vt purificentur. Item si cadit ignis de cælo super pecora, vel super homines, quod ibidem sæpe contingit, siue aliquid talium euenerit eis, per quod immundos seu infortunatos se reputant, oportet similiter per incantatores mundari. Et quasi omnem spem suam in talibus posuerunt. Quando aliquis eorum infirmatur, ponitur in statione eius vna hasta, & contra illam filtrum circumuoluitur nigrum: & ex tunc nullus audet alienus postea stationum intrare. Et quando incipit agonizare, omnes recedunt ab eo; quoniam nullus de iis qui morti eius assistunt, potest ordam alicuius ducis vel imperatoris vsq; ad nouam lunationem intrare. Cum autem mortuus est, si est de maioribus, sepelitur occulte in campo vbi placuerit: sepelitur autem cum statione sedendo in medio eius, & ponunt mensam ante eum, & alueum carnibus plenum, & cyphum lactis iumentini: Sepelitur autem cum eo vnum iumentum cum pullo, & equus cum fræno & sella: & alium equum comedunt & stramine corium implent, & super duo vel quatuor ligna altius ponunt, vt habeat in alio mundo stationem vbi moretur, & iumentum de quo lac habeat, & possit sibi equos multiplicare, & equos etiam in quibus valeat equitare. Aurum & argentum sepeliunt eodem modo cum ipso. Currus in quo ducitur frangitur, & statio sua destruitur, nec nomen proprium eius vsque ad tertiam generationem audet aliquis nominare. Alius etiam est modus sepeliendi quosdam maiores. Vadit in campo occultè, & ibi gramina remouent cum radicibus, & faciunt foueam magnam, & in latere illius foueæ faciunt vnam sub terra, & illum seruum quem habet dilectum ponunt sub eo, qui iacet tam diu sub eo donec incipit agonizare, deinde extrahunt eum vt valeat respirare, & sic faciunt ter. Et si euadet, postea est liber, & facit quicquid ei placuerit, & est magnus in statione, ac inter parentes illius. Mortuum autem ponunt in foueam, quæ est in latere facta cum his quæ superius dicta sunt. Deinde replent foueam quæ est ante foueam suam, & desuper gramina ponunt, vt fuerant prius, ad hoc, ne locus vlterius valeat inueniri. Alia faciunt vt dictum est. In terra eorum sunt cœmeteria duo. Vnum in quo sepeliuntur imperatores, duces & nobiles omnes: & vbicunque moriuntur, si congruè fieri potest, illuc deferuntur. Sepelitur autem cum eis aurum & argentum multum. Aliud est in quo sepeliuntur illi qui in Hungaria interfecti fuerunt: multi enim ibidem occisi fuerunt. Ad illa cœmeteria nullus audet accedere præter custodes, qui ad custodiendum positi sunt ibidem. Et si aliquis accesserit, capitur, spoliatur & verberatur, & valde malè tractatur. Vnde nos ipsi nescientes intrauimus terminos cœmeterij eorum qui in Hungaria occisi fuerunt, & venerunt super nos sagittæ volantes: sed quia eramus nuncij consuetudinem terræ nescientes, nos liberos dimiserunt abire. Parentes autem & omnes alij qui morantur in stationibus suis oportet purificari per ignem: quæ purificatio fit hoc modo. Faciunt duos ignes, & duas hastas ponunt iuxta ignes, & vnam cordam in summitate hastarum: & ligant super cordam illam quasdam scissuras de buccharamo: sub qua corda & ligaturis inter illos duos ignes transeunt homines, bestiæ & stationes: Et sunt duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam projicientes, & quædam carmina recitantes. Et si aliqui currus ibi franguntur, vel etiam res ibi cadunt aliquæ, incantatores accipiunt. Et si aliquis occiditur a tonitruo, omnes illos homines qui morantur in stationibus illis, oportet prædicto modo ignes transire. Statio, lectus, filtra, currus, vestes, & quicquid talium habuerint, a nullo tanguntur, sed tanquam immunda ab omnibus respuuntur.

Cultus lunæ.

Ritus funebris.

Idem ritus sepeliendi fere in Florida.

Lustrationis ritus.

De consuetudinibus bonis & malis & cibis eorum. Cap. 4.

Dicto de ritu, dicendum est de moribus: de quibus tractabimus hoc modo. Primo dicemus de

de bonis, secundo de malis: tertio de consuetudinibus: quarto de cibis. Prædicti homines, scilicet Tartari sunt magis obedientes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui homines in hoc mundo, siue religiosi, siue seculares: & magis reuerentur eosdem: neq; de facili mentiuntur eis. Verbis ad inuicem rarò aut nunquam contendunt, factis verò nunquam. Bella, rixæ, vulnera, homicidia inter eos non contingunt. Prædones & fures magnarum rerum non inueniuntur inter eos. Vnde stationes & currus eorum, vbi habent thesaurum suum setis aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliquæ bestiæ perduntur, quicunque inuenerit eas vel dimittit sic esse, vel ducit eas ad homines illos, qui positi sunt ad hoc. Homines autem quorum sunt bestiæ apud eosdem illas requirunt, & absque vlla difficultate recipiunt illas. Vnus alium satis honorat: & ad inuicem sunt satis familiares: Et cibaria quamuis inter illos sint pauca, tamen inter se satis competenter communicant illa; & satis sunt sufferentes. Vnde quum iciunant vno die vel duobus diebus nihil comedentes omninò de facili non videntur impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt quasi comederunt bene. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, & calorem nimium patiuntur. Non sunt homines delicati. Inuidi ad inuicem non videntur. Inter eos quasi nulla pœna sunt: nullus alium spernit, sed iuuat & promouet quantum congruè potest. Mulieres eorum sunt castæ: nec de impudicitia earum inter eas aliquid auditur. Verba tamen quædam ex eis in ioco satis habent turpia & impudica. Seditiones verò inter eas rarò vel nunquam audiuntur. Et quamuis multum inebrientur, in ebrietate sua tamen verbis vel facto nunquam contendunt. Nunc de malis moribus eorum est supponendum. Superbissimi alijs hominibus sunt, & despiciunt omnes: ideò quasi pro nihilo reputant, siue nobiles sint, siue ignobiles. Vidimus enim in curia Imperatoris nobilem virum Ieroslaum, magnum Ducem Russiæ, filium etiam Regis & Reginæ Georgiæ, & Soldanos multos, duces etiam Soldanorum nullum honorem debitum recipere inter eos. Sed Tartari qui erant eis assignati, quantumcunq; erant viles, antecedebant eos, & semper primum locum & summum tenebant: immò sæpè oportebat eos post eorum posteriora sedere. Iracundi multum & indignantis naturæ sunt: & etiam alijs hominibus plus sunt mendaces, & fere nulla veritas inuenitur in eis. In principio quidem sunt blandi, sed in fine pungunt vt scorpio. Subdoli sunt & fraudulenti, & si possunt astutia circumueniunt omnes. Homines sunt immundi, sumendo cibum & potum, & alijs factis suis. Qui cum volunt aliquid mali facere alijs hominibus, miro modo occultant, vt præuidere non possint, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Ebrietas honorabilis est apud eos: & quum multum quis bibit, ibidem reijcit, nec propter hoc dimittit quin iterum bibat. Valdè sunt cupidi & auari, exactores maximi ad petendum: tenacissimi rétentores, & parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio pro nihilo est apud illos. Et, vt breuiter dicam, omnes mali mores eorum propter prolixitatē in scripto redigi non possunt. Cibi eorum sunt omnia quæ mandi possunt. Comedunt canes, cat. lupos, vulpes, & equos; & in necessitate carnes humanas. Vnde quando pugnauerunt contra quandam ciuitatem Kytaorum, vbi morabatur imperator ipsorum; eam obsederunt tam diu, quod defecerunt ipsis Tartaris omninò expensæ. Et quia non habebant quòd manducarent omninò, tunc accipiebatur de decem hominibus vnus ad manducandum. Abluuiones etiam quæ egrediuntur de iumentis cum pullis manducant. Imò vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare: vidimus etiam eos comedere mures. Mensalibus & manutergijs non vtuntur: panē non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud nisi carnes: & tam paucas habent, quòd aliæ nationes vix inde viuere possent. Cum pinguedine carnium multum polluunt manus: quando verò comederunt, tunc manus ad ocreas suas, vel ad gramina, vel ad aliquid talium tergunt. Solent etiā honestiores habere aliquos panniculos paruos, cum quibus vltimo tergunt manus, quando carnes manducarunt. Cibum vnus eorum incidit, & alius accipit cum puncto cultelli morsellos, & vnicuiq; prebet, quibusdā plus, quibusdam minus, secundum quod plus vel minus volunt eos honorare. Scutellas non lauant, & si aliquando cum brodio lauant carnium, iterum cum carnibus in olla reponunt. Ollas etiā vel caldaria, vel alia vasa ad hoc deputata si ablauunt, simili modo lauant. Apud eos est magnum peccatum, si de cibo vel potu perire permittatur aliquid. Vnde ossa, nisi priùs extrahatur medulla, dari canibus non permittunt. Vestes etiam non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec desinant. Lac iumentinum bibunt in maxima

Obedientia.

Abstinentia.

Comitas.

Temperantia.

Castitas mulierum.

Insolentia aduersus extraneos.

Iracundia.
Mendacium.

Fraudulentia.
Sordes.

Temulentia.

Effusio Crudelitas.

maxima quantitate si habent: bibunt etiam ouinum, caprinum, vaccinum, & camelorum. Vinum, ceruisiam, & medonem non habent, nisi ab alijs nationibus mittatur, vel donetur eisdem. In hyeme, nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinum non habent. Milliũ cum aqua decoquunt, quod tã tenue faciunt, quòd non comedere sed bibere possunt. Et vnus quisq; ex eis bibit cyphum vnum vel duos in mane, & nil plus in die mãducant. In sero vnicuiq; parum de carnibus datur, & brodium de carnibus bibunt. In æstate autem, quia tunc habent satis de lacte iumentino carnes rarò mãducant, nisi fortè donentur eis, aut venatione aliquam *Pœna adulterij.* bestiam ceperint, siue auem. Legem etiam siue consuetudinẽ habent occidendi virum & mulierem quos in adulterio inuenerint manifestè. Similiter & virginem si fornicata fuerit, mu- *Furti.* lierẽ occidunt & virum. Si aliquis inuenitur in præda vel in furto manifesto in terra potes- *Arcani euulgati.* tatis eorũ sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Item si aliquis eorum deundat cõsilium, maximè quando volunt ire ad bellum, centũ plagæ dantur super posteriora, quanto maiores dare cum baculo magno vnus rusticus potest. Item quando aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo à suis maioribus non parcitur eis, sed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Item inter filium concubinæ & vxoris nulla est differentia, sed dat pater vnicuiq; eorum quod vult, et si est de ge- *Πολυγαμία.* nere ducum, ita est dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius legitimus. Et cum vnus Tartarus habet multas vxores, vnaquæq; per se suam stationem, & familiam habet: & cum vna comedit, & bibit, & dormit vna die, & altera die cum alia. Vna tamen ex ipsis maior est inter alias, & frequentius cum illa quam cum alijs commoratur. Et cum tam multæ sint inter se tamen de facili non contendunt. Viri nihil operantur omninò exceptis sagittis: & etiam de gregibus aliquantulam habent curam, sed venantur, & exercent se ad sagittandum: Omnes enim à paruo vsque ad magnum sagittarij sunt & boni. Et statim pueri eorum, cum sunt duorum annorum vel trium, incipiunt equitare. Equos eorum regunt & currunt in eis: & dantur eis arcus secundùm suam ætatem, & instruunt ad sagittandum. Agiles enim sunt & audaces valdè. Virgines & mulieres equitant, & agiliter in equis currunt vt viri. Vidimus enim eas arcus & pharetras portare. Et tam viri quàm mulieres diu in equitando possunt durare. Breuissimas habent strepas: equos valdè custodiunt: imo rerum omnium sunt magni conseruatores. Mulieres eorum omnia operantur. Pellicia, vestes, calceos, ocreas, & omnia opera *Fœminæ Metæ incognitæ eodem modo vestiuntur.* quæ de corio fiunt. Currus etiam ducunt & reparant, camelos onerant, & velocissimæ sunt & strenuæ in omnibus operibus suis: fœmoralibus omnes vtuntur: aliquæ, sicut viri, sagittant.

De ipsorum Imperio. Cap. 5.

DIcto de eorum consuetudinibus, dicendum est de eorum imperio. Et primò de ipsius principio. Secundò de principibus eius. Tertio de dominio Imperatoris & principum. Terra quædam est in partibus Orientis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongol nominatur. Hæc terra quondam quatuor populos habuit. Et vnus Yeka-Mongol, id est, magni Mongali *Tartariæ populi.* vocabatur. Secundus Sumongol, id est Aquatici Mongali. Ipsi autem seipsos Tartaros ap- *Tartar fluuius.* pellabant, à quodam fluuio, qui currit per terram eorum, qui Tartar nominatur. Alius appellatur Merkat, quartus Metrit. Hij populi omnes vnam formam personarum, & vnam linguam habebant: quamuis inter se per principes & prouincias essent diuisi. In terra *Cyngis ortus & res gestæ.* Yeka-Mongol fuit qui vocabatur Cyngis. Iste incepit esse robustus venator coram Domino. Didicit enim homines furari, rapere, prædari. Ibat autem ad alias terras, & quoscunque potuit capere, & sibi associare non demittebat: homines verò suæ gentis ad se inclinabat, qui tanquam ducem ipsum sequebantur ad omnia malefacta. Hic autem incepit pugnare cum Sumongal, siue Tartaris, postquam homines aggregauerat sibi, & interfecit ducem eorum, & multo bello omnes Tartaros sibi subiugauit & in suam seruitutem redegit. Post hæc cum omnibus his pugnauit, cum Merkat, qui erant positi iuxta terram Tartarorum, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit: Inde procedens pugnauit contra Metritas, & etiam illos deuicit. Audientes itaque Naymani, quod Cyngis erat taliter eleuatus, indignati fuerunt. Ipsi enim ha- *Naymani.* buerunt Imperatorem, qui uerat strenuus valdè, cui dabant tributum omnes nationes prædictæ. Qui debitum vniuersæ carnis exsoluens, filij eius successerunt loco eius; sed iuuenes erant & stulti, & populum nesciebant tenere: sed inuicem diuisi erant & scissi: vnde medio

dio tempore Cyngis erat taliter exaltatus, nihilominus insultum faciebant in terras superius annotatas, viros & mulieres, & pueros occidebant, & capiebant prædam eorum. Cyngis hoc audiens, omnes sibi subiectos homines aggregauit. Naymani & Kara Kitai, id est, nigri Kitai, ex aduerso in quandam vallem strictam inter montes duos, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum transiuimus, similiter conueniunt: & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Kara Kitai a Mongallis sunt deuicti, & maior pars eorum occisa: & alij qui euadere non potuerunt in seruitutem redacti sunt. In terra autem prædictorum Kara Kytaorum Occaday can filius Cyngis can, postquam positus fuit imperator, quandam ciuitatem ædificauit, quam || Omyl appellauit. Propè quam ad meridiem est quoddam desertum magnum, in quo syluestres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nullo modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent iuncturas: & si quando cadunt, per se surgere sine adiutorio aliorum minimè possunt, aliquantam tamen habent discretionem. Mongali autem in terram eorum reuertentes se contra Kytaos in prælium præparauerunt, qui castra mouentes terram eorum intrauerunt. Imperator autem Kytaorum hoc audiens venit contra eos cum exercitu suo; & commissum est prælium durum; in quo prælio Mongali fuerunt deuicti: & omnes nobiles Mongallorum qui erant in prædicto exercitu fuerunt occisi vsque ad septem. Cyngis verò & alij qui remanserunt in terram suam fugerunt. Et quum aliquantulum quieuisset Cyngis, præparauit se rursus ad prælium & contra terram Huyrorum processit ad bellum. Isti homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum erant, quos etiam bello deuicit, & eorum literas acceperunt. Nam prius scripturam aliquam non habebant. Nunc autem eandem literam Mongallorum appellant. Inde processit contra terram Saruiuorum, & contra terram Karauitarum, & contra terram Voyrat, & contra terram Comana, quas terras omnes deuicit. Inde est in terram suam reuersus. Et cum aliquantulum quieuisset, conuocatis omnibus gentibus supradictis, contra Kytaos ad bellum processit, & cum diu contra eos pugnasset magnam partem terræ Kytaorum vicerunt: Imperatorem autem eorum concluserunt in sua ciuitate maiori: quam cum tam diu obsiderunt, quod exercitui defecerunt expensæ, & cum non haberent quod manducarent, præcepit illis Cyngis can, quod de decem hominibus vnum darent ad manducandum. Illi autem de ciuitate pugnabant viriliter contra illos sagittis & machinis: Et cum deficerent lapides, pro lapidibus proiecerunt argentum, & maximè liquefactum. Ciuitas enim hæc multis diuitijs erat plena. Et cum diu pugnassent, & eam bello vincere minimè possent, fecerunt vnam magnam viam sub terra ab exercitu vsque ad mediam ciuitatem, & aperientes subitò terram, eis nescientibus prosilierunt in medio ciuitatis, & pugnabant cum hominibus ciuitatis, & illi qui erant extra simili modo pugnabant, & concidentes portas intrauerunt ciuitatem: & occidentes Imperatorem & homines plures, ciuitatem possidebant: & aurum & argentum, & omnes diuitias abstulerunt. Et cum terræ prædictæ Kytaorum suos homines præfecissent, in terram propriam sunt reuersi. Et tunc Imperatore Kytaorum deuicto factus est Imperator. Quandam autem partem terræ Kytaorum, quæ posita est in mari, vsque in hodiernum diem nullatenus deuicerunt. Kytai autem, de quibus superiùs diximus, homines sunt Pagani, qui habent literam specialem: & habent nouum & vetus Testamentum; & habent vitas patrum, & Eremitas & domos quasi Ecclesias factas, in quibus orant temporibus suis: Et dicunt se quosdam sanctos, habere. Vnum Deum colunt: Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum honorant, & credunt vitam æternam, sed minimè baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant & reuerentur: Christianos diligunt, & Ecclesias faciunt plures. Homines benigni & humani satis videntur: barbam non habent, & in dispositione faciei satis concordant cum Mongalis, non tamen sunt in facie ita lati. Linguam propriam habent: meliores artifices non inueniuntur in toto mundo in omnibus operibus, in quibus solent homines exercitari. Terra eorum est opulenta valdè in frumento, vino, auro, argento, & serico, & omnibus rebus in quibus solet sustentari humana natura. Et cum aliquantulum quieuissent, suos exercitus diuiserunt. Vnum de filijs Tossuch nomine, quem etiam Can appellabant, id est Imperatorem, misit cum exercitu contra Comanos, quos multo bello deuicit: & postquam vicerat eos in terram suam reuertabatur. Alium etiam filium misit cum exercitu contra Indos; qui Minorem Indiam deuicerunt. Hij autem nigri sunt Saraceni, qui Æthiopes nuncupantur. Hic autem exercitus contra Christianos, qui sint in India maiori in pugnam processit.

Fratres discordantes oppressi.

Kara Kitai.

Occoday can.

|| Vel Chanyl.

Homines syluestres.

De morua victoria Mongalorum & Kytaorum.

Tartarorum Kytaina clades.

Nouæ victoriæ literæ.

Vel Saruiur.

Vel Karauitarum.

Vel Hudirat.

Argentum loco lapidum in hostem proiectum.

Kytai victi.

Cyngis salutatur Imperator.

Kythaiæ pars in mari posita.

Kytaorum litera & religione.

Opificiorum laus.

Thossuch can Cyngis filius Comanos deuicit.

India minor debellata.

Presbyter Ioannes: eiusdem stratagema.

cessit. Quod audiens rex terræ illius, qui vulgò Præsbyter Iohannes appellatur, venit contra eos exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum in sella posuit super equos, ponens ignem interius, & posuit hominem cum folle post imaginem cupream super equum: & cum multis imaginibus, & equis taliter præparatis venerunt contra prædictos ad pugnandum. Et cum ad locum prælij peruenissent, istos equos vnum iuxta vnum præmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retro, posuerunt nescio quid super ignem qui erat in prædicta imagine, & cum follibus fortiter sufflauerunt. Vnde factum est, quod de fumo illo aer est denigratus. Et tunc super Tartaros iecerunt sagittas, ex quibus multi interfecti & vulnerati fuerunt. Et sic cum confusione eos de finibus suis eiecerunt: Et nunquam audiuimus, quod vltra ad eos redierunt. Cum autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt in qua quædam monstra fœmineas imagines habentia reperierunt. Et cum interrogassent eas per multos interpretes vbi essent viri terræ illius, responderunt quod in illa terra quæcunque fœminæ nascebantur, habebant formam humanam: Masculi verò formam caninam. Et dum moram protraherent in terra prædicta, Canes in alia parte conuenerunt in vnum: Et dum esset hyems asperrima, se omnes proiecerunt in aquam: & post hæc incontinenti in puluerem mouebantur, & ita puluis admixtus aquæ super eos congelauit: & dum sæpè hoc fecissent, glacies densa facta est super eos: Vnde cum magno impetu cum Tartaris conuenerunt ad pugnam. At illi quum sagittas super eos iactabant, ac si super lapides sagitassent, retro sagittæ redibant: Alia etiam arma eorum in nullo eos lædere potuerunt. Canes verò insultum facientes in eos morsibus vulnerauerunt, multos etiam occiderunt, & ita eiecerunt eos de finibus suis. Et dum reuerteretur exercitus ille, venit ad terram Burutabeth, quos bello vicerunt: qui sunt Pagani. Qui consuetudinem mirabilem imo potius miserabilem habent. Quia cum aliquis patrum suorum humanæ naturæ debitum exsoluit, omnem congregant parentelam, & comedunt eum. Isti pilos in barba non habent: immo quoddam ferrum in manibus portant, cum quo barbam semper depilant, si fortè aliquis crinis crescit in ipsa: & multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde exercitus ille reuertebatur in terram suam. Cyngis can etiam eo tempore quo diuisit exercitus illos, misit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram Kergis, quos bello non vicit: & vsque ad Caspios montes peruenit, montes autem illi sunt de lapide adamantino. Vnde eorum sagittas & arma ferrea ad se traxerunt. Homines inter Caspios montes conclusos viderunt, qui iam montem fregerunt: sed nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, ad quam accedere non poterant vllo modo, quia statim moriebantur, cum perueniebant ad illam. Sed antequam peruenirent ad prædictum montem plusquam per mensem vastam solitudinem transierunt. Inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem plusquam per mensem per magnum desertum iuerunt. Et peruenerunt ad quandam terram, vbi viderunt vias tritas, sed nullum hominem poterant inuenire. Sed tantum quæsiuerunt per terram, quod inuenerunt hominem cum vxore sua; quos ante Cyngis can adduxerunt. Et cum interrogasset, vbi essent homines terræ illius, responderunt quod in terra sub montibus habitarent. At Cyngis can retenta vxore misit virum illum cum nuncijs suis mandans hominibus illis vt venirent ad mandatum ipsius. Illi verò euntes ad eos, narrauerunt omnia quæ Cyngis can mandauerat. Qui responderunt quod tali die venirent ad mandatum suum faciendum. Medio vero tempore congregauerunt se per vias occultas sub terra, & venerunt contra istos ad pugnandum: & irruentes subitò super eos plurimos occiderunt. At illi, Cyngis can videlicet & sui fugam ineuntes, terram exierunt prædictam. Illos tamen homines, virum scilicet & mulierem secum duxerunt, qui vsque ad mortem in terra Tartarorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò quare sub terra habitarent, dixerunt quod vno tempore anni quum sol oritur, tantus sonitus est, quod homines nulla ratione possunt sustinere. Immo etiam tunc percutiebant in organis & tympanis, & alijs instrumentis, vt illum sonitum non audirent. Et dum Cyngis de terra illa reuerteretur, defecerunt ei victualia & habebant maximam famem. Et tunc recentia interiora vnius bestiæ eos contigit inuenire: quæ accipientes, depositis tamen stercoribus decoxerunt; & coram Cyngis can portantes cum suis illa comedit. Et ex hoc statutum fuit ab eo, vt nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia quod manducari potest, exceptis stercoribus, proijciatur. Et deinde in terram propriam est reuersus: & ibidem leges & statuta multiplicia fecit, quæ Tartari non violabiliter obseruant. Ex quibus tantum duo dicemus. Vnum est, quod

Victoria de Tartaris.

De monstrosis mulieribus & canibus monstrosa narratio.

Glacies.

Burutabeth regio.

Incolarum mores.

Terra Kergis Orientalis.

Nota iter duorum mensium versus Orientem.

Trogladytæ.

Videtur hic sonitus fieri, & fragore glaciei, & ruinam de montibus.

Cyngis lex.

quod quicunque in superbia erectus, propria authoritate sine electione principum esse voluerit imperator, sine vlla miseratione debet occidi. Vnde ante electionem ipsius Cuyneh propter hoc vnus de principibus, nepos ipsius Cyngis can fuit occisus. Volebat enim sine electione regnare. Aliud statutum est, quod sibi debent subiugare omnem terram: nec cum aliqua gente debent pacem habere, nisi prius eis subdatur, quo vsque veniat tempus occisionis eorum. Debent enim occidi, vt prophetatum est eis: Et illi qui euadere poterunt, vt dicunt, debent illam legem tenere quam tenent alij, qui eos bello deuincunt. Statuit etiam quod per millenarios, & centenarios & Decanos debeat eorum exercitus ordinari. Post hoc ab ictu tonitrui est occisus, peractis suis ordinationibus & statutis. Hic autem habuit quatuor filios: Vnus vocabatur Occoday, secundus Tossuch can, tertius Thaaday: & nomen quarti ignoramus. Isti quatuor filij cum alijs maioribus qui tunc erant, primum filium videlicet Occoday elegerunt imperatorem, filij autem istius Occoday Cuyne, qui nunc est imperator, Cocthen & Cyrenee. Et si plures habuerit filios ignoramus. Filij autem Tossuch can Bati: iste est ditior & potentior post imperatorem: Ordu, iste est senior omnium ducum: Syban, Bora, Bercothauth: aliorum filiorum Tossuch can nomina ignoramus. Filij Thaaday sunt Burin & Chadan, nomina aliorum filiorum nescimus. Alterius autem filij Cyngis can, cuius nomen nescimus, filiorum nomina sunt Iæc. Vnus vocatur Mengu, cuius mater est Seroctan. Ista domina inter omnes Tartaros, excepta matre imperatoris, est magis nominata: & potentior est omnibus excepto Bati. Alius vocatur Becas. Alios filios habuit plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus. Hæc sunt ducum nomina. Ordu: iste fuit in Polonia & in Hungaria: Bati, Cathan, Syban, Bureth. Omnes isti fuerunt in Hungaria, Cyrpodan iste est adhuc vltra mare contra Soldanum Damasci. Isti remanserunt in terra: Mangu, Cuthen, Syrennen, Hybilay, Syremuth, Syhocur, Thuatamur, Cyragay, Sybedey, senex quidam miles inter eos, Bora, Berca, Mauci, Choranca: sed iste inter alios est minimus. Alij verò duces sunt plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus.

Interitus.

Iæc.

Nepotes.

Duces.

Imperator autè Tartarorum habet mirabile dominium super omnes. Nullus audet in aliqua parte morari, nisi ipse assignet ei. Ipse autem assignat vbi maneant duces: millenarij centenarijs, Centenarij decanis. Insuper quicquid præcipitur in quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, siue ad bellum, siue ad mortem, siue ad vitam, sine vlla contradictione obediunt. Etiam si petit filiam virginem vel sororem, sine contradictione dant ei. Aut singulis annis, aut intermissis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum. Si ipse vult sibi retinere aliquas retinet: alias dat suis hominibus, sicut videtur ei expedire. Nuncios quoscunq; quotcunq; & vbicunq; transmittit, oportet quod dent ei sine mora equos subdititios & expensas. Vndecunq; venerint ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet quod equi, currus, & expensæ similiter dentur eis. Nuncij qui veniunt aliunde in magna miseria sunt in victu pariter & vestitu: quia expensæ viles sunt & paucæ: & maximè cum veniunt ad principes, & ibi debent morà contrahere. Tunc ita parum datur decem hominibus, quod inde vix possint viuere duo. Nec etiam in curijs principum, nec in via datur eis comedere, nisi semel in die, & satis parum. Insuper si aliquæ iniuriæ sibi fiunt, conqueri de facili minimè possunt. Vnde eos oportet illa patienter portare. Insuper multa tà à principibus, quam ab alijs nationibus et minoribus ab eis exiguntur: & si non daretur, vili pendunt eos, immò quasi pro nihilo habent eos. Et si à magnis viris mittuntur, nolunt ab eis modicum munus habere: sed dicunt: A magno homine venistis, & cur modicum datis? & accipere dedignantur. Et si nuncij benè volunt facere facta sua, oportet eos dare maiora. Idcirco magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis à fidelibus erant datæ, oportuit nos de necessitate muneribus dare. Et sciendum, quod ita omnia sunt in manu imperatoris prædicti, quod nemo audet dicere, hoc est meum vel illius; sed omnia sunt Imperatoris, res, iumenta, & homines. Et super hoc etiam nuper emanauit Imperatoris statutum Idem dominium per omnia habent dūces super homines suos. Diuisi enim sunt homine Tartari, videlicet etiam alij inter duces. Nuncij etiam ducum, quocunque eos transmittunt, & homines tam Imperatoris quàm alij omnes equos subdititios & expensas, & qui equos custodiant, & etiam nuncijs seruiant sine contradictione dare tenentur. Imperatori autem iumenta vt habeat ex eis lac ad annum vel ad duos, vel ad tres, sicut placuerit ei, tam duces quàm alij pro redditu dare tenentur. Et homines ducum idem facere tenentur dominis suis. Inter eos enim

Imperatoris Tartarorum terrule in omnes imperium.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

enim nullus est liber. Et vt breuiter dicam, Quicquid Imperator & Duces volunt, & quantũ volunt de rebus suis accipiunt. De personis etiam eorum disponunt per omnia, sicut volunt. Mortuo Imperatore, sicut superius dictum est, conuenerunt Duces & elegerunt Occoday filium Cyngis can prædicti Imperatorem. Qui habito consilio principum diuisit exercitus. Bati, qui in secundo gradu attinebat ei, misit contra Altisoldanum, & contra terram Biserminorum. Hij erant Saraceni, & Komanicum loquebantur. Et cum intrasset terram illorum pugnauit contra eos, & bello eos sibi subiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas quæ ‖ Barthra dicitur, diu restitit ei, fecerant enim foueas multas in circuitu ciuitatis & operuerant illas; & quando illi veniebant cadebant in foueas. Vnde non potuerunt capere ciuitatem, donec illas foueas replessent. Homines autem de quadam ciuitate quæ vocatur ‖ lakint hæc audientes exierunt obuiam eis, se sponte in manus eorum tradentes: vnde ciuitas eorum non erat destructa, sed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios transtulerunt. Et accepto spolio ciuitatis, ipsam alijs hominibus repleuerunt. Et venerunt contra ciuitatem quæ vocatur Orna. Ista ciuitas erat nimium populosa: Christiani ibi erant plures; Gazari videlicet, Rutheni, & Alani, & alij: nec non & Saraceni. Saracenorum enim erat dominium ciuitatis. Hæc autem ciuitas erat diuitijs multum plena. Est enim posita super fluuium qui vocatur Don, qui intrat in mare. Vnde est quasi portus: & forum maximum habebant de illa ciuitate alij Saraceni. Et cum non possent aliter deuincere, præciderunt fluuium, qui currebat per ciuitatem, & illam cum rebus omnibus submerserunt. Quo facto: postea intrauerunt terram Tortorum, qui similiter sunt Pagani: quam deuincentes, iuerunt contra Russiam, & fecerunt magnam stragem in terra Russiæ, ciuitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt: etiam Kiouiam quæ erat Metropolis Russiæ obsederunt: & cum diu obsedissent, illam ceperunt, & occiderunt homines ciuitatis. Inde procedentes pugnando destruxerunt totam Russiam. De Russia autem & Comania processerunt duces prædicti, & pugnauerunt contra Hungaros & Polonos. Ex quibus Tartaris in Polonia & in Hungaria plures interfecti fuerunt. Et si non fugissent, sed viriliter restitissent, Hungari exiuissent Tartari de finibus suis: quia tunc habuerunt timorem, quod omnes fugere attentabant. Sed Bati vaginato gladio in faciem eis restitit, dicens: Nolite fugere: quia si fugitis nullus euadet: Et si debemus mori, moriamur omnes: quia futurum est, vt Cyngis can prædixit, quod interfici debeamus; Et si nunc est tempus, sustineamus. Et sic animati sunt & remanserunt, & Hungariam destruxerunt. Inde reuertentes iuerunt in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, & bello deuicerunt. Inde procedentes contra Bileros, id est Bulgariam magnam, & ipsam destruxerunt omnino. Inde procedentes ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bascart, id est, Hungariam magnam, & eos etiam deuicerunt. Inde egredientes iuerunt ad Aquilonem, & venerunt ad Parossitas qui habent paruos stomachos & os paruulum, nec manducant, sed decoquunt carnes: quibus decoctis ponunt se inter fumum & ollam, & recipiunt fumum, & de hoc solo reficiuntur: Sed etiam si aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum est. Inde procedentes venerunt ad Samogedos. Hij autem homines tantùm de venationibus viuunt: tabernacula & vestes habent tantummodo de bestiarum pellibus. Inde vltra procedentes venerunt ad quandam terram super Oceanum, vbi inuenerunt quædam monstra quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes desinebant in pedes bouinos, & faciem per omnia habebant vt canis: duo verba loquebantur more humano & tertio latrabant vt canis: & sic per interualla temporum latratum interponebant: tum ad naturam suam redibant: & sic intelligi poterat quod dicebant: Inde redierunt in Comaniam, & vsq; nunc quidam ex eis morantur ibidem. Cyrpodan vero eodem tempore misit Occoday can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, quos etiam bello deuicit. Hij autem homines sunt pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo est talis. Cum pater moritur alicuius, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; ad aurem de facie sua leuant. Quibus deuictis, ad meridiem iuit contra Armenos. Sed cum per deserta transiret, etiam quædam monstra effigiem humanam habentia inuenerunt: sed non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant; & duo sagittarunt cum vno arcu, & isti ita fortiter currebant, quod equi eos inuestigare non poterant. Currebant enim saltando super illum vnum pedem, & cum essent fessi taliter eundo, ibant super manum & pedem, remouendo se quasi rota; & sic cum essent fessi iterum currebant secundum modum priorem: aliquos

Occoday secundus Imperator Tartarorum.

‖ Barthra ciuitas vel Barchin.

Vel Sarguit.

Orna super Don fluuium.

Kiouia ciuitas.

Morduanorum terra.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitæ.

Samogedi.

Oceanus Septentrionalis. Similes Prodigheri hominibus.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Armeni.

Hij videntur sagittasse balistis.

aliquos tamen occidebant ex eis. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello vicerunt, & partem Georgiæ: & alia pars venit ad mandatum eorum; & quadraginta millia yperperorum singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc faciunt idem. Inde procedentes ad terram Soldani Deurum, qui erat satis magnus & potens, cum eo pugnauerunt & deuicerunt. Inde procedentes vltra debellando & vincendo vsq; ad terram Soldani Halapiæ & nunc terram illam impugnant: nec postea vsque in hodiernum diem in terram suam fuerunt reuersi. Alius exercitus iuit contra terra Calif de Baldach, quam sibi etia subdiderunt: Et quadraginta bisantia exceptis Baldachinis & alijs muneribus omni die dant pro tributi: Et omni anno pro Calif, vt ad eos veniat, nuncios mittunt: qui cum tributo munera magna mittit, rogans vt eũ supportent. Ipse vero imperator munera accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat mittit pro eo. Georgia. Terra Soldani Deurum. Terra Soldani Halapiæ.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prælijs. Cap. 6.

DIcto de imperio, dicendum est hoc modo de bello. Primo de ordinatione acierum. Secundo de armis. Tertio de astutijs in congressione, quarto de crudelitate quam faciunt in captiuos. Quinto de oppugnatione castrorum & ciuitatum. Sexto de perfidia quam exercent cum hijs qui se reddunt eisdem. De ordinatione aciorum dicemus hoc modo. Cingis can ordinauit, vt decem hominibus præponeretur vnus: & ille secundum nos appellatur Decanus. Decem autem Decanis præponeretur vnus, qui centenarius nuncupatur: Decem vero Centenarijs præponeretur vnus qui millenarius nuncupatur: decem millenarijs præponeretur vnus, & ille numerus vocatur tenebre apud eos. Cuncto vero exercitui præponuntur duo duces vel tres, ita tamen quod habeant respectum ad vnum. Cum autem omnes sint in bello si de decem hominibus fugit vnus vel duo, vel tres, vel etiam plures, omnes occiduntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, nisi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt occiduntur. Item si vnus vel duo aut plures audacter ad pugnam accedunt, & decem alij non sequuntur, etiam occiduntur. Item si vnus de decem vel plures capiuntur, & alij socij sui non liberant eos, etiam occiduntur. Duo arcus vel tres, vel vnum bonum ad minus, & tres pharetras magnas plenas de sagittis & vnam securim, & funes ad machinas trahendas habere debet vnusquisque. Diuites autem habent gladios acutos in fine, ex vna tantum parte incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos: & habent equum armatum, crura etiam tecta. Galeas & loricas quidam habent de corio in hunc modum formatas. Habent quasdam corrigias de boue ad latitudinem vnius manus, & bituminant tres vel quatuor simul, & ligant illos corrigiolis vel cordis. In corrigia superiori ponunt cordulas in fine; in inferiori ponunt in medio, & sic faciunt vsque ad finem. Vnde quum se inclinant in inferiores, corrigiæ superiores ascendunt & sic duplicantur super corpus, vel triplicantur. De coopertura equi faciunt quinque partes: ex vna parte faciunt vnam, ex alia parte faciunt aliam, quam partem ducunt à cauda vsq; ad caput: quæ ligantur ad sellam, & post sellam in dorso & etiam in collo, super renes etiam parte aliam ponunt, vbi duæ partium ligaturæ iunguntur: in qua pecia faciunt vnum foramen, per quod caudas exponunt: & ante pectus ponant etiam vnam: quæ omnes protenduntur vsque ad crurium iuncturas. Et ante frontem laminam ferream ponunt, quæ ex vtraque parte colli partibus præclictis ligatur. Lorica vero etiam quatuor partes habet, vna pars protenditur à femore vsque ad collum; sed est facta secundum dispositionem humani corporis: quia ante pectus est stricta: in rotundum obuoluitur circa corpus à brachijs inferius: Super humeros autem retro ad renes habent aliam peciam, quæ protenditur a collo vsque ad aliam peciam, quæ reuoluitur circa corpus: Super humeros autem istæ duæ pecie anterior videlicet & posterior, ad duas laminas ferreas quæ sunt in vtroque humero fibulis connectuntur. Et in vtroque brachio vnam habent peciam, quæ ab humero protenduntur vsque ad manus, quæ etiam inferius sunt aptæ. Et in vtroque crure vnam habent peciam: quæ pecie omnes fibulis coniunguntur. Galea autem superius est ferrea. Sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum & gulam de corio sit. Et omnes istæ pecie de corio sunt formatæ secundum modum superius annotatum. Quidam autem omnia quæ superius diximus habent de ferro in hunc modum formata. Vnam laminam tenuem ad latitudinem vnius digiti faciunt, & ad longitudinem palmæ vnius. Et in hunc modum faciunt laminas multas: & in vnaquaque lamina octo foramina pa-

ruula faciunt, & interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt, & laminas vnam super aliam ponũt, quasi ascendendo per gradus: & ligant laminas prædictas ad corrigias tenuibus corrigiolis, quas mittunt per foramina superius annotata: Et in superiori parte consuunt corrigiolam vnam, vt laminæ prædictæ bene & firmiter cohæreant sibi. Et faciunt ex laminis quasi corrigiam vnam, & postea ligant per pecias per omnia, sicut superius dictum est. Et ista faciunt tam ad equorum quam ad hominum armaturas. Et faciunt illa ita lucere, quod potest homo in eis faciem suam videre. Aliqui eorũ lanceas habent: & in fine ferri lanceæ vnum habent vncũ, cum quo trahunt hominem de sella si possunt. Longitudo sagittarum est duorum pedum & vnius palmæ, & duorum digitorum. Et quia diuersi sunt pedes, mensurã pedum geometricã ponimus. Duodecem grana hordei pollicis transuersio est. Sexdecem pollices transuersi faciunt vnum geometricum pedem. Ferramenta sagittarum sunt acutissima, & ex vtraq; parte incidentia quasi gladius biceps, & semper portant limas iuxta pharetram ad acuendum sagittas. Ferramenta prædicta caudam habent acutam ad longitudinem vnius digiti, quam imponunt in lignum. Scutum habent de viminibus vel de virgulis factum. Sagittas habent alias ad sagittandum aues bestias & homines inermes ad trium digitorum latitudinem. Sagittas alias habent diuersimodas ad aues & bestias sagittandas. Quum ad bellum procedere volunt præcursores præmittunt, qui nihil secum portant præter filtra sua, equos & arma. Isti nihil rapiunt, domos non comburunt, bestias non occidunt: Sed tamen homines vulnerant & mortificant, & si non possunt aliud, mittunt in fugam; multo libentius tamen occidunt, quam fugant, post istos sequitur exercitus, qui cuncta quæ inuenit accipit, & homines etiam, si inueniri possunt, accipiunt & occidunt. Quum autem ad flumina perueniunt, hoc modo transeunt illa etiamsi sunt magna. Maiores vnum rotundum & leue corium habent, in quo in summitate per circuitum crebras faciunt ansas, in quibus funem imponunt, & stringunt ita quod in circuitu faciunt quendam ventrem, quem replent vestibus, & alijs rebus, & fortissime comprimunt ad inuicem: post hoc in medio ponunt sellas & alias res duriores: homines autem in medio sedent: & ligant ad caudam equi nauem hanc taliter præparatam, & vnum hominum qui equum regat faciunt pariter cum equo ante natare: vel habent aliquando duos remos, & cum illis remigant vltra aquam, & sic transeunt fluuium. Equos vero pellunt in aqua, & vnus homo iuxta vnum equum, quẽ regit, natat: & alij equi illum sequuntur. Et sic transeunt aquas & flumina magna. Alij vero pauperiores vnam bursam de corio bene consutam vnusquisq; tenetur habere: in qua bursa vel in quo sacco vestes & omnes res suas imponunt; & in summitate saccũ fortissime ligant, & suspendunt ad caudam equi, & transeunt, vt supradictum est. Sciendum est, quod cum vident hostes tunc vadunt ad eos, & vnusquisq; iacit tres sagittas vel quatuor contra aduersarios: Et si vident quod eos superare non possunt, retro gradiuntur ad suos: Et hoc faciunt in fraudem, vt aduersarij eos sequantur ad loca vbi insidias paruerunt: Et si inimici eorum sequuntur ad prædictas insidias, circundant eos & sic vulnerant & occidunt. Item si vident quod magnus exercitus est contra eos, aliquando diuertunt ab eo per vnam dietam vel duas, & aliã partem terræ inuadunt & spoliant: & interficiunt homines, & terra destruunt & deuastant. Et si vident quod hoc etiã facere non possunt, cedunt retro ad decem vel duo decem dietas: aliquando etiã morantur in loco tuto, quousq; aduersariorũ exercitus separetur, & tunc furtim veniunt, & depopulantur totã terram. In bellis etiam astutissimi sunt: quia iam per quadraginta annos & amplius cum alijs gentibus dimicarunt. Cum autem volunt ad pugnam accedere, omnes acies ordinant sicut deberẽt pugnare. Duces siue principes exercitus bellũ non intrant, sed stant à longe cõtra inimicorũ exercitum, & iuxta se habent pueros in equis & mulieres & equos. Et faciunt aliquando imagines hominum, & ponunt super equos. Hoc ideo faciunt, vt multitudo magna bellantium esse credantur. Contra faciem equorum vnam aciem captiuorum & aliarum gentium quæ sunt inter eos transmittunt: & forsitan aliqui Tartari vadunt cum eis. Alias acies fortiorum hominum longe mittunt à dextras & à sinistris, vt non videantur ab aduersarijs suis: & sic circundant aduersarios & colligunt in medium, & pugnare incipiunt ex omni parte. Et cum sunt aliquando pauci, putantur ab aduersarijs qui circundati sunt, esse multi. Et maxime cum videant illos, qui sunt cum duce vel principe exercitus pueros & mulieres & equos, & homines fictos, vt dictum est supra: quos credunt esse pugnatores: & per hoc terrentur

Mor trauandi flumina.

terrentur & confunduntur. Et si forte aduersarij bene pugnant, faciunt eis viam vt fugiant: & statim cum fugere incipiunt, ab inuicem separati insequuntur eos, & plures tunc occidunt fuga, quàm mortificare possent in bello. Sciendum tamen est, quod si aliud possunt, non libēter cōgrediuntur, sed homines & equos sagittis vulnerant & occidunt. Munitiones in hunc modum expugnant. Si est talis munitio ipsam circundant, immo aliquando ita sepiunt, vt nullus ingredi vel exire possit. Expugnant fortissime machinis & sagittis; & nec die nec nocte cessant a prælio, vt illi qui sunt in munitionibus non quiescant. Ipsi Tartari quiescunt: quia acies diuidunt & vna succedit alteri in pugnā vt non nimiū fatigentur. Et si eam taliter habere non possunt græcū proijciunt ignem. Imo solent aliquando accipere aruinā hominum quos occidunt, & liquefactum proijciunt super domos: Et vbicunque venit ignis super pinguedinem illam, quasi inextinguibiliter ardet. Et si ita non præualent, & si ciuitas illa vel castrum habeat flumen, obstruunt illud, vel faciunt alium alueum & submergunt illam munitionem si possunt. Si autem non possunt suffodiunt illam, & sub terra armati in ipsam ingrediuntur. Et cum iam intrauerunt, vna pars ignem imponit vt comburatur: & alia pars cum illius munitionis hominibus pugnat. Si autem nec sic illam vincere possunt, castrum vel munitionem suam faciunt contra illam, vt ab inimicorum iaculis non grauentur, & contra illam multo tempore iacent: nisi forte exterius adiutorium exercitus qui pugnat cum eis adhibeat, & vi remouerant ipsos. Sed cum iacent ante munitionem blande eis loquuntur, & multa promittunt, ad hoc vt se in eorum manus tradant: Et si illi se eis tradiderint, dicunt: Exite, vt secundum morem nostrum vos muneremus. Et cum illi ad eos exeunt, quærunt qui sunt artifices inter eos, & illos reseruant: alios autem, exceptis illis quos volunt habere pro seruis cum securi occidunt. Et si aliquibus alijs parcunt, vt dictum est, nobilibus & honestis nunquam parcunt. Et si fortè aliquo casu contingente reseruant aliquos nobiles; nec prece nec precio vltra de captiuitate possunt exire. In bellis autem quoscunque capiunt occidunt, nisi forte velint aliquos reseruare vt habeant eos pro seruis. Occidendos autem diuidunt per centenarios, vt cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis. Ipsi vero post hoc diuidunt captiuos, & vnicuique seruo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures vel pauciores, secundum quod maioribus placet.

Qualiter munitiones obsident.

Punica fides.

De terris quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. Cap. 7.

SCripto quomodo pugnant, dicendum est de terris, quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. De quo isto modo scribemus. Primo dicemus quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem. Secundo de terrarum nominibus quas sibi subdiderunt. Tertio de tyrannide quam exercent in eis. Quarto de terris quæ viriliter restiterunt. Sciendum est quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, nisi subdentur eis, quia, vt dictum est supra, Cyngis can habent mandatum, vt cunctas si possunt sibi subijciant nationes. Et hæc sunt illa quæ petunt ab eis, vt vadant cum eis in exercitu contra omnem hominem quando placet, & vt dent decimam de omnibus tam de hominibus, quàm de rebus. Computant enim decem, & vnum accipiunt. De puellis faciunt illud idem, quos in terram eorum deducunt & tenent eos pro seruis: reliquos numerant & ordinant secundum morem. Sed quando plene habent dominium super eos, si aliquid promiserunt eis nihil obseruant: sed quascunque possunt congrue occasiones inueniunt contra eos. Nam cum essemus in Russia, missus fuit Saracenorum ex parte Cuynthcan vt dicebatur & Bati: & præfectus ille a quolibet homine qui habebat tres pueros vnum accipiebat: & quicunque viri non habebant vxores, illos deducebant, & faciebant de mulieribus etiam illud idem quæ viros legitimos non habebant. Pauperes etiam qui mendicando suum victum quærebant similiter deportabunt. Reliquos autem secundum eorum consuetudinem numerauit, præcipiens vt vnusquisq; tam paruus quam magnus, & infans vnius diei, siue pauper siue diues esset, tale tributū præberet: vt scilicet daret vnū pellem albi vrsi, & vnum nigrum castorē, & vnum Zabulum, & vnam nigram pellem cuiusdam animalis quod in terra latibulum habet, cuius nomen nescio in latinum transferre, sed Teutonice dicitur ‖ illit: Poloni autem & Rutheni appellant illam Dochon: & vnam nigram pellem vulpinam. Et quicunque ista non dat, inter Tartaros debet duci, & in eorum redigi seruitutem. Mittunt etiam pro principibus terrarum, vt ad eos veniant sine mora: & cum venerint, debitum honorem nullum recipiunt,

Vrsi albi.

‖ Vel illic.

Dochon.

recipiunt, sed habentur vt aliæ viles personæ: & oportet vt eis munera magna præsentent, tam ducibus quam vxoribus eorum, & officialibus, millenarijs & centenarijs. Imo omnes generaliter, & ipsi etiam serui ab eis cum magna importunitate munera quærunt: Et non solum ab ipsis, sed etiam à nuncijs eorum cum mittuntur. Aliquibus etiam inueniunt occasiones vt eos occidant. Sicut de Michaele & alijs actum est. Aliquos vero alliciunt, quos permittunt redire. Aliquos etiam potionibus perimunt vel veneno. Eorum enim intentio est, vt ipsi soli dominētur in terra. Idcirco quærunt occasiones contra nobiles, vt eos occidant. Ab illis vero quos redire permittunt petunt eorum filios aut fratres, quos vlterius nunquam dimittunt. Sicut factum est de filio Ieroslai, & de quodam duce Alanorum, & alijs plurimis. Et si moritur pater vel frater siue hæres, filium vel fratrem nunquam dimittunt: immo illius principatum totaliter accipiunt sibi. Sicut de quodam Solangorum vidimus esse factum. Baschathos suos ponunt in terris eorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet vt ad nutum tam duces quam alij debeant obedire. Et si homines alicuius ciuitatis vel terræ non faciunt quod volunt, isti Baschathi imponunt eis, quod sunt Tartaris infideles: & sic ciuitatem illam vel terram destruunt, & homines qui sunt in ea occidunt, per manum validam Tartarorum, qui ex mandato principis illius cui obedit terra illa veniunt eis nescientibus, & subito irruunt super eos: sicut nuper contigit cum in terra Tartarorum essemus de quadam ciuitate. Quod ipsummet de Ruthenis fecerunt in terra Comanorum. Et non solum princeps Tartarorum qui terram vsurpauit, sed præfectus ipsius, & quicunque Tartarus per ciuitatem illam siue terram transit quasi dominatur eidem, & maxime qui maior est apud eos. In super aurum & argentū, & alia quæ volunt & quando libet ad imperatore vadant Tartarorum ad placitandum. Sicut nuper contigit de duobus filijs regis Georgiæ. Vnus enim erat legitimus, & alter de adulterio natus, qui vocabatur Dauid: legitimus autem Melic vocabatur. Filio adulteræ terræ partem relinquebat pater. Alius vero, qui iunior erat, veniebat cum matre ad Tartarorum imperatorem, pro eo quod Dauid prædictus ad ipsum iter arripuerat veniendi. Mater alterius scilicet Melic regina Georgiæ per quam maritus tenebat regnum, quia per fœminas illud regnum tenebatur, mortua fuit in via. Illi autem cum venerunt dederunt maxima munera: & maxime legitimus filius, qui repetebat terram quam reliquerat pater filio suo Dauid, cum non deberet habere, quia adulteræ filius erat. Ille vero respondit: Licet sim filius concubinæ, peto tamen vt fiat mihi iusticia secundum legem Tartarorum, qui nullam differentiam faciunt inter filios legitimæ & ancillæ: vnde fuit data sententia contra filium legitimum, vt ille Dauidi qui maior erat subesset, & terram haberet quiete & pacifice, quam dederat ei pater: & sic donaria quæ dederat, & causam quam contra fratrem suum Dauid habuerat, amisit. Ab illis etiam nationibus quæ longe sunt ab eis, & coniunctæ sunt alijs nationibus quas aliquo modo timent, quæ non sunt eis subiectæ, tributū accipiunt & quasi misericorditer agunt cum eis, vt non adducant exercitum super eos, vel etiam vt alij non terreantur, se tradere eis. Sicut factum est de Obesis siue Georgianis, a quibus quinquaginta vel quadraginta millia, vt dictum est, yperperorum siue Bysantiorū accipiunt pro tributo: aliàs ad hoc in pace esse permittunt. Tamen, secundum quod intelleximus ab eis, rebellare proponunt.

Solangi. Bascha, vox Tartarica, qua vtuntur Turci.

Terrarum nomina quas vicerunt sunt hæc. Kytai, Naymani, Solangi, Kara Kytai, siue nigri Kytai, Comania, Tumat, Voyrat, Caraniti, Huyur, Soboal, Merkiti, Meniti, Baryhryur, Gosmit, Saraceni, Bisermini, Turcomani, Byleri, magna Bulgaria, Baschare, magna Hungaria, Kergis, Colona, Thorati, Buritabeth, Parossiti, Sassi, Iacobiti, Alani, siue Assi, Obesi siue Georgiani, Nestoriani, Armeni, Cangiti, Comani Brutachi, qui sunt Indæi, Mordui, Torci, Gazari, Samogedi, Perses, Thoas, India minor siue Æthiopia, Yrchasi, Rutheni, Baldach, Sarthi: Aliæ terræ sunt plures, sed earum nomina ignoramus. Vidimus etiam viros & mulieres fere de omnibus terris supra nominatis. Hæc autem sunt nomina Terrarum quæ eis viriliter restiterunt, nec sunt adhuc subditæ eis, India magna, Mangia; Quædam pars Alanorum, Quædam pars Kytaorum, Sayi. Quandam enim ciuitatem Sayorum prædictorum obsedederunt & debellare tentauerunt. At ipsi fecerunt machinas contra machinas eorum, & Tartarorum machinas omnes fregerunt, nec ciuitati appropinquare poterant ad pugnam contra machinas & balistas. Tandem vnā viam sub terra fecerunt, & prosiluerūt in ciuitatē, & alij tentabant incendere ciuitatē, alij pugnabant. Homines autem ciuitatis vnam partem populi ad ex-

Samogedi aquilonares.

Mangia.

ad extinguendū ignem posuerunt, & alia pars fortiter pugnabat cum his qui intrauerunt ciuitatem, & multos occiderunt ex eis, & alios vulnerauerunt, compellentes eos ad suos redire. At ipsi videntes quod nihil possent facere, & multi homines mortui essent, recesserunt ab eis in terra Saracenorū & aliorū vbi sunt quasi inter eos domini, accipiūt omnes artifices meliores, & in omnibus operibus suis ponunt. Alij autē artifices dant eis de operē suo tributum. Segetes omnes condunt in horreis dominorum: & vnicuique vnum pondus satis modicum dant in die: nihil aliud nisi ter in septimana modicum quid de carnibus eis prebent. Et illi hoc tantum artificibus faciunt qui in ciuitatibus commorantur. Item quando dominis placet iuuenes omnes accipiunt, & post se cum omnibus famulis suis ire cogunt: qui de cætero certo sunt numero Tartarorū: immo potius de numero captiuorū: quia etsi inter ipsos sunt numerati, non tamen habentur in reuerentia sicut Tartari; sed habentur pro seruis, & ad omnia pericula vt alij captiui mittuntur. Ipsi enim in bello sunt primi: Etiam si debet palus vel aqua periculosa transiri, eos oportet primo vadum tentare. Ipsos est etiam necesse operari omnia quæ sunt facienda. Ipsi etiam si in aliquo offendunt, vel si non obediunt ad nutum, vt asini verberantur. Et vt breuiter dicam, modicum quid manducant, & etiam modicum bibunt, & pessime indumentur: nisi forte aliquid possint lucrari, nisi sunt aurifabri & alij artifices boni. Sed aliqui tam malos dominos habent, quod nihil eis dimittunt, nec habent tempus præ multitudine operum dominorum, vt sibi aliquid operentur, nisi furentur sibi tempus, quando forsitan debent quiescere vel dormire. Et hoc si vxores vel propriam stationem permittuntur habere. Alij autem qui tenentur in domo pro seruis omni miseria sunt repleti. Vidi enim eos ire in bracis sæpissime, & toto corpore nudos in maximo solis ardore. Et in hyeme patiuntur maximum frigus. Vidimus etiam aliquos pedicas & digitos manuum de magno frigore perdidisse. Audiuimus etiam alios esse mortuos, vel etiam de magno algore quasi in omnibus membris inutiles esse factos.

Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris. Cap. 8.

DIcto de terris, quæ obediunt eis, supponendum est quomodo bello occurratur eisdem. Quod videtur nobis hoc modo dicēdum. Primo scribēdum est quid intendunt. Secundo de armis & ordinatione acierū. Tertio quomodo occurratur astutijs eorum in congressione. Quarto de munitione castrorum & ciuitatū. Quinto quid faciendum sit de captiuis eorum. Intentio Tartarorum est subijcere sibi totum mundum si possunt. Et de hoc Cyngischan habent mandatum, sicut superius dictum est. Idcirco eorum imperator sic in literis suis scribit. Dei fortitudo, Omnium imperator. Et in superscriptione sigilli sui hoc habet.

Dominus in cœlo, & Cuynch Chan super terram. Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum. Et ideo cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, vt dictum est, nisi forte se in eorum manibus tradunt. Et quia excepta Christianitate nulla est terra in orbe quam timent, idcirco se ad pugnam præpararunt contra nos. Vnde nouerint vniuersi quod nobis existentibus in terra eorum in solenni curia, quæ iam ex pluribus annis indicta erat, fuimus, vbi elegerunt Cuynch imperatorem in presentia nostra, qui in lingua eorum dicitur Chan. Qui Cuynch Chan prædictus erexit cum omnibus principibus vexillum contra ecclesiam dei & Romanum imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos occidentis, nisi forsan faceremt ea, quæ mandat Domino Papæ, & potentibus ac omnibus Christianorū populis Occidentis: quod nulla ratione faciendum est: tum propter nimiam seruitutem & intolerabilem, quæ est hactenus inaudita, quam vidimus oculis nostris, in quam redigunt omnes gentes sibi subiectas: tum propterea quod nulla in eis est fides: nec potest aliqua gens confidere in verbis eorum: quia quicquid promittunt non obseruant, quando vident sibi tempora fauere: & subdoli sunt in omnibus factis & promissis eorū. Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites de terra, vt superius dictum est: sed hoc faciunt subdole & artificiose in subditos suos: Tum etiam quia indignum est quod Christiani subdantur eisdem, propter abominationes eorum, & quia in nihilum redigitur cultus dei, & animæ pereunt, & corpora vltra quā credi possit multitudine affliguntur. In primo quidem sunt blandi, sed postea vt scorpio cruciant & affligunt. Tum quia pauciores sunt numero, & corpore debiliores quā populi Christiani. In prædicta autem curia sunt bellatores

bellatores & principes & exercitus assignati. De decē hominibus mittuntur tres cum familijs eorū, de omni terra potestatis eorū. Vnus exercitus debet intrare per Hungariam: secundus per Poloniā. Veniunt autem pugnaturi continue octodecem annis. Tēpus est etiam eis assignatum, In Martio An. Dom. 1247. si de terra sua mouebunt. Venient autem in tribus vel ‖ quatuor ‖ annis vsq; ad Comaniā. De Comania autē insultum facient in terras supērius annotatas. Hæc omnia firma sunt & vera, nisi dominus aliquod impedimentū pro sua gratia faciat eis. Sicut fecit quando venerunt in Hungariā & Poloniā. Debebāt enim procedere tunc pro certo triginta annis. Sed interfectus fuit tunc imperator eorū veneno: & propter hoc quieuerunt à prelijs vsq; nūnc. Sed modo, quia positus est imperator de nouo, iterum se de nouo ad pugnam incipiunt præparare. Adhoc sciendum est, quod imperator dixit ore suo, quod vellet mittere exercitum in Liuoniam & Prussiam. Et quoniam omnem terram volunt delere vel in seruitutem redigere, quæ seruitus est intolerabilis nostræ genti, vt superius dictum est: Occurrendum est igitur eis in bello. Sed si vna prouincia non vult alteri opem ferre, terra illa delebitur contra quam pugnant, & cum illis hominibus quos capiunt pugnabunt contra aliam terram; & in acie erunt primi. Si male pugnant occidentur ab eis. Si autem bene, ipsos cum promissis adulationibus tenent: & etiam vt ab ipsis non fugiant promittunt eis quod faciēt eos dominos magnos: & post hoc quando securi esse possunt de ipsis, vt non redeant, faciunt eos infœlicissimos seruos. Ac de mulieribus quas volunt in concubinas tenere pro seruitijs faciunt illud idem. Et ita cum hominibus deuictæ prouinciæ destruunt aliam terram. Nec est aliqua prouincia quæ per se possit resistere eis: quia de ordini terra potestatis eorum, vt dictum est, homines congregant ad bellum. Vnde si Christiani seipsos & suā terram, & Christianitatem volunt seruare, oportet quod in vnum conueniant reges, principes & barones, & terrarum rectores, & mittant de cōmuni consilio homines contra eos ad pugnā, antequam ipsi incipiant in terras diffundi. Quoniam postquam incipiunt spargi per terras, vndiq; homines quærunt, & nullus congrue auxilium alteri potest præbere: quoniam ipsi cateruatim vndiq; quærunt homines & occidunt. Et si claudunt se in castris, ponunt tria millia vel quatuor millia hominum contra castrum vel ciuitatem, q̄ ii obsideant eam; & ipsi nihilominus diffunduntur per terras homines occidentes. Quicunq; autem volunt pugnare cum eis, hæc arma debent habere. Arcus bonos & fortes, & balistas, quas multū timent, & sagittas sufficientes: & bonum dolabrū de bono ferro, & scutū cū longo manubrio. Ferramenta sagittarū de arcu vel de balista debent, vt Tartari, quando sunt calidi, temperari in aqua cum sale mixta, vt fortia sint ad penetrandum arma eorum. Gladios & etiam lanceas cum vnco, qui valeant ad trahendum eos de sellis: quia de eis facillime cadunt; ac cultellos ac loricas duplicatas; quia illos eorum sagittæ non penetrant: & galeā & arma alia ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum. Et si aliqui non sunt ita bene armati, vt dixi; debent ire post alios vt faciunt Tartari: & trahere contra eos de armis & sagittis. Nec debent parcere pecuniæ, quoniam comparent arma, vt possint animas & corpora, libertatem & res alias conseruare. Acies debent ordinari, vt ipsi, per millenarios, centenarios, & decanos & duces exercitus: qui duces nequaquam debent præsumi intrare, sicut nec duces eorum, sed debent exercitus videre & ordinare: legemquè debent ponere vt simul incedant ad bellum, siue aliàs, sicut sunt ordinati. Et quicunque relinquit aliū sine ad bellum procedentem, siue pugnantem, vel quicunque fugerit, nisi omnes communiter cedant, grauissime puniatur: quia tunc pars bellantium sequitur fugientes, & sagittis eorum occidunt, & pars cum his qui remanēt pugnant, & sic confunduntur & occidūtur remanentes & fugientes. Similiter quicunq; contrarium fuerit ad prædam tollendam, antequam omnino sit exercitus contrariorū deuictus, maxima pœna mulctetur. Talis enim apud Tartaros sine vlla misericordia occiditur. Locus ad præliandum est eligendus, si fieri potest vt campus sit planus, & possint vndique videre: & si possunt habeant syluam magnam a tergo vel a latere. Ita tamen quod non possunt intrare inter ipsos & syluam: nec debent simul omnes conuenire in vnum, sed facere acies multas, & diuersas ab inuicem, nec tamen multum distantes. Et contra illos qui post veniunt debent vnam aciem mittere qui eis occurrat. Et si Tartari simulant fugam, non ruātium vadant post eos, nisi forte quantum possunt videre, ne forte ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant, sicut facere solent: Et alia sit parata ad iuuandum aciem illam, si fuerit

‖ Forte mendose.

Tartari proponunt inuadere Liuoniam & Prussiam.

Temperamentum ferri.

fuerit opportunum. Insuper habeant speculatores ex omni parte, vt videant quando veniant aliæ acies Tartarorum retro, à dextris & à sinistris: & semper debent mittere aciem contra aciem quæ eis occurrat. Ipsi enim semper nituntur concludere aduersarios eorum in medio, vnde magnam cautelã debent habere ne hoc facere possint, quia sic exercitus facillime debellatur. Omnes acies hoc debent cauere, ne diu currant post eos, propter insidias quas solent præparare: plus enim fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Duces exercitus semper debent esse parati ad mittendum adiutorium, si necesse est, illis qui sunt in pugna, & propter hoc etiam debent vitare nimium cursum post eos: ne forte fatigentur equi eorum; quoniam nostri multitudinem equorum non habent. Sed Tartari illum quem equitant vna die, illum non ascendunt in tribus vel in quatuor diebus post hoc. Vnde non curant si fatigentur equi eorũ propter multitudinem quam habent. Et si Tartari cedunt, non tamen nostri debent recedere, vel ab inuicem separari: quia simulando hoc faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & post hoc terram libere ingrediantur, & eam destruant. Debent etiam cauere vt non faciant nimias expensas, vt solent; ne propter penuriam redire compellantur, & dent Tartaris viam, vt ipsos & alios occidant, & destruant omnem terram, & propter eorum superfluitatem nomen Domini blasphemetur. Et hoc debent facere diligenter: vt si contingat aliquos pugnatores recedere, quod alij loco eorum succedant. Duces etiam nostri debent die nocteque facere exercitum custodiri, ne repente & subito irruant super ipsos: quia Tartari vt dæmones, multas excogitant iniquitates & artes nocendi: Immo tam de die quam de nocte semper debent esse parati: sed nec spoliati debent iacere nec deliciose ad mensam sedere, ne imparati inueniantur, quia Tartari semper vigilant, vt possint nocere. Homines vero terræ qui Tartaros expectant, vel super se timent venire, occultas foueas debent habere, in quibus sagittas, & alia debent reponere, propter duo: vt videlicet Tartari non possint ea habere; & si propitius fuerit eis Deus, valeant ea postea inuenire; Eis fugientibus de terra, debent fœnum & stramina comburere, vt equi Tartarorum ad comedendum minus inueniant. Ciuitates autem & castra si volunt munire, videant prius qualia sint in situ. Situs enim talis debet esse in castris, quod machinis & sagittis expugnari nõ possit; & aquã habeant sufficientem & lignũ, & si fieri potest, quod introitus & exitus eis tolli non possit: & quod habeant homines sufficientes qui possint vicissim pugnare. Et debent vigilare diligenter ne aliqua astutia possint castrum furari. Expensas ad multos annos debent habere sufficientes: custodiant tamen diligenter illas, & in mensura manducent, quia nesciunt quanto tempore eos in castris oportet esse inclusos. Quum enim incipiunt, tunc multis annis obsident vnum castrum. Sic fit hodierna die in terra Alanorum de quodam monte, quem, vt credo, iam obsederunt per duodecem annos; qui viriliter restiterunt, & multos Tartaros & nobiles occiderunt. Alia autem castra & ciuitates, quæ talem situm non habent debent fortiter vallari foueis profundis munitis, & muris bene præparatis; & arcus & sagittas sufficientes: & lapides ac fundas debent habere. Et debent diligenter cauere, quod non permittant Tartaros ponere machinas suas; & suis machinis debent eos repellere. Et si forte aliquo ingenio vel arte erigunt Tartari machinas suas, debent eas destruere machinis suis si possunt. Balistis etiam, fundis & machinis debent re sistere ne ciuitati appropinquent. Aliàs etiam debent esse parati, vt superius dictum est. De castris & ciuitatibus, quæ sunt in fluminibus positæ, diligenter debent videre ne possint submergi. Sed ad hoc sciendũ est, quod Tartari plus diligunt, quod homines claudant se in ciuitatibus, quàm quod pugnent cũ eis in campo. Dicunt enim eos esse suos porcellos in hara conclusos. Vnde ponunt eis custodes, vt supradictũ est. Si autẽ aliqui Tartari de equis suis in bello proijciuntur, statim sunt capiendi: quia cum sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos & homines vulnerant & occidunt. Et si seruantur tales, potest esse, quod habeatur pro eis pax perpetua, aut pecunia magna redimantur: quoniã se adinuicem satis diligunt. Sed quomodo Tartari cognoscantur, superius dictum est vbi forma eorum fuit expressa. Tamen quando capiuntur, si debent seruari, ne fugiant diligens est custodia adhibenda. Sunt etiã aliæ multæ gentes cũ eis, quæ per formã superius annotatã possunt ab ipsis cognosci. Est etiam hoc sciendum, quod multi in exercitu eorum sunt, qui si viderent tempus, & haberẽt fiduciam, quod nostri non occiderent

Speculatores.

Obsidio 12. annorum.

eos, ex omni parte exercitus, sicut ipsimet nobis dixerunt, pugnarent eũ eis, & plura mala facerent ipsis, quàm alij, qui sunt eorum aduersarij manifesti.

THe long and wonderful voyage of Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent ambassadour by Pope Innocentius the iiii. An. Do. 1246. to the great CAN of Tartaria: wherin he passed through Bohemia, Polonia, Russia, and so to the citie of Kiow vpon Boristhenes, and from thence rode continually post for the space of sixe moneths through Comania, ouer the mighty and famous riuers of Tanais, Volga, and Iaic, & through the countries of the people called Kangittæ, Bisermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani, & so to the natiue countrie of the Mongals or Tartars, situate in the extreme Northeasterne partes of all Asia: and thence backe againe the same way to Ruſſia, and Polonia, and so to Rome; spending in the whole voyage among the sayd Tartars one whole yeere & aboue foure moneths: Taken out of the 32. booke of Vincentius Beluacensis his Speculum historiale.

LIBRI XXXII.

De prima missione Fratrum Prædicatorum & Minorum ad Tartaros. Cap. 2.

Ascelinus. ¶ Vide Matthæũ lib. 2. cap. 5.

HOc etiam tẽpore misit Innocentius IIII. Papa Fr. Ascelinũ de ordine Prædicatorũ cũ tribus alijs Fratribus, auctoritate, qua fungebantur, de diuersis, ordinis sui conuentibus sibi associatis, cum literis Apostolicis ad exercitũ Tartarorũ, in quibus hortabatur eos, vt ab hominũ strage desisterent, & fidei veritatẽ reciperent. Et ego quidẽ ab vno Fratrum Prædicatorũ, videlicet à Fr. Simone de S. Quintino, iam ab illo itinere regresso, gesta Tartarorũ accepi, illa duntaxat, quæ superius per diuersa loca iuxta congruentiã temporũ huic operi inserui. Siquidẽ & eo tempore quidã Frater ordinis Minorũ, videlicet Fr. Iohannes de Plano Carpini, cum quibusdam alijs missus fuit ad Tartaros, qui etiam, vt ipse testatur, per annum & quatuor menses & amplius cum eis mansit, & inter eos ambulauit. A summo namq; Pontifice mandatũ, vt omnia, quæ apud eos erant, diligenter scrutaretur, acceperat, tam ipse, quàm Fr. Benedictus Polonus eiusdem ordinis, qui suæ tribulationis particeps & socius erat. Et hic erge Fr. Ioannes de his, quæ apud Tartaros vel oculis proprijs vidit, vel à Christianis fide dignis, qui inter illos captiui erant, audiuit, libellum historialem conscripsit, qui & ipse ad manus nostras peruenit. De quo etiam hic quasi per epilogum inserere libet aliqua, videlicet ad supplementum eorum, quæ desunt in prædicta Fr. Simonis historia.

Simon Sanquintinensis.

Ioannes de Plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

Libellus historialis Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De situ & qualitate terræ Tartarorum. Cap. 3.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini.

Tartariæ descriptio.

ESt in partibus Orientis terra, quæ Mongal sive Tartaria dicitur, in ea scilicet parte sita, in qua Oriens Aquiloni coniungi creditur. Ab Oriente quidem habet terram Kythaorum & etiam Solangorum, à meridie verò terrã Sarracenorum. Inter ¶ Orientẽ & meridiem terram Huynorum, & ab Occidente prouinciam Naymanorum, ab Aquilone verò circundatur Oceano. In parte aliqua nimium est montuosa, & in aliqua campestris, sed tota ferè admixta glarea plurimum arenosa, nec est in centesima parte fructuosa. Nec enim potest fructum portare, nisi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur, quæ ibi sunt rarissimæ. Inde nec villæ nec aliquæ ciuitates ibidẽ reperiuntur, excepta vna, quæ Cracurim appellatur, & satis bona esse dicitur. Nos quidem illam non vidimus, sed ad dimidiam dietam prope fuimus, cùm apud Syram ordam, quæ curia maior Imperatoris eorum est, essemus. Licet autem aliàs infructifera sit illa terra, tamen alendis pecoribus est apta. In aliqua eius parte sunt aliquæ syluæ modicæ, alia verò sine lignis est omninò. Itaque tam Imperator quàm Principes, & omnes alij sedent, & cibaria sua decoquunt ad focum, de boum & equorum stercoribus factum. Ipse quoq; aër inordinatus est ibidem mirabiliter. In media siquidem æstate ibi tonitrua magna & fulgura fiunt, ex quibus plurimi occiduntur homines, & eodem quoq; tempore cadunt ibidem maximæ niues. Sunt & ibi ventorum frigidissimorum tam maximæ tempestates, quòd aliquando vix possunt equitare homines. Vnde cùm ante ordam essemus (sic enim apud eos stationes Imperatoris

¶ Vel Occidentem.

Syra orda.

Aëris intemperies.

Orda quid.

peratoris & Principum appellantur) præ ventî magnitudine in terra prostrati iacebamus, & videre propter pulueris magnitudinẽ minimè poteramus. Nunquam ibi pluit in hyeme, sed frequenter in æstate, & tam modicum, vt vix posset aliquando pulueremꝫ radicem graminum madefacere. Ibi quoq; maxima grando cadit sæpè. Vnde cùm Imperator electus in sede regni debuit poni, nobis in curia tunc existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione plusquam CLX. homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res etiam & habitacula plura fuerunt deducta. Ibi etiam est in æstate subitò calor magnus, & repentè maximum frigus.

De forma & habitu & victu eorum. Cap. 4.

MOngalorum autem siue Tartarorum forma ab omnibus alijs hominibus est remota. Inter oculos enim, & inter genas, lati sunt pũs cæteris, genæ quoq; satis prominent à maxillis. Nasum habent planum & modicum, oculos etiam paruos, & palpebras vsq; ad supercilia eleuatas, ac super verticem in modum Clericorum coronas. Ex vtraq; parte frontis tondendo, plusquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem sicut mulieres crescere permittunt. De quibus duas cordas faciunt, & vnamquamq; post aurem ligant. Pedes quoq; modicos habent. Vestes tam virorum quàm mulierum vno modo formatæ sunt. Pallijs vel cappis vel caputijs non vtuntur. Tunicas verò miro modo formatas portant de buccarano, vel purpurato, vel baldaquino. Pellicium habet pilos exterius, sed apertum est à posterioribus. Habet tamen caudulam vnam vsq; ad genua retrò. Vestes suas non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè à tempore, quo tonitrua incipiunt, vsquequo desinat illud tempus. Stationes habent rotundas in modum tentorij de virgulis & baculis subtilibus præparatas. Supra verò in medio rotundam habent fenestram, vnde ingrediatur lumen, & fumus exire possit: quia semper in medio faciunt ignem: parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt operta. Ostia quoq; de filtro sunt facta. Harum quædam subitò soluuntur, & reparantur, & super summarios deferuntur: quædam verò dissolui non possunt sed in curribus portantur. Et quocunq; siue ad bellum siue alias vadunt, semper illas secum deferunt. In animalibus valde diuites sunt, vt in Camelis & bobus, capris & ouibus. Iumenta & equos habent in tanta multitudine, quantam non credimus totum mundi residuum habere. Porcos autẽ & alias bestias non habent. Imperator ac Duces atq; alij magnates in auro & argento ac serico & gemmis abundant. Cibi eorũ sunt omnia, quæ mundi possunt. Vidimus eos etiã manducare pediculos. Lac bibũt animaliũ, & in maxima quantitate, si habent, iumentinũ. Porro in hyeme, qũa nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinũ non habent, millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, vt illud bibere valeant. Vnde quilibet eorũ scyphum bibit vnũ vel duos in mane, & quandoq; nihil amplius manducant in die. In sero autem vnicuiq; datur de carnibus modicũ, & bibunt ex eis brodium. Porrò in æstate quando satis habent de lacte iumentino, carnes comedunt rarò, nisi fortè donẽtur eisdẽ, aut venatione bestiã aliquam ceperint vel auem.

Tartarorum species.

Vestes.

Habitus.

Vestes tectæ caudatæ.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

Victus.

De moribus eorum bonis & malis. Cap. 5.

HAbent autem mores quosdam quidem commendabiles, & quosdam detestabiles. Magis quippe sunt obedientes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui qui in mundo sint homines, siue religiosi siue seculares. Nam eos maximè reuerentur, nec illis de facili mentiuntur verbis factisue: rarò vel nunquam ad inuicem contendunt, belláq; vel rixæ, vulnera vel homicidia nunquam inter eos contingunt. Prædones etiam ac fures rerum magnarũ ibi nequaquã inueniuntur, ideoq; stationes & currus eorũ, vbi thesauros habent, seris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliqua bestia perdita fuerit, quicunq; inuenit eam vel dimittit, vel ad illos, qui ad hoc positi sunt, eam ducit. Apud quos ille, cuius est bestia, illam requirit, & absq; vlla difficultate recipit. Vnus alium satis honorat, & familiaritatẽ ac cibaria, quamuis apud eos sint pauca, liberaliter satis communicat. Satis etiã sunt sufferentes, nec cùm ieiunauerint vno die, vel duobus, omninò sine cibo, videntur impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt, ac si bene comedissent. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, calorem quoq; nimium patiuntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt, & quamuis multum inebrientur, tamen in ebrietate sua nunquam contendunt. Nullus alium spernit, sed iuuat & promouet, quantum congruè potest. Castæ sunt eorum mulieres,

Mores.

Abstinentia.

Comitas.

Temperantia.

Castitas.

mulieres, nec aliquid inter eos auditur de ipsarum impudicitia. Quædam tamen ex ijs verba turpia satis habent & impudica. Porrò erga cæteros homines ijdem Tartari superbissimi sunt, omnesq; nobiles & ignobiles quasi pro nihilo reputantes despiciunt. Vnde vidimus in curia Imperatoris magnum Russiæ ducem, & filium regis Georgianorum, ac Soldanos multos & magnos nullum honorem debitum recipere apud eos. Quinetiam Tartari eisdem assignati, quantumcunq; viles essent illos antecedebant, sempérq; primum locum & summum tenebant, imò etiam sæpè oportebat illos post eorū posteriora sedere. Præterea iracundi sunt, & indignantis naturæ multum erga cæteros homines, & vltra modum erga eosdem mendaces. In principio quidē blandi sunt, sed postmodum vt Scorpiones pungunt. Subdoli enim & fraudulenti sunt, & omnes homines si possunt astutia circumueniunt. Quicquid mali volunt eis facere, miro modo occultant, vt sibi non possint prouidere, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Immundi quoq; sunt in cibo & potu sumendis, & in cæteris factis suis. Ebrietas apud illos est honorabilis: cúmq; multum aliquis biberit, ibidémq; reijcit, non ideo cessat, quin iterum bibat. Ad petendum maximi sunt exactores, tenacissimi retentores, parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio apud illos est pro nihilo.

Insolentia aduersus exteros.

Iracundia.

Fraudulentia.

Sordes.

Temulentia.

Δωρεδοκία.

De legibus & consuetudinibus eorum. Cap. 6.

HOc autem habent in lege siue consuetudine, vt occidant viros & mulieres, si quando inueniantur in adulterio manifestè. Similiter etiam virginem, si fornicata fuerit cum aliquo, occidunt eam cum eo. Præterea si aliquis in præda vel furto manifesto inuenitur, sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Item si quis denudauit consilia, maximè quando volunt ad bellum procedere, dantur ei super posteriora centum plagæ, quanto maiores vnus rusticus cum magno baculo potest dare. Similiter cùm aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo, non eis à maioribus suis parcitur, sed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Matrimonio autem generaliter coniunguntur omnibus, etiam propinquis carne, excepta matre & filia & sorore ex eadem matre. Nam sororem tantùm ex patre, & vxorem quoq; patris, post eius mortem solent ducere. Vxorē etiam fratris alius frater iunior, post eius mortem, vel alius de parentela, tenetur ducere. Vnde dum adhuc essemus in terra, Dux quidam Russiæ, Andreas nomine, apud Baty, quòd equos Tartarorum de terra educeret, & alijs venderet, accusatus est: quod licet non esset probatum, occisus est. Hoc audiens iunior frater, & vxor occisi, pariter venerunt ad præfatum Ducem, supplicare volentes, ne terra auferretur eisdem. At ille paruo præcepit, vt fratris defuncti duceret vxorem, mulieri quoq; vt illum in virum duceret, secundum Tartarorum consuetudinē. Quæ respondit, se potius occidi velle, quàm sic contra legem facere. At ille nihilominus eam illi tradidit quamuis ambo renuerent, quantum possent. Itáq; ducentes eos in lectum, clamantem puerum & plorantē super illam posuerunt, ipsósq; commisceri pariter coëgerunt. Deníq; post mortem maritorum, vxores Tartarorum non de facili solent ad secunda coniugia transire, nisi fortè quis velit sororiam aut nouercam suam ducere. Nulla verò differentia est apud eos inter filiū vxoris & concubinæ, sed dat pater quod vult vnicuiq;. Itáq; si sunt etiam ex Ducum genere, ita fit Dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius vxoris legitimæ. Vnde cùm rex Georgiæ duos filios nuper, vnum scilicet nomine Melich legitimum, alterum verò Dauid ex adulterio natum haberet, moriensq; terræ partem adulteræ filio reliquisset, Melich, cui etiam ex parte matris regnum obuenerat, quia per fœminas tenebatur, perrexit ad Imperatorem Tartarorum, eo quòd & Dauid iter arripuerat ad illum. Ambobus igitur ad curiam venientibus, datísq; maximis muneribus, petebat adulteræ filius, vt fieret ei iustitia secundum morem Tartarorum. Datáq; est sententia contra Melich, vt Dauid, qui maior erat natu, subesset, ac terrā à patre sibi concessam quietè ac pacificè possideret. Cúmq; Tartarorum vnus habet vxorum multitudinem, vnaquæq; per se suam habet familiam & stationem. Et vna die Tartarus comedit & bibit & dormit cum vna, altera die cum alia. Vna tamen inter cæteras maior habetur, cum qua frequentius quā cum alijs commoratur. Et licet, vt dictum est, sint multæ, nunquam tamen de facili contendunt inter se.

Pœna adulterij.

Furti.

Arcani euulgati.

Leges matrimoniorum.

Andreas Dux Russiæ.

¶ Vide Herbersteinium de rebus Moschoui. pag. 8. b.

Melich & Dauid fratres Georgiani.

στολ. γαμία.

De superstitiosis traditionibus ipsorum. Cap. 7.

QVibusdam verò traditionibus indifferentia quædā esse peccata dicunt, quas vel ipsi vel antecessores

Ἰδιολοδρησκεία.

antecessores eorum confinxerunt. Vnum est, cultellum in ignem figere, vel quocunq; modo ignem cultello tangere, vel etiam de caldaria cum cultello carnes extrahere, vel cum securi iuxta ignem incidere. Credunt enim, quòd sic auferri debeat caput igni. Aliud est appodiare se ad flagellum, quo percutitur equus: ipsi enim non vtuntur calcaribus. Item flagello sagittas tangere, iuuenes aues capere vel occidere, cum fræno equum percutere, os cum osse alio frangere. Itémq; lac, vel aliquem potum aut cibum super terram effundere, in statione mingere. Quod si voluntariè facit, occiditur, si autem aliter, oportet quòd pecuniam multā incantatori soluat, à quo purificetur. Qui etiam faciat, vt statio cum omnibus, quæ in ipsa sunt, inter duos ignes transeat. Antequam sic purificetur, nullus audet intrare, nec aliquid de illa exportare. Præterea si alicui morsellus imponitur, quem deglutire non possit, & illum de ore suo eijcit, foramen sub statione fit, per quod extrahitur, ac sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Iterum si quis calcat super limen stationis Ducis alicuius, interficitur. Multa etiam habent his similia, quæ reputant peccata. At homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, ac res illorum diripere, & contra Dei præcepta vel prohibitiones facere, nullum apud eos est peccatum. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen, quòd post mortem in alio seculo viuant, gregésque multiplicent, comedant & bibant, & cætera faciant, quæ hîc à viuentibus fiunt. In principio lunationis vel in plenilunio incipiunt, quicquid noui agere volunt, ipsámq; Lunam Imperatorem magnum appellant, eámq; deprecantes genua flectunt. Omnes, qui morantur in stationibus suis, oportet per ignem purificari. Quæ scilicet purificatio fit hoc modo. Duos quidem ignes faciunt, & duas hastas iuxta eos, vnamq; cordam in summitate hastarum ponunt. Ligántq; super cordam illam quasdam de Bucaramo scissiones, sub qua scilicet corda & ligaturis inter illos ignes transeunt homines, ac bestiæ ac stationes. Sunt etiam duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, ac quædam carmina recitantes. Cæterum si aliquis à fulgure occiditur, oportet prædicto modo per ignes transire omnes illos, qui in illis stationibus morantur. Statio siquidem ac lectus & currus, filtra & vestes, & quicquid talium habent, à nullo tanguntur, sed ab hominibus tanquam immunda respuuntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, omnia purificari credunt per ignem. Vnde quando veniunt ad eos nuncij, vel Principes, aut qualescunq; personæ, oportet ipsos & munera sua per duos ignes, vt purificentur, transire, ne fortè veneficia fecerint, aut venenum seu aliquid mali attulerint.

ἀδίκτης.

Cultus lunæ.

Lustrationis ritus.

Ignis superstitiosa efficacitas.

De initio imperij siue Principatus eorum. Cap. 8.

TErra quidem illa Orientalis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongal nominatur, quatuor quondam habuisse populos memoratur. Vnus eorum Yeka Mongal, id est, magni Mongali vocabantur. Secundus Sumongal, id est, aquatici Mongali, qui seipsos appellabant Tartaros, à quodam fluuio per eorum terram currente, qui Tartar nominatur. Tertius appellabatur Merkat. Quartus verò Metrit. Omnes vnam personarum formam & vnam linguam habebant hi populi, quamuis inter se per Principes ac prouincias essent diuisi. In terra Yeka Mongal quidam fuit, qui vocabatur Chingis. Iste cœpit robustus venator esse: didicit enim homines furari, & prædam capere. Ad alias terras ibat, & quoscunque poterat, captiuabat, sibíq; associabat. Homines quoque suæ gentis inclinauit ad se, qui tanquam Ducem sequebantur ipsum ad malè agendum. Cœpit autem pugnare cum Sumongal, siue cum Tartaris, & Ducem eorum interfecit, multóq; bello sibi Tartaros omnes subiecit, & in seruitutem redegit. Post hæc cum istis omnibus contra Merkatas, iuxta terram positos Tartarorum pugnauit, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit. Inde procedens contra Metritas pugnā exercuit, & illos etiam obtinuit. Audientes Naymani, quòd Chingis taliter eleuatus esset, indignati sunt. Ipsi enim habuerant Imperatorem strenuum valdè, cui dabant tributum cunctæ nationes prædictæ. Qui cùm esset mortuus, filij eius successerunt loco ipsius. Sed quia iuuenes ac stulti erant, populum tenere nesciebant, sed ad inuicem diuisi ac scissi erant. Vnde Chingi prædicto modo iam exaltato, nihilominus in terras prædictas faciebant insultum, & habitatores occidebant, ac diripiebant prædam eorum. Quod audiens Chingis, omnes sibi subiectos congreganit. Naymani & Karakytay ex aduerso similiter in quandam vallem strictam conuenerunt, & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Karakytay à Mongalis deuicti sunt.

Tartariæ populi.

Chingis ortus & res gestæ.

Naymani.

¶ Infra cap. 25.

Fratres discordantes oppressi.

Qui

Qui etiam pro maiori parte occisi fuerunt, & alij, qui euadere non potuerunt, in seruitutem redacti sunt. In terra prædictorū Karakytaorum Occoday Cham, filius Chingischam, postquā imperator fuit positus, quandā ciuitatem ædificauit, quā Chanyl appellauit. Prope quam ad Meridiem est quoddā desertum magnū, in quo pro certo syluestres homines habitare dicuntur, qui nullatenus loquuntur, nec iuncturas in cruribus habent, & si quando cadunt, per se surgere non valent. Sed tamen discretionem tantam habent, quòd filtra de lana Camelorum, quibus vestiuntur, faciunt & contra ventum ponunt. Et si quando Tartari pergentes ad eos vulnerant eos sagittis, gramina in vulneribus ponunt, & fortiter ante ipsos fugiunt.

Occoday Cham.

Homines syluestres.

De mutua victoria ipsorum & Kythaorum. Cap. 9.

MOngali autem in terram suam reuertentes, se contra * Kythaos ad prælium parauerunt, & castra mouentes, eorum terram intrauerunt. Quod audiens eorum Imperator, venit cum exercitu suo contra illos, & commissum est prælium durū, in quo Mongali sunt deuicti, omnésq; nobiles eorum, qui erant in exercitu, præter septem occisi sunt. Vnde cùm illis volentibus aliquam impugnare regionē, minatur aliquis stragem, adhuc respondent: Olim etiam occisi non nisi septem remansimus, & tamen modò creuimus in multitudinem magnam, ideóq; non terremur de talibus. Chingis autem & alij, qui remanserunt, in terram suam fugerunt. Cúmq; quieuisset aliquantulum, præparauit se rursus ad prælium, & processit contra terram Huyrorum. Isti sunt homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum. Et hos etiam Mongali deuicerunt, eorúmq; literam acceperunt; prius enim scripturam non habebant, nunc autem eandem Mongalorum literam appellant. Inde contra terram Saruyur, & contra terram Karanitarum, & contra terram Hudirat processit, quos omnes bello deuicit. Inde in terram suam redijt, & aliquantulum quieuit. Deinde conuocatis omnibus hominibus suis, contra Kythaos pariter processerunt, diúq; contra illos pugnantes, magnam partem terræ illorum vicerunt, eorúmq; Imperatorem in ciuitatem suam maiorem concluserunt. Quam & tam longo tempore obsederunt, quod exercitus expensæ omninò defecerunt. Cúmq; iam quod manducarent, penitus non haberent, præcipit Chingischam suis, vt de decē hominibus vnū ad manducandum darent. Illi verò de ciuitate machinis & sagittis viriliter contra istos pugnabāt, & cùm deficerent lapides, argentū & maximè liquefactum proijciebant. Ciuitas siquidē illa multis erat diuitijs plena. Cúmq; diu Mongali pugnassent, & eam bello vincere non possent, vnam magnā sub terra viam ab exercitu vsq; ad mediū ciuitatis fecerunt, & prosilientes in mediū eius, contra ciues pugnauerunt. Illi quoque, qui extra remanserant, eodem modo contra illos pugnabant. Deniq; concidentes portas ciuitatis intrauerunt, & imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes vrbem possederunt, aurúmq; & argentum, & omnes eius diuitias abstulerunt. Et cùm li terræ suos homines præficissent, in terrā propriam reuersi sunt. Tunc primum Imperatore Kythaorum deuicto, factus est Chingischam imperator. Quandam tamen partē illius terræ, quia posita erat in mari, nullatenus deuicerunt vsq; hodie. Sunt autem Kytai homines pagani, habentes literam specialem, & etiam, vt dicitur, veteris & noui Testamenti scripturam. Habent etiam vitas patrū & eremitas & domos, in quibus orant temporibus suis, ad modum Ecclesiarum factas. Quosdam etiam sanctos habere se dicunt, & vnum Deum colunt. Christum IESVM Dominum venerantur, & credunt vitā æternam, sed non baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant ac reuerentur. Christianos diligunt, & eleemosynas plures faciunt, homines benigni satis & humani videntur. Barbam non habent, & in dispositione faciei cum Mongalis in parte concordant. Meliores artifices in mundo non inueniuntur in omnibus operibus, in quibus homines exercentur. Terra eorum est opulenta nimis in frumento & vino, auro & serico ac rebus cæteris.

* Haythono & Paulo Veneto sunt Cathay.

Tartarorum Cathayna clades.

Nouæ victoriæ.

Literæ.

Argentum loco lapidum in hostem proiectum.

Chingis salutatur Imperator.

Cathaynorum literæ & religio.

Opificiorum ἰξαχα.

De pugna ipsorum contra Indiam minorem & maiorem. Cap. 10.

CVm autem Mongali cum Imperatore suo Chingischam post præfatam victoriā aliquantulum quieuissent, exercitus suos diuiserunt. Imperator siquidem vnum de filijs suis nomine Thosut, quem etiam Can, id est, Imperatorē appellabant, cum exercitu contra Comanos misit, quos ille multo bello deuicit, & postmodum in terram suam redijt. Alium verò filiū cum exercitu contra Indos misit, qui & minorem Indiam subiecit. Hi sunt nigri Sarraceni, qui

Thosut Can, Chingis F.

India minor debellata.

qui Æthipes sunt vocati. Hic autem exercitus ad pugnam contra Christianos, qui sunt in India maiori, processit. Quod audiens Rex illius terræ, qui vulgò * Presbyter Iohannes appellatur, contra illos venit exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum, vnamquanq; posuit in sella super equum. Posuit & interius ignem, & hominem cum folle super equum post imaginem. Itáq; cum multis equis & imaginibus, taliter præparatis, ad pugnam contra Mongalos seu Tartaros processerunt. Et cùm ad locum prælij peruenissent, equos istos vnum iuxta alium præmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retrò, nescio quid super ignem, qui erat intra imagines, posuerunt, & cum follibus fortiter sufflauerunt. Vnde factum est, vt ex Græco igne homines & equi comburerentur, & etiam aër ex fumo denigraretur. Túmque super Tartaros sagittas iecerunt Indi, ex quibus multi vulnerati fuerunt & interfecti. Sícq; eiecerunt illos cum magna confusione de suis finibus, nec vnquam, quod ad ipsos vltra redierint audiuimus.

Regis maioris Indiæ stratagema.

* Vide scolion in lib. 1. cap. 51. M. Pauli Veneti.

Victoria.

Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulsi, Burithabethinos vicerunt. Cap. 11.

CVm autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt, in qua, sicut nobis apud Imperatoris curiam per clericos Ruthenos, & alios, qui diu fuerant inter ipsos, firmiter asserendo referebatur, monstra quædam, imaginem fœmineam habentia, repererunt. Quas cùm per multos interpretes interrogassent, vbi viri terræ illius essent, responderunt, quòd in illa terra quæcunq; fœminæ nascebātur, habebant formā humanam, masculi vero speciē caninam. Dumq; moram in terra illa protraherent, Canes in alia fluuij parte conuenerunt. Et cùm esset hyems asperrima omnes se in aquam proiecerunt. Post hæc incontinenti sponte in puluerē voluebantur, sícq; puluis admixtus aquæ super eos congelabatur, & vt ita pluries fecerunt, glacie super eos depressata, cum impetu magno contra Tartaros ad pugnam conuenerunt. At verò cum illi sagittas super eos iaciebant, ac si super lapides sagittassent, retrò sagittæ redibant. Alia quoq; arma eorū in nullo eos lædere poterant. Ipsi verò Canes insultum in Tartaros facientes, morsibus vulnerauerunt multos, & occiderunt, sícq; illos de suis finibus eiecerunt. Vnde adhuc inter illos est prouerbium de hoc facto, quod dicunt ad inuicem ridendo: Pater meus vel frater meus à Canibus fuit occisus. Mulieres autem illorū, quas ceperant, ad terrā suā duxerunt, & vsq; ad diē mortis eorū ibidē fuerunt. Cùm autē exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cuius habitatores pagani sunt, & hos Tartari bello vicerunt. Hi consuetudinem habent mirabilem, imò potius miserabilem. Cùm enim alicuius pater humanæ naturæ soluit debitum, congregant omnē parentelam, & comedunt eum. Hi pilos in barba non habent, imò ferrum quoddam in manibus, sicut vidimus, portant, cum quo semper barbam, si forte crinis aliquis in ea crescit, depilant. Multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde verò ille Tartarorum exercitus in terram suam est reuersus.

De monstrosis mulieribus & canibus monstrosa narratio.

¶ Forsan autem videri allegorica allusio posuit ad Canibales de quibus Petrus Martyr Mediolan. de rebus Oceanicis.

Burithabeth regio. Incolarum mores.

Qualiter à montibus Caspijs, & ab hominibus subterraneis repulsi sunt. Cap. 12.

CHingischam etiā illo tēpore, quo dimisit alios exercitus contra Orientē, per terram Kergis cum expeditione perrexit, quos tamen tunc bello non vicit, & vt nobis dicebatur, ibidē vsq; ad montes Caspios peruenit. At illi montes in ea parte, ad quam applicauerunt, de lapide Adamantino sunt: ideóq; sagittas & arma ferrea illorū ad se traxerunt. Homines autē inter Caspios montes conclusi clamorem exercitus, vt creditur, audientes, montem frangere cœperunt, & cùm alio tempore post decem annos redirent Tartari, montem confractum inuenerunt. Cúmq; ad illos accedere attentassent, minimè potuerunt: quia nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, vltra quam ire nullatenus poterant. Omninò quippe visum amittebant, statim vt ad illam perueniebant. Illi autem ex aduerso credentes, quòd Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, insultum contra eos fecerunt, sed statim vt peruenerunt ad nubem propter causam prædictam, procedere non potuerunt. Ac verò antequam ad montes prædictos peruenirent Tartari, plusquam per mensem per vastam solitudinem transierunt, & inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem, plusquàm per mensem per magnum desertum perrexerunt. Itáq; peruenerunt ad quandam terram, in qua vias quidem tritas videbant, sed neminem inuenire poterant. Tandem quærentes, vnū hominem cum vxore sua repererunt, quos in præsentiam Chingischam adduxerunt. Qui cùm interrogasset illos vbi homines illius terræ

Alia Chingis expeditio.

¶ Vide an Hamsem regionem dicat: de qua Haythonus cap. 20.

Troglodytæ.

terræ essent, responderunt, quòd in terra sub montibus habitarent. Tunc Chingischam retenta vxore, misit ad eos virum illum, mandans illis, vt venirent ad ipsius mandatum. Qui pergens ad illos, omnia narrauit, quæ Chingischam eis mandauit. Illi verò respondentes dixerunt, quod die tali venirent ad ipsum, vt facerent eius mandatum. Ac ipsi medio tempore per vias occultas sub terra se congregantes, ad pugnam contra illos venerunt, & subitò super eos irruentes, plurimos occiderunt. Solis quoque sonitus in ortu suo sustinere non poterant, imò tempore, quo oriebatur, oportebat eos vnam aurem ad terram ponere, & superiorem fortiter obturare, ne sonum illum terribilem audirent. Nec sic tamen cauere poterant, quin hac de causa plurimi ex eis interirent. Videns ergo Chingischam & sui, quòd nihil proficerent, sed potius homines suos perderent, fugerunt, ac terra illa exierunt. Illum tamen virum cum vxore sua secum deduxerunt, qui etiam vsque ad mortem in terra eorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò, cur in regione sua sub terra soleant habitare, dixerunt, quòd ibi quodam tempore anni, cùm oritur Sol, tantus fit sonitus, vt homines nulla ratione valeant sustinere. Quin etiam tunc in organis & tympanis cæterisque musicis instrumentis percutere solent, vt sonitum illum non audiant.

Fabulosus Solis orientis sonitus.

De statutis Chingischam, et morte ipsius, et filijs ac Ducibus. Cap. 13.

CVm autem de terra illa reuerteretur Chingischam, defecerunt eis victualia, famemq; patiebantur maximam. Tunc interiora vnius bestiæ recentia eau inuencrunt: quæ accipientes, depositis tantum stercoribus, decoxerunt, & coram Chingischam deportata pariter comederunt. Ideoq; statuit Chingischam, vt nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia, quæ manducari potest, proijciatur, exceptis stercoribus. Inde ergò in terram propriam reuersus est, ibiq; leges & statuta edidit, quæ Tartari inuiolabiliter obseruant, de quibus scilicet iam aliàs superiùs dictum est. Post hoc ab ictu tonitrui occisus est. Habuit autem quatuor filios: Occoday vocabatur primus, Thossut Can secundus, Thiaday tertius, quarti nomen ignoramus. Ab his iiij. descenderunt omnes Duces Mongalorum. Primus filiorum Occoday est Cuyne, qui nunc est Imperator. Huius fratres Cocten & Chyrenen. Ex filijs autem Thossut Can sunt Bathy, Ordu, Siba, Bora. Bathy post Imperatorem omnibus ditior est ac potentior. Ordu verò omnium Ducum senior. Filij Thiaday, sunt Hurin & Cadan. Filij autem alterius filij Chingischam, cuius ignoramus nomen, sunt, Mengu & Bithat & alij plures. Huius Mengu mater Seroctan est, Domina magna inter Tartaros, excepta Imperatoris matre plus nominata, omnibúsq; potentior, excepto Bathy. Hæc autem sunt nomina Ducum: Ordu, qui fuit in Polonia, & Hungaria, Bathy quoq; & Huryn & Cadan & Syban & Ouygat, qui omnes fuerunt in Hungaria. Sed & Cyrpodan, qui adhuc est vltra mare contra quosdam Soldanos Sarracenorum, & alios habitatores terræ transmarinæ. Alij verò remanserunt in terra, scilicet Mengu, Chyrenen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. Alij quoq; Duces eorum plures sunt, quorum nomina nobis ignota sunt.

Chingis lex.

Interitus.

Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

De potestate Imperatoris & Ducum eius. Cap. 14.

POrrò Imperator eorum, scilicet Tartarorum, super omnes habet mirabile dominium. Nullus enim audet in aliqua morari parte, nisi vbi assignauerit ipse. Et ipse quidem assignat Ducibus vbi maneant. Duces autem loca Millenarijs assignant, Millenarij verò Centenarijs, & Centenarij Decanis. Quicquid autem eis præcipitur, quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, siue ad bellum, siue ad mortem, vel vbicunque, sine vlla obediunt contradictione. Nam etsi petit alicuius filiam virginem, vel sororem, mox ei sine contradictione exponunt eam, imò frequenter colligit virgines ex omnibus Tartarorum finibus, & si vult aliquas retinere, sibi retinet, alias verò dat suis hominibus. Nuncios etiam quoscunq; & vbicunq; transmittat, oportet quòd dent ei sine mora equos & expensas. Similiter vndecunque veniant ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet equos & currus & expensas tribui. Ac verò nuncij, qui aliunde veniunt, in magna miseria, & victus & vestitus penuria sunt. Maximeq; quando veniunt ad Principes, & ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc adeò parum datur decem hominibus, quòd vix inde possent duo viuere. Insuper & si aliquæ illis iniuriæ fiunt, minimè conqueri facile possunt. Multa quoque munera tam à principibus quàm à cæteris ab illis petuntur: quæ si non dederint,

Imperatoris Tartarorum seruile in omnes imperium.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

derint, vilipenduntur, & quasi pro nihilo reputantur. Hinc & nos magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis pro expensis à fidelibus erant datæ, de necessitate oportuit in muneribus dare. Denique sic omnia sunt in manu Imperatoris, quod nemo audet dicere, Hoc meum est vel illius, sed omnia, scilicet res & iumenta ac homines, sunt ipsius. Super hoc etiam nuper emanauit statutum eiusdem. Idem quoq; per omnia dominium habent Duces super sibi subditos homines.

De electione Imperatoris Occoday, & legatione Ducis Bathy. Cap. 15.

MOrtuo, vt suprà dictum est, Cyngischam, conuenerunt Duces, & elegerunt Occoday, filium eius Imperatorem. Qui habito consilio Principum, diuisit exercitus. Misítq; Bathy, qui in secundo gradu attingebat eum, contra terram Altissodan & contra terram Bisminorum, qui Sarraceni erant, sed loquebantur Comanicum. Qui terram illorum ingressus, cum eis pugnauit, eósq; sibi bello subiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas, nomine Barchin, diu restitit eis. Ciues enim in circuitu ciuitatis foueas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas repleuissent. Ciues autem vrbis Sarguit hoc audientes, exierunt obuiam eis, sponte in manus eorum se tradentes. Vnde ciuitas eorum destructa non fuit, sed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios transtulerunt, acceptísq; spolijs, vrbem alijs hominibus repleuerunt, & contra ciuitatem Orna perrexerunt. Hæc erat nimium populosa & diuitijs copiosa. Erant enim ibi plures Christiani, videlicet Gasari & Rutheni, & Alani, & alij nec non & Sarraceni. Erátq; Sarracenorum ciuitatis dominium. Est etiam posita super quendam magnum fluuium, & est quasi portus, habens forum maximum. Cúmq; Tartari non possent eos aliter vincere, fluuium, qui per vrbem currebat, præciderunt, & illam cum rebus & hominibus submerserunt. Quo facto, contra Russiam perrexerunt, & magnam stragem in ea fecerunt, ciuitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt. Kiouiam, Russiæ metropolin, diu obsederunt, & tandem ceperunt, ac ciues interfecerunt. Vnde quando per illam terram ibamus, innumerabilia capita & ossa hominum mortuorum, iacentia super campum, inueniebamus. Fuerat enim vrbs valdè magna & populosa, nunc quasi ad nihilum est redacta: vix enim domus ibi remanserunt ducentæ, quarum etiam habitatores tenentur in maxima seruitute. Porrò de Russia & de Comania Tartari contra Hungaros & Polonos processerunt, ibíq; plures ex ipsis interfecti fuerunt, & vt iam superius dictum est, si Hungari viriliter restitissent, Tartari ab eis confusi recessissent. Inde reuertentes in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, venerunt, eósq; bello vicerunt. Inde contra Byleros, id est, contra Bulgariam magnam profecti sunt, & ipsam omninò destruxerunt. Hinc ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bastarcos, id est Hungariam magnam processerunt, & illos etiam deuicerunt. Hinc ampliùs ad Aquilonem pergentes, ad Parossitas venerunt, qui paruos habentes stomachos & os paruum, non manducant, sed carnes decoquunt, quibus decoctis, se super ollam ponunt, & fumum recipiunt, & de hoc solo reficiuntur, vel si aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum est. Hinc & ad Samogetas venerunt, qui tantùm de venationibus viuunt, & tabernacula vestésq; tantum habent de pellibus bestiarum. Inde ad quandam terram super Oceanum peruenerunt, vbi monstra quædam inuenerunt, quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes bouinos, & caput quidem humanum, sed faciem vt canis. Duo verba loquebantur vt homines, tertiò latrabant vt canes. Hinc redierunt in Comaniam, & vsq; nunc ibi morantur ex eis quidam.

[Margin notes: Occoday surrogatur patri. / Bathy eiúsq; expeditio. / Barchin ciuitas. / Sarguit ciuitas. / Orna ciuitas. / ¶ Vide Mechouium, lib. 1. ca. 3. / Morduani. / Bulgaria magna. / Hungaria magna. / Parossitæ. / Samogetæ. / Monstra aquilonaria.]

† De his regionibus Herbersteinius pag. 8. b. & 91. b. Paret enim hodie vtraq; Moschorum Principi. Item de Bulgaria Guaguinus pag. 106. b.

De legatione Cyrpodan Ducis. Cap. 16.

EO tempore misit Occoday Can Cyrpodan Ducem cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, qui & illos bello superauit. Hi homines sunt Pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo talis est, vt cùm alicuius pater moritur, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; aurem de facie sua leuet. His autem deuictis, Dux Cyrpodan contra Armenios iuit ad meridiem cum suis. Qui cùm transirent per deserta quædam, monstra inuenerunt, effigiem humanam habentia, quæ non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio

[Margin note: Expeditio Cyrpodanis.]

dio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant, & duo cum vno arcu sagittabant, adeóq; fortiter currebant, quòd equi eos inuestigare non poterant. Currebant autem super vnum pedem illum saltando, & cùm essent fatigati, taliter eundo ibant super manum & pedem, se tanquam in circulo reuoluendo. Cúmq; sic etiam fessi essent, iterum secundùm priorem modum currebant.

Cyclopedes. Hos Isidorus Cyclopedes appellat. Et ex eis Tartari nonnullos occiderunt. Et sicut nobis à Ruthenis Clericis in curia dicebatur, qui morantur cum Imperatore prædicto, plures ex eis nuncij venerunt in legatione ad curiam Imperatoris, superiùs annotati, vt possent habere

Armenia & Georgia subacta. pacem cum illo. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello deuicerunt, & etiam Georgiæ partem. Alia verò pars venit ad mandatum eorum, & singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc dant ei pro tributo xx. millia Yperperarum. Hinc ad terram Soldani Deurum, potentis & magni, processerunt, cum quo etiam pugnantes, ipsum deuicerunt. Denique processerunt

Soldanus Halapiæ. vlterius debellando ac vincendo vsque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ, & nunc etiam terram obtinent, alias quoque terras vltra illas proponentes impugnare: nec postea reuersi sunt in

Calipha Baldacensis. terram suam vsq; hodiè. Idémq; exercitus contra terram Caliphi Baldach perrexit, quam etiam sibi subdidit, & vt CCCC. Byzantios, exceptis Baldekinis cæterísq; muneribus, ei quotidiè pro tributo daret, obtinuit. Sed & quolibet anno mittunt nuncios ad Caliphum, vt ad eos veniat. Qui cum tributo munera magna trasmittens, vt eum supportent, rogat. Ipse autem Imperator Tartarorum munera quidem accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat, pro eo mittit.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prælijs. Cap. 17.

Tartarorum militaris disciplina. ORdinauit Chingischam Tartaros per Decanos & centenarios & millenarios. Decem quoque millenarijs præponunt vnum, cunctóq; nihilominus exercitui duos aut tres Duces, ita tamen vt ad vnum habeant respectum. Cúmq; in bello contra aliquos congrediuntur, nisi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt, occiduntur. Et si vnus aut duo, vel plures ex decem audacter accedunt ad pugnam, alij verò ex illo Denario non sequuntur, similiter occiduntur. Sed etiam si vnus ex decem vel plures capiuntur, socij eorum si non eos liberant, ipsi etiam

Armatura. occiduntur. Porrò arma debent habere talia. Duos arcus vel vnum bonum ad minus. Trésq; pharetras sagittis plenas, & vnam securim & funes ad machinas trahendas. Diuites autem habent gladios in fine acutos, ex vna parte tantùm incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos. Habent & equos armatos, crura etiam tecta, galeas & loricas. Verùm loricas & equorum cooperturas quidam habent de corio, super corpus artificiosè duplicato vel etiam triplicato. Galea verò superius est de chalybe, vel de ferro: sed illud, quod in circuitu protegit collum & gulam, est de corio. Quidam autem de ferro habent omnia supradicta, in hunc modum formata. Laminas multas tenues ad vnius digiti latitudinem & palmæ longitudinē faciunt, & in qualibet octo foramina paruula facientes, interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt. Sícq; laminas, vnam alij quasi per gradus ascendendo, supponunt. Itáq; laminas ad corrigias, tenuibus corrigiolis per foramina prædicta immissis, ligant, & in superiori parte corrigiolam vnam ex vtraque parte duplicatam cum alia corrigiola consuunt, vt laminæ simul benè firmitérq; cohæreant. Hæc faciunt tam ad cooperturas equorum, quàm ad armaturas hominum. Adeóq; faciunt illa lucere, quod in eis potest homo faciem suam videre. Aliqui verò in collo ferri lanceæ vncum habent, cum quo de sella, si possunt, hominem detrahant. Sagittarum eorum ferramenta sunt acutissima, ex vtraque parte quasi gladius biceps incidentia, sempérq; iuxta pharetram portant limas ad acuendum sagittas. Habent verò scuta de viminibus, aut de virgulis facta. Sed non credimus, quòd ea soleant portare, nisi ad castra & ad custodiam

Vsus bellorum. Imperatoris ac principum, & hoc tantùm de nocte. In bellis astutissimi sunt: quia per annos

Mos transandi flumina. xlij. cum cæteris gentibus dimicârunt. Cùm autem ad flumina peruenerunt, maiores habent rotundum ac leue corium, in cuius summitate per circuitum ansas crebras facientes, funem imponunt ac stringunt, ita quod in circuitu quasi ventrem efficiunt, quem vestibus ac rebus cæteris replent, fortissiméq; ad inuicem comprimunt. In medio autem ponunt sellas & alias res duriores: ibi quoque sedent homines. Huiusmodi nauim ad equi caudam ligant, & hominem, qui equum regat, pariter natare faciunt, vel habent aliquando duos remos, cum quibus remigant. Equo igitur in aquam impulso, omnes alij equi sequuntur illum, & sic transeunt fluuium. Pauperior autem quilibet vnam bursam vel saccum de corio benè consutum habet,

in

in quo res suas omnes imponit, & in summitate fortiter ligatum, ad equi caudam suspendit, sícq; modo prædicto transit.

Qualiter resistendum sit eis. Cap. 18.

NVllam æstimo prouinciam esse, quæ per se possit eis resistere: quia de omni terra potestatis suæ solent homines ad bellum congregare. Et siquidem vicina prouincia non vult eis opem ferre, quam impugnant, delentes illam, cum hominibus, quos ex illa capiunt, contra aliam pugnant. Et illos quidem in acie primos ponunt, & si malè pugnant, ipsos occidunt. Itaq; si Christiani eis resistere volunt, oportet quòd Principes ac rectores terrarum in vnum conueniant, ac de communi consilio eis resistant. Habeántq; pugnatores arcus fortes & balistais, quas multùm timent, sagittásq; sufficientes, dolabrum quoq; de bono ferro, vel securim cum manubrio longo. Ferramenta verò sagittarum more Tartarorum, quando sunt calida, temperare debent in aqua, cum sale mixta, vt fortia sint ad penetrandum illorum arma. Gladios etiam & lanceas cum vncis habeant, qui volunt, ad detrahendũ illos de sella, de qua facillimè cadunt. Habeant & galeas & arma cætera, ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum, & si qui non ita sunt armati, debent more illorum post alios ire, & contra ipsos arcubus vel balistis traijcere. Et sicut dictum est suprà de Tartaris, debent acies suas ordinare, ac legem pugnantibus imponere. Quicunq; conuersus fuerit ad prædam ante victoriam, maximam debet pœnam subire: talis enim apud illos occiditur absq; miseratione. Locus ad prælium, si fieri potest, eligendus est planus, vt vndíq; possint videre, nec omnes debent in vnum conuenire, sed acies multas & diuisas, nec tamen nimis distantes ab inuicem, facere. Contra illos, qui primò veniunt, debent vnam aciem mittere, & alia parata sit ad iuuandum illam opportuno tempore. Habeant & speculatores ex omni parte, qui videant, quando veniunt acies cæteræ. Nam ideò semper debent aciem contra aciem, vt ei occurrant, mittere, quoniam illi semper nituntur aduersarios in medio concludere. Hoc autem acies caueant, ne si etiam illi fugere videantur, din post illos currant, ne fortè, sicut facere solent, ipsos ad paratas insidias trahent: quia plus fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Et iterum ne fatigentur equi eorum: quia nostri multitudinem non habent equorum. Tartari verò quos equitant die vna, non ascendunt tribus diebus, vel quatuor postea. Præterea si cedunt Tartari, non ideò debent nostri recedere, vel ab inuicem separari: quoniam hoc simulando faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & sic ad terræ destructionem liberè ingrediantur. Cæterùm Duces nostri die noctúque facere debent exercitum custodiri: nec iacere spoliati, sed semper ad pugnam parati: quia Tartari quasi Dæmones semper vigilant, excogitantes artem nocendi. Porrò si aliqui Tartarorum in bello de suis equis proijciuntur, statim capiendi sunt, quia quando sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos hominésq; vulnerant.

Παραίνεσις de bello contra Tartaros gerendo.

Ferri temperamentum.

De itinere Fratris Iohannis de Plano carpini vsque ad primam custodiam Tartarorum. Cap. 19.

NOs igitur ex mandato sedis Apostolicæ cùm iremus ad Orientis nationes, elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficisci: quia timebamus, ne per illos in proximo Ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Itaq; pergẽtes, ad regem Boëmorũ peruenimus: qui cùm esset nobis familiaris, consuluit, vt per Poloniam & Russiam iter ageremus. Habebat enim consanguineos in Polonia, quorum auxilio Russiam intrare possemus. Datísq; literis & bono conductu, fecit & expensas nobis dari per curias & ciuitates eius, quo vsque ad Ducem Slesiæ Bolezlaum, nepotem eius, veniremus, qui etiam erat nobis familiaris & notus. Hinc & ipse nobis similiter fecit, donec veniremus ad Conradum, Ducem * Lautisciæ, ad quem tunc, Dei gratia nobis fauente, venerat Dominus Wasilico, Dux Russiæ, à quo etiam plenius de facto audiuimus Tartarorum: quia nuncios illuc miserat, qui iam redierant ad ipsum. Audito autem, quòd oporteret nos illis munera dare, quasdam pelles castorum & aliorum animalium fecimus emi, de hoc, quod datum nobis fuerat in eleemosynam ad subsidiũ viæ. Quod agnoscentes Dux Conradus & * Ducissa Cracouiæ, & Episcopus & quidam milites, plures etiam nobis dederunt huiusmodi pelles. Denique Dux Wasilico à Duce Cracouiæ, & Episcopo atque Baronibus pro nobis attentè rogatus, secum nos in terram suam duxit, & vt aliquantulum quiesceremus, aliquot

Itinerarium Ioann. & sociorum legatorum.

Boleslaus Dux Silesiæ.

* Masouiæ.

* Grimislaus, vt Mechouius lib. 1. cap. 9.

aliquot diebus nos in expensis suis detinuit. Et cùm rogatus à nobis, fecisset Episcopos suos venire, legimus eis literas Domini Papæ, monentis eos, ad sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ vnitatem redire. Ad idem quoque nos ipsi monuimus eos, & induximus, quantum potuimus, tam Ducem quàm Episcopos & alios. Sed quia Dux Daniel, frater Wasiliconis prædicti, præsens non erat, quoniam ad Baty profectus erat, non potuerunt eo tempore finaliter respondere. Post hæc Dux Wasilico transmisit nos vsque in Kiouiam metropolin Russiæ, cum seruiente vno. Ibamus tamen in periculo capitis semper propter Lituanos, qui sæpè faciebant insultum super terram Russiæ, & in illis maximè locis, per quos debebamus transire. At per prædictum seruientem eramus securi à Ruthenis, quorum etiam maxima pars occisa vel captiuata erat à Tartaris. Porrò in Danilone vsque ad mortem tunc infirmati fuimus. Nihilominus tamen in vehiculo per niuem & frigus magnum trahi nos fecimus. Cùm ergò Kiouiam peruenimus, habuimus de via nostra consilium cum millenario ac cæteris ibidem nobilibus. Qui responderunt nobis, quòd si duceremus equos illos, quos tunc habebamus, ad Tartaros, cùm essent magnæ niues, morerentur omnes: quia nescirent herbam fodere sub niue, sicut equi faciunt Tartarorum, nec inueniri posset aliquod pro eis ad manducandum, cùm Tartari nec stramina nec fœnum habeant, nec pabulum. Itaque decreuimus eos illic dimittere cum duobus pueris, deputatis eorum custodiæ. Ideóq; nos oportuit millenario dare munera, vt ipsum haberemus propitium, ad dandum nobis equos subductitios & conductum. Secundo igitur die post festum Purificationis cepto itinere, venimus ad villam Canouæ, quæ sub Tartaris erat immediatè. Cuius præfectus nobis dedit equos & conductum vsque ad aliam, in qua reperimus præfectum Micheam, omni malitia plenum. Qui tamen acceptis à nobis muneribus secundum velle suum, duxit nos vsq; ad primam custodiam Tartarorum.

Literæ Papæ ad Russos.

Daniel, frater Basilij.

Lituani.

Pabulum equorum Tartaric.

Micheas [illegible]

Qualiter primò cum socijs suis receptus est à Tartaris. Cap. 20.

CVm ergo in prima sexta feria post diem cinerum, Sole ad occasum tendente, hospitaremur, Tartari super nos armati horribiliter irruerunt, quærentes cuiusmodi homines essemus: cúmq; respondissemus, quòd Domini Papæ nuncij essemus, quibusdam cibarijs à nobis acceptis, continuò discesserunt. Porrò mane facto, cùm surgentes aliquantulum processissemus, maiores illorum, qui erant in custodia, nobis occurrerunt, interrogantes, cur ad eos veniremus? & quid negotij haberemus? Quibus respondimus, Domini Papæ nuncij sumus, qui Christianorum pater est ac Dominus. Hic nos idcircò tam ad Regem quàm ad Principes, omnésq; Tartaros, mittit, quia placet ei, quòd omnes Christiani Tartarorū sint amici, & pacem habeant cum ipsis. Desiderat insuper, vt apud Deum in cœlo sint magni, & idcircò monet eos tam per nos quàm per literas suas, vt efficiantur Christiani, fidémq; recipiant Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quia non possunt aliter saluari. Mandat præthereà, quòd miratur de tanta occisione hominū, & maximè Christianorum, ac potissimè Hungarorum, Montanorum, & Polonorum, qui sunt ei subiecti, facta per Tartaros, cùm in nullo læsissent, aut lædere attentassent eos. Et quia Dominus Deus grauiter est super hoc offensus, monet eos, vt à talibus de cætero caueant, & de commissis pœnitentiam agant. Super his etiam rogat, vt ei rescribant, quid facere velint de cætero, & quæ sit eorum intentio. Quibus auditis, & intellectis, dixerunt Tartari, se velle equos nobis subductitios vsq; ad Correnzam & ducatum præbere. Statimq; munera petierunt, & à nobis acceperunt. Equis igitur acceptis, de quibus descenderant ipsi, cum eorum ducatu ad Correnzam arripuimus iter eundi. Ipsi tamen velociter equitantes, nuncium vnum præmiserunt ad præfatum Ducem cum his verbis, quæ dixeramus eisdem. Est autem Dux iste Dominus omnium, qui positi sunt in custodia contra omnes Occidentis populos, ne fortè subitò & improuisò irruant aliqui super illos. Et iste dicitur habere sexaginta millia hominum armatorum sub se.

Papa Christianorum pater & Dominus.

Legationibus mandata.

Correnza.

Dux limitis occidentalis.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Correnzam. Cap. 21.

CVm ergò peruenissemus ad eius curiam, fecit nobis longè à se poni stationem, & misit ad nos procuratores suos, vt quærerent à nobis, cum quo ei vellemus inclinare, id est, quæ ei munera inclinando vellemus offerre. Quibus respondimus, quòd Dominus Papa non mittebat aliqua munera; quia non erat certus, quòd ad illos peruenire possemus, & insuper

Mos salutandi Tartaricus procerum.

veneramus

veneramus per loca valdè periculosa. Veruntamen in quantum de his, quæ habebamus ex gratia Dei & Domini Papæ ad victum nostrum, sicut poterimus, honorabimus ipsum. Acceptisq; muneribus duxerunt nos ad ordam siue tentorium ipsius, & instructi fuimus, vt ante ostium stationis ter cum sinistro genu inclinaremus, & caueremus attentè, ne pedem super limē ostij poneremus. Et postquam intrauimus, oportuit nos coram Duce omnibúsq; maioribus, qui ad hoc erant vocati, dicere flexis genibus ea, quæ dixeramus superiùs. Literas etiam Dom. Papæ obtulimus: sed interpres, quem de Kyouia, dato pretio, duxeramus, non erat sufficiens ad interpretandū, nec aliquis alius habebatur idoneus. Hinc equi nobis dati sunt, & tres Tartari, qui nos ducerent festinanter ad ducem Bathy. Ipse est apud eos potentior excepto Imperatore, cui tenentur præ cunctis principibus obedire. Itaq; iter arripuimus secunda feria post primā dominicam || xl. & equitando, quantum equi trotare poterant, quoniam habebamus equos recentes ferè ter aut quater omni die, properabamus de mane vsq; ad noctem, imò etiam de nocte sæpissimè, nec tamen ante quartam feriam maioris hebdomadæ potuimus ad ipsum peruenire. Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quæ tota est plana, & flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur * Neper, iuxta quod ex parte Russiæ ambulabat Correnza & Montij, qui maior est illo ex altera parte per campestria. *Secundum appellatur* * Don, super quod ambulat quidam Princeps, habens *in coniugio sororem Baty, qui vocatur Tirbon.* Tertium dicitur * Volga, quod est magnum valdè, super quod *incedit Bathy. Quartum nominatur* * Iaec, super quod duo millenarij vadunt, vnus ex parte fluminis vna, & alter ex altera. Hi omnes in hyeme ad mare descendunt, & in æstate super ripam eorundem fluminum ad montes ascendunt. Hoc est mare magnum, de quo brachium sancti Georgij exit, quod in Constantinopolin vadit. Hæc autem flumina sunt piscibus valdè plena, maximè Volga, intrántq; mare Græciæ, quod dicitur Magnum mare. Super Nepre autem multis diebus iuimus per glaciem. Super littora quoq; maris Græciæ satis periculosè per glaciem iuimus in pluribus locis multis diebus. Congelantur enim circa littora vndæ ad tres leucas inferiùs. Prius autem quàm ad Bathy perueniremus, duo ex nostris Tartaris præcesserunt, ad indicandum ei omnia verba, quæ apud Correnſam dixeramus.

Bathy eiúsque potentia.

|| Quadragesimæ.

Comania.

* Veteribus Borysthenes.

* Tanais.

* Rha,

* Rhymnus.

Pontus Euxinus.

Volga non intrat.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Bathy magnum Principem. Cap. 22.

POrrò cùm in finibus terræ Comanorum ad Bathy perueniremus, benè positi fuimus per vnam leucam à stationibus eius. Cúmq; duci debuimus ad curiam ipsius, dictum fuit nobis, quòd inter duos ignes transire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis: Ite securè, quia pro nulla causa volumus hoc facere, nisi tantùm, vt si vos aliquid malum cogitatis Domino nostro, vel portatis venenum, ignis auferat omne malum. Quibus respondimus: quod propter hoc, ne de tali re suspectos redderemus nos, transiremus. Cùm igitur ad Ordam peruenissemus, interrogati à procuratore ipsius Eldegay, cum quo inclinare vellemus? idem quod prius apud Correnſam respondimus, datísq; muneribus & acceptis, auditis etiam itineris causis, introduxerunt nos in stationem Principis, prius facta inclinatione, & audita de limine non calcando, sicut prius, admonitione. Ingressi autem flexis genibus, verba nostra proposuimus, deinde literas obtulimus, & vt nobis darentur interpretes ad transferendum eas, rogauimus. Qui etiam in die Parasceue dati fuerunt nobis, & eas in litera Ruthenica, Sarracenica & in Tartarica diligenter cum ipsis transtulimus. Hæc interpretatio Bathy præsentata fuit: quam & legit, & attentè notauit. Tandem ad nostram stationem reducti fuimus, sed nulla cibaria nobis dederunt, nisi semel aliquantulum millij in vna scutella, scilicet in prima nocte quando venimus. Iste Bathy magnificè se gerit, habens ostiarios & omnes officiales ad modum Imperatoris, & sedet in eminenti loco velut in throno cum vna de vxoribus suis. Alij verò tam fratres sui & filij, quàm alij maiores inferiùs sedent in medio super bancum, & homines cæteri post eos in terra deorsum, sed viri à dextris, & fœminæ à sinistris. Tentoria quoque de panno lineo habet pulchra & magna satis, quæ fuerunt Hungariæ regis. Nec aliquis ad eius tentorium audet accedere præter familiam, nisi vocatus, quantumcunque sit potens & magnus, nisi fortè sciatur, quòd sit voluntas ipsius. Nos etiam dicta causa sedimus à sinistris: Sic etenim & omnes nuncij faciunt in eundo: sed in redeundo ab Imperatore, semper ponebamur à dextris. In medio ponitur mensa eius

Ceremonia per duos ignes transeundi.

Eldegay.

Bathy audit legatos.

Gerit se regificè.

Eisdem bibendi ad Symphoniæ eorum mos.

eius prope ostium stationis, super quam apponitur potus in anreis & argenteis vasis. Nec vnquam bibit Bathy, vel aliquis Tartarorum Princeps, maximè quando in publico sunt, nisi cantetur ei vel cytharizetur. Et cùm equitat, semper portatur solinum, vel tentoriolum super caput eius in hasta. Sicq; faciunt cuncti maiores Principes Tartarorum, & etiam vxores eorum. Idem verò Bathy satis est hominibus suis benignus, valdè tamen ab eis timetur, & in pugna est crudelissimus, sagax est multum & astutissimus in bello: quia iam pugnauit tempore longo.

Authoritas.

Qualiter recedentes à Bathy per terram Comanorum & Kangittarum transierunt. Cap. 23.

Legati inhibentur ad Cuyne Imperat. pergere.

IN die porrò Sabbathi sancti ad stationem fuimus vocati, & exiuit ad nos procurator Bathy prædictus, dicens ex parte ipsius, quòd ad Imperatorem Cuyne in terram ipsorum iremus, retentis quibusdam ex nostris sub hac specie, quòd vellent eos remittere ad Dominum Papam, quibus & literas dedimus de omnibus factis nostris, quas deferrent eidem. Sed cùm rediissent vsq; ad Montij Ducem supradictum, ibi retenti fuerunt vsque ad reditum nostrum. Nos autem in die Paschæ officio dicto, & facta comestione qualicunq; cum duobus Tartaris, qui nobis apud Corrensam fuerant assignati, cum multis lacrymis recèssimus, nescientes, vtrum ad mortem vel vitam pergeremus. Eramus tamen ita infirmi corpore, quòd vix poteramus equitare. In tota siquidem illa quadragesima fuerat cibus noster millium cum aqua & sale tantùm, & in alijs similiter diebus ieiuniorum. Nec habebamus aliquid ad bibendum præter niuem in caldario liquefactam. Ibamus autem per Comaniam equitando fortissimè, quoniam habebamus equos recentes quinquies aut pluries in die, nisi quando per deserta ibamus, & tunc equos meliores atque fortiores, qui possent continuum sustinere laborem, accipiebamus. Et hoc ab ineunte quadragesima vsque ad octo dies post Pascha. Hæc terra Comania ab Aquilone immediatè post Russiam habet Morduynos, Byleros, id est, magnam Bulgariam, Bastarcos, id est, magnam Hungariam, post Bastarcos, Parositas & Samogetas. Post Samogetas, illos, qui dicuntur habere faciem caninam in Oceani littoribus desertis. A meridie habet Alanos, Circassos, Gazaros, Græciam & Constantinopolin, ac terram Iberorum, Cathos, Brutachios, qui dicuntur esse Iudæi, caput radentes per totùm, terram quoq; Ciborum atque Georgianorum & Armeniorum & Turcorum. Ab occidente autem Hungariam habet atque Russiam. Et est Comania terra maxima & longa. Cuius populos, scilicet Comanos, Tartari occiderunt, quidam tamen à facie eorum fugerunt, & quidam in eorum seruitutem redacti sunt. Plurimi autem ex eis, qui fugerunt, ad ipsos redierunt. Post hæc intrauimus terram Kangittarum, quæ magnam habet in plurimis locis penuriam aquarum, in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum. Vnde homines Ieroslai, Ducis Russiæ, cùm ad ipsum in terram Tartarorum perrexerunt, plures eorum in illo deserto præ siti mortui sunt. In hac etiam terra & in Comania multa inuenimus capita & ossa mortuorum hominum, super terram iacentia tanquam sterquilinium. Per hanc itaq; terram iuimus ab octo diebus post Pascha ferè vsque ad Ascensionem Dominicam. Huiúsq; habitatores Pagani erant, & tam ipsi quàm Comani non laborabant, sed tantùm de animalibus viuebant, nec domos ædificabant, sed in tabernaculis habitabant. Istos etiam Tartari deleuerunt, & habitabant in terris eorum, illiq; qui remanserunt, redacti sunt in seruitutem ipsorum.

Comaniæ descriptio.

Oceanus septentrionalis.

Terra Kangittarum.

Ieroslaus, Dux Russiæ.

Qualiter ad primam Imperatoris futuri curiam deuenerunt. Cap. 24.

Terra Biserminorum.

Altisoldanus.

Montes maximi.

Burin. Cadan. Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syban, frater Bathy.

POrrò de terra Kangittarum intrauimus terram Biserminorum, qui loquuntur lingua Comanica, sed legem tenent Sarracenorum. In hac etiam terra inuenimus vrbes innumeras cum castris dirutas, villásq; multas desertas. Huius Dominus dicebatur Altisoldanus, qui cum tota sua progenie à Tartaris est destructus. Habet autem hæc terra montes maximos. Et à meridie quidem habet Hierusalem & Baldach, totámq; Sarracenorum terram. Atque in finibus illis propinquis morantur duo fratres carnales, Tartarorum Duces, scilicet Burin & Cadan, filij Thiaday, qui fuit filius Chingischam. Ab Aquilone verò terram habet nigrorum Kythaorum & Oceanum. In illa verò moratur Syban, frater Bathy. Per hanc iuimus à festo Ascensionis dominicæ ferè vsque ad viij. dies ante festum sancti Iohan. Baptistæ. Deinde ingressi

gressi sumus terram nigrorum Kythaorum, in qua Imperator ædificauit domum, vbi etiam vocati fuimus ad bibendum. Et ille, qui erat ibidem ex parte imperatoris, fecit maiores ciuitatis, & etiam duos filios eius, plaudere coram nobis. Hinc exeuntes, quoddam mare parquum inuenimus, in cuius littore quidam existit mons paruus. In quo scilicet monte quoddam foramen esse dicitur, vnde in hyeme tam maximæ tempestates ventorum exeunt, quòd homines inde vix & cum magno periculo transire possunt. In æstate verò semper quidem ibi ventorum sonitus auditur, sed de foramine tenuiter egreditur. Per huius maris littora plurimis diebus perreximus, quod quidem licet non multum sit magnum, plures insulas habet, & illud in sinistris dimisimus. In terra verò illa habitat Ordu, quem omnium Ducum Tartarorum antiquiorem diximus, & est orda, siue curia patris ipsius, quam inhabitat, & regis vna de vxoribus eius. Consuetudo enim est apud Tartaros, quòd principum & maiorum curiæ non delentur, sed semper ordinantur aliquæ mulieres, quæ illas regant, eisque donariorum partes, sicut Dominis earum dari solebant, dantur. Sic tandem ad primam Imperatoris curiam venimus, in qua erat vna de vxoribus ipsius.

Nigri Cathay.

Mare paruum.

Plurimis diebus.

Plures insulæ.

Ordu. cap. 25.

Prima curia Imperatoris.

Qualiter ad ipsum Cuyne, Imperatorem futurum peruenerunt. Cap. 25.

AT verò quia nondum Imperatorem videramus, noluerunt vocare nos, nec intromittere ad Ordam ipsius, sed nobis in tentorio nostro secundum morem Tartarorum valdè benè seruiri fecerunt, & vt quiesceremus, nos ibidem per vnam diem tenuerunt. Inde procedentes in vigilia sanctorum Petri & Pauli, terram Naymanorum intrauimus, qui sunt Pagani. In ipsa verò die Apostolorum ibidem cecidit magna nix, & habuimus magnum frigus. Hæc quidem terra montuosa & frigida est supra modum, ibíq; de planicie reperitur modicum. Istæ quoque duæ nationes prædictæ non laborabant, sed sicut & Tartari in tentorijs habitabant, quas & ipsi deleuerant. per hanc etiam multis diebus perreximus. Deinde terram Mongalorum intrauimus, quos Tartaros appellamus. Per has itaque terras, vt credimus, tribus septimanis equitando fortiter iuimus, & in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad Cuyne Imperatorem electum peruenimus. Idèo autem per omnem viam istam valdè festinauimus, quia præceptum erat Tartaris nostris, vt citò nos deducerent ad curiam solennem, iam ex annis pluribus indictam, propter ipsius Imperatoris electionem. Idcircò de mane surgentes, ibamus vsque ad noctem sine comestione, & sæpius tam tardè veniebamus, quòd non comedebamus in sero, sed quod manducare debebamus in vespere, dabatur nobis in mane. Mutatísq; frequentius equis, nullatenus parcebatur eis, sed equitabamus velociter ac sine intermissione, quantum poterant equi trotare.

Terra Naymanorum.

Tartaria.

Iulij 22.

Acceleratum legatorum iter.

Qualiter Cuyne Fratres Minores suscepit. Cap. 26.

CVm autem peruenimus ad Cuyne, fecit nobis dari tentorium & expensas, quales Tartaris dare solent, nobis tamen melius quàm alijs nuncijs faciebant. Ad ipsum autem vocati non fuimus, eo quòd nondum electus erat, nec adhuc de imperio se intromittebat. Interpretatio tamen literarum Domini Papæ, ac verba etiam à nobis dicta, à prædicto Baty erant ei mandata. Cùm ergo stetissemus ibi per quinque vel sex dies, ad matrem suam nos transmisit, vbi adunabatur curia solennis. Et cùm venissemus illuc, tam extensum erat tentorium magnum, de alba purpura præparatum, erátq; tam grande nostro iudicio, quòd plusquam duo millia hominum poterant esse sub illo. Et in circuitu factum erat ligneum tabulatum varijs imaginibus depictum. Illuc ergò perreximus cum Tartaris, nobis ad custodiam assignatis, ibíq; conuenerant omnes duces, & vnusquisq; cum hominibus suis equitabat in circuitu per planiciem & colles. In prima die vestiti sunt omnes purpuris albis, in secunda verò rubeis. Et tunc venit Cuyne ad tentorium illud. Porrò tertia die fuerunt omnes in blaueis purpuris, & quarta in optimis Baldakinis. In illo autem tabulato iuxta tentorium erant duæ maiores portæ, per quarum vnam solus Imperator debebat intrare, & ad illam nulla erat custodia, quamuis esset aperta, quia per illam nullus audebat ingredi vel exire: per aliam omnes, qui admittebantur, intrabant, & ad illam custodes cum gladijs & arcubus & sagittis erant. Itaq; si quis tentorio propinquabat vltra terminos, qui positi erant, si capiebatur, verberabatur, si fugiebat, sagitta siue ferro sagittabatur. Multiq; ibi erant, qui in frænis, pectoralibus, sellis

Cuyne in legatos benignitas.

Tentorium regium.

Comitia.

lis & huiusmodi, iudicio nostro, auri circiter viginti marcas habebant. Sic Duces infra tentorium colloquebantur, & de Imperatoris electione tractabant, vt à nobis crederitur. Alius autem vniuersus populus longè extra tabulatum collocabatur, & ita ferè vsque ad meridiem morabantur. Tunc incipiebant lac iumentinum bibere, & vsque ad vesperas tantum bibebant, quod erat visu mirabile. Nos autem vocauerunt interius, & dederunt nobis cereuisiam: quia iumentinū lac non bibebamus. Et hoc quidem nobis pro magno fecerunt honore: sed tamen nos compellebant ad bibendum, quod nullatenus poteramus propter consuetudinem sustinere. Vnde ostendimus eis, hoc esse nobis graue, ideóq; nos cessauerunt compellere. Foris autem erat Dux Ieroslaus de Susdal Russiæ, pluréscq; Duces Kythaorum & Solangorum. Duo quoq; filij regis Georgiæ, nuncius etiam Caliphi de Baldach, qui erat Soldanus, & plus quam decem alij Soldani Sarracenorum, vt credimus. Et sicut nobis à procuratoribus dicebatur, erant ibi nunciorum plus quàm quatuor millia, inter illos, qui tributa portabant, & illos, qui deferebant munera, & Soldanos ac Duces alios, qui ad tradendum seipsos veniebant, & illos, pro quibus ipsi miserant, illósq;, qui terrarum præfecti erant. Hi omnes simul extra tabulatum ponebantur, eisq; simul bibere præbebatur. Nobis autem & Duci Ieroslao ferè semper ab eis dabatur superior locus, quando cum eis eramus exterius.

Symposium peculiare.

Ieroslaus Dux Russiæ.

Legati diuersarum nationum.

Qualiter in imperium sublimatus fuit. Cap. 27.

ET quidem, si benè meminimus, ibidem per septimanas circiter quatuor fuimus. Credimúsq;, quòd ibi fuit electio celebrata, non tamen ibidem fuit publicata. Propter hoc autem id maximè credebatur, quia semper, quando Cuyne tentorio exibat, eidem cantabatur, & cum virgis speciosis, in summitate lanam coccineam habentibus, inclinabatur, quod alteri Ducum nulli fiebat, quousq; exterius morabatur. Hæc autem statio siue Curia nominatur ab eis Syra orda. Hinc exeuntes, vnanimiter omnes equitauimus per trés aut quatuor leucas ad alium locum, vbi erat in quadā pulchra planicie iuxta riuum inter montes aliud tentorium, quod apud ipsos appellatur Orda aurea, præparatū. Ibi enim Cuyne debebat poni in sede in die Assumptionis Dominæ nostræ. Sed propter grandinem nimiam, quæ tunc, vt suprà dictum est, cecidit, res dilata fuit. Erátq; tentorium in columnis positum, quæ laminis aureis erat tectæ, & clauis aureis cum alijs lignis fixæ. Porrò de Baldakino erat tectum superius, sed alij erant panni exterius. Fuimus autem ibi vsq; ad festum Beati Bartholomæi, in quo maxima multitudo conuenit, & contra meridiem versis vultibus stetit. Et quidam ad inctum lapidis longè à cæteris erant, sempérq; orationes faciendo, ac genua flectendo, contra meridiem longius & longius procedebant. Nos autem vtrum incantationes facerent, aut genua Deo vel alteri flecterent, nescientes, nolebamus facere genu flexiones. Cúmq; diu ita fecissent, ad tentorium reuersi sunt, & Cuyne in sede imperiali posuerunt, Ducésq; coram eo genua flexerunt Post hoc idem fecit vniuersus populus, exceptis nobis, qui eis subditi non eramus.

Imperij Cuynæ primitiæ.

Syra orda.

Aurea orda.

Augusti 25.

Preces solemnes.

De ætate ac moribus ac sigillo ipsius. Cap. 28.

Hic autem Imperator quando sublimatus est in regnum, videbatur esse circiter xl. vel xlv. annorum. Mediocris erat staturæ, prudens valde, nimis astutus multúmq; seriosus, & gratis in moribus. Nec vnquam videbat eum homo de facili ridere, vel aliquam leuitatem facere, sicut dicebant Christiani, qui cum ipso morabantur continuè. Dicebant etiam nobis asserendo firmiter Christiani, qui erant de familia eius, quòd deberet fieri Christianus. Cuius signum erat, quod ipse Clericos Christianos tenebat, & expensas eis dabat. Habebat etiam semper capellam Christianorum ante maius tentorium suum, vbi cantant Clerici publicè & apertè, ac pulsant ad horas, vt cæteri Christiani secundùm mores Græcorum, quantacunq; sit ibi multitudo Tartarorum, vel etiam aliorum hominum. Hoc tamen non faciunt alij Duces ipsorum. Est autem mos Imperatoris ipsius, vt nunquam ore proprio loquatur cum extraneo, quantumcunq; magnus sit, sed audit & respondet per interpositam personam, & quandocunq; negotium proponunt, vel Imperatoris responsionem audiunt illi, qui sub eo sunt, quantumcunq; sint magni, flexis genibus vsq; ad finem verborum persistunt. Nec alicui de consuetudine super aliquo negotio loqui licitum est, postquam ab Imperatore definitum est. Habet autem Imperator prædictus procuratorem & protonotarios, atq; scriptores, omnésq; officiales

Cuynæ mos & mores.

Studium Christianismi.

Maiestas.

ciales in negotijs tam publicis quàm priuatis, exceptis Aduocatis. Nam sine litium vel iudiciorum strepitu secundum arbitrium Imperatoris omnia fiunt. Alij quoque Principes Tartarorum de his, quæ ad illos pertinent, idem faciunt. Hoc autem nouerint vniuersi, quia nobis tunc existentibus in solenni curia, iam ex pluribus annis indicta, idem Cuyne Imperator, de nouo electus, cum omnibus suis Principibus erexit vexillum contra Ecclesiam Dei, ac Romanum Imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos Occidentis, nisi fortasse, quod absit, facerent ea, quæ mandabat Domino Papæ, atque potentibus, & omnibus Christianorum populis, videlicet vt ipsi subdantur eis. Nam excepta Christianitate, nulla est terra in orbe, quam timeant, & idcirco contra nos ad pugnam se præparant. Huius siquidem Imperatoris pater, scilicet Occoday, necatus fuerat veneno, & ob hoc à bellis quieuerant tempore pauco. Intentio autem eorum, vt dictum est suprà, est, sibi totum subijcere mundum, sicut à Chingischam habent mandatum. Vnde & ipse Imperator in literis suis ita scribit: Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum Imperator. In superscriptione quoque sigilli eius est hoc: Deus in cœlo, & Cuyne Cham super terram, Dei fortitudo: omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

Potestas calex †.

Bellum in Christianos cogitatum.

† Contrà Xenophon: Ἄκαιον ἐστι νόμιμον. Et præclarè Aristoteles Politic. lib. 3. cap. 12. in hanc sententiam: Qui legem præesse vult, is velle videtur Deũ ac leges imperare: qui autem vult hominem, is etiam belluam adiungit, cùm præsertim tale quid sit cupiditas & iracundia: & magistratus & optimus quisq; à recta via detorqueantur &c. Adde quæ è Chrysippo adducuntur ff. li. i. tit. 3. l. 2.

De admissione Fratrum & nunciorum ad Imperatorem. Cap. 29.

IN loco illo, vbi positus est Imperator in throno, vocati fuimus coram ipso. Cúmq; Chingay protonotarius eius nomina nostra scripsisset, illorũq; à quibus missi eramus, & Ducis Solangorum & aliorum, clamauit alta voce, recitans illa coram Imperatore ac Ducum vniuersitate. Quo facto, flexit vnusquisq; nostrum quater genu sinistrum, & monuerunt, ne tangeremus limen deorsum. Cúmq; pro cultellis nos diligentissimè scrutati fuissent, & nullatenus inuenissent, intrauimus ostium ab Orientali parte: quia nullus ab Occidente, nisi solus imperator, audet intrare. Similiter & Dux ab illa parte ingreditur solus, si est tentorium eius. Minores autem non multum curant de talibus. Tunc ergò primum in eius præsentia suam intrauimus stationem, videlicet postquam factus est Imperator ibidem. Omnes quoque nuncij tunc ab eo recepti sunt, sed paucissimi tentorium eius intrauerunt. Ibi verò tanta donaria ab ipsis nuncijs fuerunt ei præsentata, quòd quasi videbantur infinita, videlicet in samitis ac purpureis & baldakinis ac cingulis sericis cum auro præparatis, pellibus etiam nobilibus, cæterisq; muneribus. Quoddam etiam Solinum, siue tentoriolum, quod super caput Imperatoris portatur, fuit eidem præsentatum, quod totum erat cum gemmis præparatum. Quidam verò præfectus vnius prouinciæ adduxit ei Camelos multos cum Baldakinis tectos. Similiter sellæ positæ cum instrumentis quibusdam erant, in quibus homines interius sedere valebant. Equos etiam multos & mulos adducebant eidem phaleratos & armatos, quosdam quidem de corio, & quosdam de ferro. Nos etiam requisiti fuimus, an ei munera dare vellemus: sed iam facultas non erat, quoniam omnia ferè nostra consumpseramus. Ibidem longè à stationibus super montem erant positi currus plusquam quingenti, qui omnes auro & argento ac sericis vestibus erant pleni. Cunctíq; inter imperatorem & Duces diuisi fuerunt, singulíq; Duces inter homines suos partes suas, vt eis placuit, diuiserunt.

Cuyne audit legatos.

Munera eidem oblata.

Currus θεοφορίβορα.

De loco diuisionis Imperatoris & matris suæ, & morte Ieroslai, Ducis Russiæ.

INde recedentes, venimus ad alium locum, vbi tentorium mirabile, totum de purpura rufa, quòd Kitay dederant, erat positum. Illic interius introducti fuimus, & semper cùm intrabamus nobis dabatur ad bibendum cereuisia vel vinum, & etiam carnes coctæ, si volebamus, ad edendum. Erátque solariolum vnum, de tabulis altè præparatum, vbi thronus Imperatoris erat positus, ex ebore mirabiliter sculptus, in quo etiam erat aurum, & lapides preciosi, si benè meminimus, & illuc ascendebatur per gradus. Erátque rotundum superius. Banci

Tentorium purpureum.

Solium eburneum.

verò erant positi in circuitu sedis, vbi dominæ sedebant à parte sinistra in scamnis, à dextris autem nemo sedebat superius, sed Duces sedebant in Bancis inferius, & hoc in medio. Alij verò sedebant post eos, & quolibet die veniebat dominarum maxima multitudo. Ista verò tria tentoria, de quibus suprà diximus, erant valdè magna, aliáq; habebant vxores eius de filtro albo satis magna & pulchra. Ibidem Imperator diuisus est à matre sua, quæ iuit in vnam terræ partem, & Imperator in aliam ad iudicia facienda. Capta siquidem erat amica Imperatoris istius, quæ veneno interfecerat patrem eius, eo tempore, quo exercitus eorum in Hungaria fuit. Propter quod etiam exercitus eorum, qui erat in partibus illis, recessit. De qua cum alijs pluribus factum fuit iudicium, & occisi fuerunt. Eodem tempore mortuus fuit Ierozlaus, Dux magnus Soldal, quæ est quædam Russiæ pars. Vocatus enim ad matrem Imperatoris quasi pro honore, vt manducaret ac biberet de manu ipsius, in continenti ad hospitium est reuersus, infirmatúsq; mortuus est post septem dies, totúmque corpus eius miro modo glaucum effectum est, dicebatúrq; ab omnibus, quod ibidem, vt terram eius liberè ac plenariè possiderent, fuisset impotionatus.

Nex Occoday vindicata. Ierozlaus Dux Russiæ.

Qualiter tandem Fratres ad Imperatorem accedentes, literas dederunt & acceperunt. Cap. 31.

Cuyne cum legatis dissimulanter agit.

DEníq; Tartari nostri nos ad Imperatorem duxerunt: qui cùm audisset per illos, nos ad eum venisse, iussit nos ad matrem redire. Volebat enim secundo die, sicut superiùs dictum est, contra totam Occidentis terram vexillum erigere, quod nos volebat ignorare. Itaque reuersi stetimus paucis diebus, & iterum ad ipsum reuersi sumus. Cum quo benè per mensem fuimus in tanta fame ac siti, quòd vix viuere poteramus. Nam expensæ, quæ nobis pro diebus quatuor dabantur, vix vni sufficiebant. Nec inuenire poteramus aliquid ad emendum, quia forum erat nimis remotum. Sed Dominus nobis quendam Ruthenum, nomine Cosmam, aurifabrum præparauit, qui satis dilectus Imperatori, nos in aliquo sustentauit. Et hic nobis ostendit thronum Imperatoris, quem ipse fecerat, antequam poneretur in sede, & sigillum eiusdem, quod etiam fabricauerat ipse. Post hoc Imperator pro nobis misit, nobísq; per Chingay protonotarium suum dici fecit, vt verba nostra & negotia scriberemus, eíq; porrigeremus. Quod & fecimus. Post plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, & vtrum essent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogauit. Cui respondimus, quòd nullam istarum literarum habebamus. Sarraceni tamen erant in terra, sed remoti erant à Domino Papa. Diximus tamen, quia nobis expedire videbatur, quòd in Tartarico scriberent, & nobis interpretarentur, nos autem in litera nostra diligenter scriberemus, & tam literam quàm interpretationem ad Dominum Papam deferremus. Tunc à nobis recesserunt, & ad Imperatorem iuerunt. Porrò à die Beati Martini fuimus vocati. Tunc Kadac, totius imperij procurator, & Chingay & Bala, plurésq; scriptores ad nos venerunt, nobísq; literam de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cùm in Latina litera scripsissemus, faciebant sibi per singulas orationes interpretari, volentes scire, si nos in aliquo verbo erraremus. Cùm igitur ambæ literæ fuissent scriptæ, fecerunt nos semel ac secundo legere, ne fortè minus aliquid haberemus. Dixerunt enim nobis, videte, quòd omnia benè intelligatis, quia non expediret, quòd non omnia benè intelligeretis. Literas etiam in Sarracenico scripserunt, vt aliquis in partibus nostris inueniri posset, qui eas, si opus esset, legeret.

Cosmas Russus.

Chingay internuncius.

Prudens de literis consilium.

Qualiter licentiati fuerunt. Cap. 32.

VT autem nobis Tartari nostri dixerunt, proposuit Imperator nuncios suos nobiscum mittere. Volebat tamen, vt credimus, quod nos id ab eo peteremus. Sed cùm vnus de Tartaris nostris, qui senior erat, nos ad hoc petendum hortaretur, nobis quidem, vt venirent, ne quaquam bonum videbatur. Ideóq; respondimus ei, quòd non erat nostrum petere, sed si sponte ipse Imperator mitteret eos, libenter eos securè conduceremus, Domino adiuuante. Nobis autem ob plures causas vt venirent, non videbatur expedire. Prima quidem fuit, quia timuimus, ne visis dissentionibus aut guerris, quæ fiunt inter nos, magis animarentur ad veniendum contra nos. Secunda fuit, timebamus eos exploratores terræ fieri. Tertia verò, quia time-

Legati abhorrent a Tartarorum ad Christianos legatione.

timebamus eos interfici. Gentes enim nostræ arrogantes sunt & superbæ. Vnde quando seruientes, qui stant nobiscum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati scilicet Alemanniæ, in habitu Tartarico ibant ad ipsum, in via ferè lapidati sunt à Teutonicis, & coacti sunt deponere habitum illum. Consuetudo autem est Tartarorum, vt cum illis, qui nuncios eorum occiderint, nunquam faciant pacem, nisi sumant de ipsis vltionem. Quarta etiã causa fuit, quia timebamus ne nobis auferrentur vi. Quinta verò causa erat, quia de aduentu eorum nulla foret vtilitas, cùm nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel potestatem, nisi quòd literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam & ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipsi nos habebamus, & malum ex eorum aduentu posse contingere credebamus. Itaq; tertia die post hoc, scilicet in festo beati Briccij nobis dederunt licentiam & literam, Imperatoris sigillo munitam, mittentes nos ad ipsius Imperatoris matrem, quæ vnicuiq; nostrum dedit pelliceum vnum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat pilos de foris, & purpuram vnam. De quibus Tartari nostri furati sunt ex vnaquaq; vnum passum. De illa quoq;, quæ dabatur seruienti, meliorem medietatem sunt furati. Quod nos quidem non ignorauimus, sed inde verba mouere noluimus.

Nouemb. 13.

Honorantur cõmeatu & lautijs.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TVnc iter ad reuertendum arripuimus, ac per totam hyemem venimus, iacentes in desertis sæpiùs in niue, nisi quantum poteramus nobis cum pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores, sed planus campus. Et sæpe manè nos inueniebamus totos niue, quam ventus pellebat, coopertos. Sic venientes vsq; ad Ascensionem Domini peruenimus ad Bathy. A quo cùm inquireremus, quid responderet Domino Papæ, dixit se nolle aliud, nisi quod Imperator diligenter scripserat, demandare. Datisq; nobis de conductu literis, ab eo recessimus, & sabbatho infra octauas Pentecostes vsq; ad Montij peruenimus, vbi erant socij nostri, ac seruientes, qui fuerant retenti, quos ad nos fecimus reduci. Hinc vsq; Correnssam peruenimus, cui iterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Deditq; nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, vsque ad Kiouiam Russiæ. Tartarus tamen noster non dimisit nos, donec exiremus vltimam Tartarorum custodiam. Isti verò alij, qui nobis à Correnssa dati sunt, in sex diebus ab vltima custodia vsq; ad Kiouiam nos duxerunt. Venimus autem illuc ante festum Beati Iohannis Baptistæ xv. diebus. Porrò Kiouienses aduentum nostrum percipientes, occurrerunt nobis omnes lætanter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte suscitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam. Daniel & Wasilico frater eius festum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem nostram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medióq; tempore inter se & cum Episcopis, cæterisq; probis viris, super his, quæ locuti fueramus eisdem, in processu nostro ad Tartaros consilium habentes, responderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellent in specialem Dominum, & in patrem, sanctam quoq; Romanam Ecclesiam in dominam & magistram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ priùs de hac materia per Abbatem suum transmiserant. Et super hoc etiam nobiscum ad Dominum Papam nuncios suos & literas transmiserunt.

Difficilis legatarum reditus.

Bathy.

Correnssa.

Iunij 8. Gratulationes reducibus factæ. Basilius & Daniel Principes.

Russi agnoscunt primatum Papæ.

The voyage of Iohannes de Plano Carpini vnto the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our Lord, 1246.

Of the first sending of certaine Friers Prædicants and Minorites vnto the Tartars, taken out of the 32. Booke of Vincentius Beluacensis his Speculum Historiale: beginning at the second Chapter.

ABout this time also, Pope Innocentius the fourth sent Frier Ascelline being one of the order of the Prædicants, together with three other Friers (of the same authoritie whereunto they were called) consorted with him out of diuers Couens of their order, with letters Apostolicall vnto the Tartars campe: wherein hee exhorted them to giue ouer their bloudie slaughter of mankinde, and to receiue the Christian faith. And I, in verie deede, receiued the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars onelie, (which, according to the congruence of times, I haue aboue inserted into this my woorke) from a Frier Minorite, called Simon

Ascellinus.

Simon Quintinus. de Sanct. Quintin, who lately returned from the same voyage. And at that verie time also, there was a certaine other Frier Minorite, namely Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent with certaine associates vnto the Tartars, who likewise (as himselfe witnesseth) abode and conuersed with them a yeere and three moneths at the least. For both he & one Frier Benedict a Polonian being of the same order, and a partaker of all his miserie and tribulation, receiued straight commaundement from the Pope, that both of them shoulde diligently searche out all things that concerned the state of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier Iohn hath written a litle Historie (which is come to our hands) of such things, as with his owne eyes hee sawe among the Tartars, or which he heard from diuers Christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captiuitie Out of which historie I thought good by way of conclusion, to insert somewhat for the supply of those things which are wanting in the said Frier Simon.

Iohn de plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

Of the situation and qualitie of the Tartars land. By Iohannes de Plano Carpini. Chap. 3.

A description of Tartaria.

THere is towards the East a land which is called Mongal or Tartaria, lying in that part of the worlde which is thought to be most North Easterly. On the East part it hath the countrey of Kythay and of the people called Solangi: on the South part the countrey of the Saracens: on the South east the land of the Huini: and on the West the prouince of Naimani: but on the North side it is inuironed with the Ocean Sea. In some part thereof it is full of mountaines, and in other places plaine and smoothe grounde, but euerie where sandie and barren, neither is the hundreth part thereof fruitefull. For it cannot beare fruite vnlesse it be moistened with riuer waters, which bee verie rare in that countrey. Wherevpon they haue neither villages, nor cities among them, except one which is called Cracurim, and is said to be a proper towne. We our selues sawe not this towne, but were almost within halfe a dayes iourney thereof, when we remained at Syra Orda, which is the great court of their Emperour. And albeit the foresaid lande is otherwise vnfruitfull, yet is it very commodious for the bringing vp of cattell. In certaine places thereof are some small store of trees growing, but otherwise it is altogether destitute of woods. Therefore the Emperour, and his noble men and all other warme themselues, and dresse their meate with fires made of the doung of oxen, and horses. The ayre also in that countrey is verie intemperate. For in the midst of Sommer there be great thunders and lightnings, by the which many men are slaine, and at the same time there falleth great abundance of snowe. There bee also such mightie tempestes of colde windes, that sometimes men are not able to sitte on horsebacke. Whereupon, being neere vnto the Orda (for by this name they call the habitations of their Emperours and noble men) in regarde of the great winde we were constrained to lye grouelng on the earth, and could not see by reason of the dust. There is neuer any raine in Winter, but onely in Sommer, albeit in so little quantitie, that sometimes it scarcely sufficeth to allay the dust, or to moysten the rootes of the grasse. There is often times great store of haile also. Insomuch that when the Emperour elect was to be placed in his Emperiall throne (my selfe being then present) there fell such abundance of haile, that, vpon the sudden melting thereof, more then 160. persons were drowned in the same place: there were manie tentes and other thinges also caried away. Likewise, in the Sommer season there is on the sudden extreame heate, and suddenly againe intollerable colde.

The North Ocean.

Syra Orda.

The intemperature of the aire.

What Orda signifieth.

Of their forme, habite, and maner of liuing. Chap. 4.

The shape of the Tartars.

THe Mongals or Tartars, in outward shape, are vnlike to all other people. For they are broader betweene the eyes, and the balles of their cheekes, then men of other nations bee. They haue flat and small noses, litle eyes, and eye lidded standing streight vpright, they are shauen on the crownes like priests. They weare their haire somewhat longer about their eares, then vpon their foreheads: but behinde they let it growe long like womans haire, whereof they braide two lockes binding eche of them behind either eare. They haue short feet also. The garments, as well of their men, as of their women are all of one fashion. They vse neither cloakes, hattes, nor cappes. But they weare lackets framed after a strange

Their habite.

manner,

manner, of buckeram, skarlet, or Baldakines. Their shoubes or gownes are hayrie on the outside, and open behinde, with tailes hanging downe to their hammes. They vse not to washe their garments, neither will in any wise suffer them to bee washed, especially in the time of thunder. Their habitations bee rounde and cunningly made with wickers and staues in manner of a tent. But in the middest of the toppes thereof, they haue a window open to conuey the light in and the smoake out. For their fire is alwayes in the middest. Their walles bee couered with felt. Their doores are made of felte also. Some of these Tabernacles may quickely be taken asunder, and set together againe, and are caried vpon beastes backes. Other some cannot be taken insunder, but are stowed vpon carts. And whithersoeuer they goe, be it either to warre, or to any other place, they transport their tabernacles with them. They are very rich in cattel, as in camels, oxen, sheep, and goats. And I thinke they haue more horses and mares then all the world besides. But they haue no swine nor other beasts. Their Emperors, Dukes, & other of their nobles doe abound with silk, gold, siluer, and precious stones. Their victuals are al things that may be eaten: for we saw some of them eat lice. They drinke milke in great quantitie, but especially mares milke, if they haue it: They seeth Mill also in water, making it so thinne, that they may drinke thereof. Euery one of them drinkes off a cup full or two in a morning, and sometime they eate nought else all the day long. But in the euening each man hath a little flesh giuen him to eate, and they drinke the broath thereof. Howbeit in summer time, when they haue mares milke enough, they seldome eate flesh, vnles perhaps it be giuen them, or they take some beast or bird in hunting.

Like vnto Frobishers men.
Their tabernacles.
Their cattell.
Their victuals.

Of their manners both good and bad. Chap. 5.

THeir manners are partly prayse-worthie, and partly detestable: For they are more obedient vnto their lords and masters, then any other either clergie or laie-people in the whole world. For they doe highly reuerence them, and will deceiue them, neither in wordes nor deedes. They seldome or neuer fall out among themselues, and, as for fightings or brawlings, wounds or manslaughters, they neuer happen among them. There are neither theeues nor robbers of great riches to be found, and therefore the tabernacles and cartes of them that haue any treasures are not strengthened with lockes or barres. If any beast goe astray, the finder thereof either lets it goe, or driueth it to them that are put in office for the same purpose, at whose handes the owner of the said beast demaundeth it, and without any difficultie receiueth it againe. One of them honoureth another exceedingly, and bestoweth banquets very familiarly and liberally, notwithstanding that good victuals are daintie and scarce among them. They are also very hardie, and when they haue fasted a day or two without any maner of sustenance, they sing and are merry as if they had eaten their bellies full. In riding, they endure much cold and extreme heat. There be, in a maner, no contentions among them, and although they vse commonly to be drunken, yet doe they not quarell in their drunkennes. Noe one of them despiseth another but helpeth and furthereth him, as much as conueniently he can. Their women are chaste, neither is there so much as a word vttered concerning their dishonestie. Some of them will notwithstanding speake filthy and immodest words. But towards other people, the said Tartars be most insolent, and they scorne and set nought by all other noble and ignoble persons whatsoeuer. For we saw in the Emperours court the great duke of Russia, the kings sonne of Georgia, and many great Soldanes receiuing no due honour and estimation among them. So that euen the very Tartars assigned to giue attendance vnto them, were they neuer so base, would alwaies goe before them, and take the vpper hand of them, yea, and sometimes would constraine them to sit behinde their backes. Moreouer they are angrie and of a disdainefull nature vnto other people, and beyond all measure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them. They speake fayre in the beginning, but in conclusion, they sting like scorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falshood, circumuenting all men whom they are able, by their sleights. Whatsoeuer mischiefe they entend to practise against a man, they keepe it wonderfully secrete, so that he may by no meanes prouide for himselfe, nor find a remedie against their conspiracies.

Their obedience.
Their shutnesse.
Their courtesie.
Their chastity.
Their insolencie against strangers.

They

They are vnmanerly also and vncleanly in taking their meat and their drinke, and in other actions. Drunkennes is honourable among them, and when any of them hath taken more drinke then his stomacke can well beare, hee casteth it vp and falles to drinking againe. They are most intollerable exacters, most couetous possessours, and most nigardly giuers. The slaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them.

Of their lawes and customes. Chap. 6.

Punishments of adultery.

MOreouer, they haue this law or custome, that whatsoeuer man or woman be manifestly taken in adultery, they are punished with death. A virgine likewise that hath committed fornication, they slay together with her mate. Whosoeuer be taken in robberie or theft, is put to death without all pitie. Also, if any man disclose their secrets, especially in time of warre, he receiueth an hundreth blowes on the backe with a bastinado, layd on by a tall fellow. In like sort when any inferiours offend in ought, they finde no fauour at their superiours handes, but are punished with grieuous stripes. They are ioyned in matrimony to all in generall, yea, euen to their neare kinsfolkes except their mother, daughter and sister by the mothers side. For they vse to marrie their sister by the fathers side onely, and also the wife of their father after his decease. The yonger brother also, or some other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceased. For, at the time of our abode in the countrey, a certaine duke of Russia named Andreas, was accused before duke Baty for conueying the Tartars horses out of the land, and for selling them to others: and although it could not be prooued, yet was he put to death. His yonger brother and the wife of the party deceased hearing this, came & made their supplication vnto the forenamed duke, that the dukedome of Russia might not be taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceased brothers wife, and the woman also to take him vnto her husband, according to the custome of the Tartars. She answered, that she had rather die, then so haynously transgresse the law. Howbeit, hee deliuered her vnto him, although they both refused as much as they could. Wherefore carying them to bed, they constrained the youth, lamenting and weeping, to lie downe and commit incest with his brothers wife. To be short, after the death of their husbands, the Tartars wiues vse very seldome to marrie the second time, vnlesse perhaps some man takes his brothers wife or his stepmother in mariage. They make no difference betweene the sonne of their wife and of their concubine, but the father giues what he pleaseth vnto each one: For of late the king of Georgia hauing two sonnes, one lawfully begotten called Melich; but the other Dauid, borne in adulterie, at his death left part of his lande vnto his base sonne. Hereupon Melich (vnto whome the kingdome fell by right of his mother, because it was gouerned before time by women) went vnto the Emperour of the Tartars, Dauid also hauing taken his iourney vnto him. Nowe both of them comming to the court and proffering large giftes, the sonne of the harlot made suite, that he might haue iustice, according to the custome of the Tartars. Well, sentence passed against Melich, that Dauid being his elder brother, should haue superioritie ouer him, and should quietly and peaceably possesse the portion of land granted vnto him by his father. Whensoeuer a Tartar hath many wiues, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her selfe. And sometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and sometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the rest, with whom hee is oftener conuersant, then with the other. And notwithstanding (as it hath bin said) they are many, yet do they seldome fal out among themselues.

Of theft.

Of secretes disclosed.

Lawes of matrimonie.

Andreas duke of Russia.

Melich & Dauid two brothers.

Of their superstitious traditions. Chap. 7.

Ridiculous traditions.

BVt by reason of certain traditions, which either they or their predecessors haue deuised, they accompt some things indifferent to be faults. One is to thrust a knife into the fire, or any way to touch the fire with a knife, or with their knife to take flesh out of the cauldro, or to hewe with an hatchet neare vnto the fire. For they think by that meanes to take away the head or force from the fire. Another is to leane vpon the whip, wherewith they beate their horses: for they ride not with spurs. Also, to touch arrowes with a whip, to take or kill yong birds,

birds, to strike an horse with y raine of their bridle, and to breake one bone against another. Also, to powre out milke, meate, or any kinde of drinke vpon the ground or to make water within their tabernacles: which whosoeuer doth willingly, he is slaine, but otherwise he must pay a great summe of money to the inchanter to be purified. Who likewise must cause the tabernacle with all things therein, to passe betweene two fiers. Before it be on this wise purified, no man dare once enter into it, nor conueigh any thing thereout. Besides, if any man hath a morsell giuen him, which he is not able to swallow, and for that cause casteth it out of his mouth, there is an hole made vnder his tabernacle, by which hee is drawen forth and slaine without all compassion. Likewise, whosoeuer treads vpon the threshold of any of their dukes tabernacles, he is put to death. Many other things there be, like vnto these, which they take for heinous offences. But to slay men, to inuade the dominions of other people, and to rifle their goods, to transgresse the commaundements and prohibitions of God, are with them no offences at all. They know nothing concerning eternall life, and euerlasting damnation, and yet they thinke, that after death they shall liue in another world, that they shall multiply their cattell, that they shal eate and drinke and doe other things which liuing men performe here vpon earth. At a new moone, or a full moone, they begin all enterprises that they take in hand, and they call the moone the Great Emperour, and worship it vpon their knees. All men that abide in their tabernacles must be purified with fire: Which purification is on this wise. They kindle two fires, and pitch two lauelines into the ground neere vnto the said fires, binding a corde to the tops of the lauelines. And about the corde they tye certaine iagges of buckram, vnder which corde, and betweene which fires, men, beastes, and tabernacles do passe. There stand two women also, one on the right side, and another on the left casting water, and repeating certaine charmes. If any man be slaine by lightning, all that dwell in the same tabernacle with him must passe by fire in maner aforesaid. For their tabernacles, beds, and cartes, their felts and garments, and whatsoeuer such things they haue, are touched by no man, yea, and are abandoned by all men as things vncleane. And to bee short, they thinke that all things are to be purged by fire. Therefore, when any ambassadours, princes, or other personages whatsoeuer come vnto them, they and their giftes must passe betweene two fires to be purified, lest peraduenture they haue practised some witchcraft, or haue brought some poyson or other mischiefe with them.

The Tartars worship the moone.

Their custome of purifying.

Of the beginning of their empire or gouernment. Chap. 7.

THe East countrie, whereof wee haue entreated, which is called Mongal, is reported to haue had of olde time foure sortes of people. One of their companions was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals. The second company was called Sumongal, that is, the Water-Mongals, who called themselues Tartars of a certaine riuer running through their countrey named Tartar. The third was called Merkat, and the fourth Metrit. All these people had one and the same person, attire of body and language, albeit they were diuided by princes and prouinces. In the prouince of Yeka Mongal, there was a certaine man called Chingis This man became a mighty hunter. For he learned to steale men, & to take them for a pray. He ranged into other countries taking as many captiues as he could, and ioining them vnto himselfe. Also hee allured the men of his owne countrey vnto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe mischiefe. Then began he to make warre vpon the Sumongals or Tartars, and slewe their captaine, and after many conflicts, subdued them vnto himselfe, and brought them all into bondage. Afterward he vsed their helpe to fight against the Merkats, dwelling by the Tartars, whom also hee vanquished in battell. Proceeding from thence, he fought against the Metrites, and conquered them also. The Naimani hearing that Chingis was thus exalted, greatly disdeined thereat. For they had a mighty & puissant Emperour, vnto whom all the foresaid nations payed tribute. Whose sonnes, when he was dead, succeeded him in his Empire. Howbeit, being young and foolish, they knew not howe to gouerne the people, but were diuided, and fell at variance among themselues. Now Chingis being exalted, as is aforesaid, they neuerthelesse inuaded the forenamed countries, put the inhabitants to the sword, and carried away their goods for a pray. Which Chingis hauing intelligence

The people of Tartaria.

The original & the exploits of Chingis.

The Naimani.

The discord of brethern.

telligence of, gathered all his subiects together. The Naimani also, and the people called Karakitay assembled and banded themselues at a certaine straight valley, where, after a battell foughten they were vanquished by the Mongals. And being thus vanquished, they were, the greater part of them, slaine; and others, which could not escape, were carried into captiuitie. In the land of the foresayd Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the sonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created Emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl. Neare vnto which citie, on the South side, there is an huge desert, wherein wilde men are certainely reported to inhabite, which cannot speake at all, and are destitute of ioynts in their legges, so that if they fall, they cannot rise alone by themselues. Howbeit, they are of discretion to make feltes of Camels haire, wherewith they clothe themselues, and which they holde against the winde. And if at any time, the Tartars pursuing them, chance to wound them with their arrowes, they put herbes into their wounds, and flye strongly before them.

Occoday Cham.

Of the mutuall victories betweene them, and the people of Kythay. Chap. 9.

BVt the Mongals returning home into their owne countrey, prepared themselues to battell against the * Kythayans: Which their Emperour hearing, set forward against them with his armie, and they fought a cruell battell, wherein the Mongals were ouercome, and all their nobles in the armie, except seuen, were slaine. And for this cause, when they, purposing to inuade anie region, are threatned by the inhabitants thereof to be slaine, they doe, to this day, answere: in old time also our whole number besides being slaine, we remayned but seuen of vs aliue, and yet notwithstanding we are now growen vnto a great multitude, thinke not therefore to daunt vs with such brags. But Chingis and the residue that remained aliue, fled home into their countrey: And hauing breathed him a little, he prepared himselfe to warre, and went forth against the people called Huyri: These men were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. And these also the Mongals ouercame, and receiued letters or learning from them: for before that time they had not the arte of writing, and nowe they call it the hand or letters of the Mongals. Immediately after, hee marched against the countrey of Saruyur, and of the Karanites, and against the land of Hudirat; all which he vanquished. Then returned he home into his owne countrey, and breathed himselfe. Afterward, assembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord against the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and shut vp their Emperour into his greatest citie: which citie they had so long time besieged, that they began to want necessary prouision for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede vpon, Chingis Cham commaunded his souldiers, that they should eate euery tenth man of the companie. But they of the citie fought manfully against them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes, and when stones wanted they threw siluer, and especially melted siluer: for the same citie abounded with great riches. Also, when the Mongals had fought a long time and could not preuayle by warre, they made a great trench vnderneath the ground from the armie vnto the middest of the citie, and there issuing foorth they fought against the citizens, and the remnant also without the walles fought in like manner. At last, breaking open the gates of the citie, they entred, and putting the Emperour, with many other to the sworde, they tooke possession thereof and conueighed away the golde, siluer, and all the riches therein. And hauing appointed certaine deputies ouer the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the first time, when the Emperour of the Kythayans being vanquished, Chingis Cham obtayned the Empire. But some parte of the countrey, because it lyeth within the sea, they could by no meanes conquere vnto this day. The men of Kytay are Pagans, hauing a speciall kinde of writing by themselues, and (as it is reported) the Scriptures of the olde and newe Testament. They haue also recorded in hystories the liues of their forefathers: and they haue Eremites, and certaine houses made after the manner of our Churches, which in those dayes they greatly resorted vnto. They say that they haue diuers Saints also, and they worship one God. They adore and reuerence CHRIST IESVS our Lorde, and beleeue the article of eternall life, but are not baptized. They doe also honourably esteeme and reuerence our Scriptures. They loue Christians, and bestowe much almes, and are a very courteous and

Haython & Paulus Venetus call them * Cathayans.

New victories.

Letters.

Siluer cast at the enemie in stead of stones.

Chingis Cham proclaimed Emperour.

Part of Cathay in the sea.

The letters, & the religion of the Cathayans.

and gentle people. They haue no beardes, and they agree partly with the Mongals in the disposition of their countenance. In all occupations which men practise, there are not better artificers in the whole worlde. Their countrey is exceeding rich, in corne, wine, golde, silke, and other commodities. Their excellent workmanship.

Of their warre against India maior and minor. Chap. 10.

ANd when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while rested themselues after the foresayd victorie, they diuided their armies. For the Emperour sent one of his sonnes named Thossut (whom also they called Can, that is to say, Emperour) with an armie against the people of Comania, whom he vanquished with much warre, and afterward returned into his owne country. But he sent his other sonne with an armie against the Indians, who also subdued India minor. These Indians are the blacke Saracens, which are also called Æthiopians. But here the armie marched forward to fight against Christians dwelling in India maior. Which the King of that countrey hearing (who is commonly called Presbiter Iohn) gathered his souldiers together, and came foorth against them. And making mens images of copper, he set each of them vpon a saddle on horsebacke, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellowes on the horse backe behinde euery image. And so with many horses and images in such sorte furnished, they marched on to fight against the Mongals or Tartars. And comming neare vnto the place of the battell, they first of all sent those horses in order one after another. But the men that sate behind laide I wote not what vpon the fire within the images, and blew strongly with their bellowes. Whereupon it came to passe, that the men and the horses were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with smoake. Then the Indians cast dartes vpon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and slain. And so they expelled them out of their dominions with great confusion, neither did we heare, that euer they returned thither againe. Thossut Can son of Chingis. India minor subdued. The stratagem of the king of India.

How being repelled by monstrous men shapen like dogs, they ouercame the people of Burithabeth. Chap. 11.

BVt returning through the deserts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherin (as it was reported vnto vs in the Emperours court, by certaine clergie men of Russia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by strong and stedfast affirmation) they found certaine monsters resembling women: who being asked by many interpreters, where the men of that land were, they answered, that whatsoeuer women were borne there, were indued with the shape of mankinde, but the males were like vnto dogges. And delaying the time, in that countrey they met with the said dogges on the other side of the riuer. And in the midst of sharpe winter, they cast themselues into the water: Afterward they wallowed in the dust vpon the maine land, and so the dust being mingled with water, was frozen to their backes, and hauing often times so done, the ice being strongly frozen vpon them, with great fury they came to fight against the Tartars. And when the Tartars threwe their dartes, or shot their arrowes among them, they rebounded backe againe, as if they had lighted vpon stones. And the rest of their weapons coulde by no meanes hurt them. Howbeit, the Dogges made an assault vpon the Tartars, and wounding some of them with their teeth, and slaying others, at length they drawe them out of their countries. And thereupon they haue a Prouerbe of the same matter, as yet rife among them, which they speake in iesting sorte one to another; My father or my brother was slaine of Dogges. The women which they tooke, they brought into their owne countrey, who remayned there till their dying day. And in trauelling homewardes, the sayd armie of the Mongals came vnto the lande of Burithabeth (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell. These people haue a strange or rather a miserable kinde of custome. For when anie mans father deceaseth, he assembleth all his kindred, and they eate him. These men haue no beards at all, for we saw them carie a certaine iron instrument in their hands, wherewith, if any haires growe vpon their chinne, they presently plucke them out. They are also very deformed. From thence the Tartars armie returned to their owne home. A strange report of certaine monstrous women and dogs. The region of Burithabeth. The manners of the people.

How the repulse at the Caspian mountaynes, and were driuen backe by men dwelling in caues. Chap. 12.

Another expedition of Chingis.

MOreouer Chingis Cham, at the same time when he sent other armies against the East, hee himselfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which notwithstanding, he conquered not in that expedition, and as it was reported vnto vs, he went on forward euen to the Caspian mountaines. But the mountaines on that part where they encamped themselues, were of adamant, and therefore they drew vnto them their arrowes, and weapons of iron. And certaine men contained within those Caspian mountaynes, hearing, as it was thought, the noyse of the armie, made a breach through, so that when the Tartars returned vnto the same place tenne yeeres after, they found the mountaine broken. And attempting to goe vnto them, they could not: for there stood a cloud before them, beyond which they were not able to passe, being depriued of their sight so soone as they approched thereunto. But they on the contrary side thinking that the Tartars durst not come nigh them, gaue the assault, & when they came at the cloud, they could not proceed for the cause aforesaid. Also the Tartars, before they came vnto the said mountaines, passed for the space of a moneth and more, through a vast wildernes, & departing thence towards the East, they were aboue a moneth trauelling through another huge desert. At length, they came vnto a land wherin they saw beaten waies, but could not find any people. Howbeit, at the last, diligently seeking, they found a man & his wife, whom they presented before Chingis Cham: and demanding of them where the people of that countrey were, they answered, that the people inhabited vnder the ground in mountains. Then Chingis Cham keeping still the woman, sent her husband vnto the, giuing the charge to come at his command. And going vnto them, he declared all things that Chingis Cham had commanded them. But they answered, that they would vpon such a day visite him, to satisfie his desire. And in the meane season, by blinde & hidden passages vnder the earth, assembling themselues, they came against the Tartars in warlike manner, and suddenly issuing forth, they slewe a great number of them. This people were not able to endure the terrible noise, which in that place the Sunne made at his vprising: for at the time of the Sunne rising, they were inforced to lay one eare vpon the ground, and to stoppe the other close, least they should heare that dreadfull sound. Neither could they so escape, for by this meanes many of them were destroyed. Chingis Cham therefore and his company, seeing that they preuailed not, but continually lost some of their number, fled and departed out of that land. But the man and his wife aforesaid they caried along with them, who all their life time continued in the Tartars countrey. Being demaunded why the men of their countrey doe inhabite vnder the ground, they sayd, that at a certeine time of the yeare, when the sunne riseth, there is such an huge noyse, that the people cannot endure it. Moreouer, they vse to play vpon cymbals, drums, and other musicall instruments, to the ende they may not heare that sounde.

A fabulous narration of the sun rising.

Of the statutes of Chingis Cham, of his death, of his sonnes, and of his dukes. Chap. 13.

BVt as Chingis Cham returned out of that countrey, his people wanted victuals, & suffered extreme famin. Then by chance they found a fresh intrails of a beast: which they tooke, & casting away the dung therof, caused it to be sodden, brought it before Chingis Cham, & did eat therof. And hereupon Chingis Cham enacted; that neither the blood, nor the intrails, nor any other part of a beast which might be eaten, should be cast away, saue onely the dunge. Wherefore he returned thence into his owne land, and there he ordayned lawes and statutes, which the Tartars doe most strictly and inuiolably obserue, of the which we haue before spoken. He was afterward slaine by a thunderclap. He had foure sonnes: the first was called Occoday, the second Thossut Can, the third Thiaday: the name of the fourth is vnknowen. From these foure descended all the dukes of the Mongals. The first sonne of Occoday is Cuyne, who is now Emperour: his brothers be Cocten and Chyrinen. The sonnes of Thossut Can are Bathy, Ordu, Siba, and Bora. Bathy, next vnto the Emperour,

The lawe of Chingis.

The death of Chingis. His sonnes.

His grandchildren.

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is richer and mightier then all the rest. But Ordu is the seignior of all the dukes. The sonnes of Thiaday be Hurin and Cadan. The sonnes of Chingis Cham his other sonne, whose name is vnknowen, are Mengu, Bithat, and certaine others. The mother of Mengu was named Serectan, and of all others most honoured among the Tartars, except the Emperors mother, and mightier then any subiect except Bathy. These be the names of the dukes: Ordu, who was in Poland and in Hungarie: Bathy also & Hurin & Cadan, and Siban, and Ouygar, all which were in Hungarie. In like maner Cyrpodan, who is as yet beyond the sea, making war against certaine Soldans of the Saracens, and other inhabitants of farre countries. Others remained in the land, as namely Mengu, Chyrinen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. There be many other of their dukes, whose names are vnknowen vnto vs. The Tartarian dukes.

Of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of his dukes. Chap. 14.

MOreouer, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion ouer all his subiects. For no man dare abide in any place, vnles he hath assigned him to be there. Also he himselfe appointeth to his dukes where they should inhabite. Likewise the dukes assigne places vnto euery Millenarie, or conducter of a thousand souldiers, the Millenaries vnto each captaine of an 100. the captaines vnto euery corporall of ten. Whatsoeuer is giuen them in charge, whensoeuer, or wheresoeuer, be it to fight or to lose their liues, or howsoeuer it be, they obey without any gainsaying. For if he demandeth any mans daughter, or sister being a virgine, they presently deliuer her vnto him without all contradiction: yea, often times he makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and those whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himselfe, others he bestoweth vpon his men. Also, whatsoeuer messenger he sendeth, or whithersoeuer, his subiects must without delay finde them horses and other necessaries. In like sorte, from what countrey soeuer tribute payers, or ambassadours come vnto him, they must haue horses, carriages, and expenses allowed them. Notwithstanding ambassadours comming from other places do suffer great misery, and are in much wante both of victuals, and of apparel: especially when they come to any of the dukes, and there they are constrayned to make some lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed so little sustenance, that scarcely two could liue thereof. Likewise, if any iniuries be offered them, they cannot without danger make complaint. Many gifts also are demaunded of them, both by dukes and others, which if they doe not bestow, they are basely esteemed, and set at nought. And hereupon, wee were of necessitie enforced to bestowe in giftes a great part of those things which were giuen vs by well disposed people, to defray our charges. To be short, all things are so in the power and possession of the Emperour, that no man dare say, This is mine, or, this is my neighbours: but all, both goods, cattell and men are his owne. Concerning this matter also he published a statute of late. The very same authority and iurisdiction, doe the dukes in like sorte exercise vpon their subiects. The absolute and bodily seruitude of the Tartarian Emperour ouer his subiects. Their barbarous inhumanitie towards ambassadours.

Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the expedition of duke Bathy. Chap. 15.

AFter the death of Chingis Cham aforesayd, the dukes assembled themselues and chose Occoday his sonne to be their Emperour. And he, entering into consultation with his nobles, diuided his armies, and sent duke Bathy his nephew against the countrie of Altisoldan, and against the people called Bisermini, who were Saracens, but spake the language of Comania. The Tartars inuading their countrey, fought with them and subdued them in battell. But a certeine citie called Barchin resisted them a long time. For the citizens had cast vp many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the said ditches. But the citizens of Sarguit hearing this, came foorth to meete them, yeelding themselues vnto them of their owne accord. Whereupon their citie was not destroyed, but they slue manie of them and others they carried away captiue, and taking spoyles, they filled the citie with other inhabitants, and so marched foorth against the citie of Orna. This towne was very populous and exceeding rich. For there were many Occoday succeedeth his father. The expedition of Bathy. The citie of Barchin. Orna.

Christians therein, as namely Gasarians, Russians, and Alanians, with others, and Saracens also. The gouernment of the citie was in the Saracens hande. It standeth vpon a mighty riuer, and is a kinde of porte towne, hauing a great marte exercised therein. And when the Tartars could not otherwise ouercome it, they turned the said riuer, running through the citie, out of his chanell, and so drowned the citie with the inhabitantes and their goods. Which being done, they set forward against Russia, and made foule hauocke there, destroying cities and castles and murthering the people. They layd siege a long while vnto Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia, and at length they tooke it and slue the citizens. Whereupon, trauelling through that countrey, wee found an innumerable multitude of dead mens skulles and bones lying vpon the earth. For it was a very large and a populous citie, but it is nowe in a maner brought to nothing: for there doe scarce remaine 200. houses, the inhabitants whereof are kept in extreame bondage. Moreouer, out of Russia and Comania, they proceeded forward against the Hungarians, and the Polonians, and there manie of them were slaine, as is aforesaid: and had the Hungarians manfully withstood them, the Tartars had beene confounded and driuen backe. Returning from thence, they inuaded the countrey of the Morduans being pagans, and conquered them in battell. Then they marched against the people called Byleri, or Bulgaria magna, & vtterly wasted the countrey. From hence they proceeded towards the North against the people called Bastarci or Hungaria magna, and conquered them also. And so going on further North, they came vnto the Parossitæ, who hauing little stomacks and small mouthes, eate not any thing at all, but seething flesh they stand or sitte ouer the potte, and receiuing the steame or smoke thereof, are therewith onely nourished, and if they eate anie thing it is very little. From hence they came to the Samogetæ, who liue onely vpon hunting, and vse to dwell in tabernacles onely, and to weare garments made of beastes skinnes. From thence they proceeded vnto a countrey lying vpon the Ocean sea, where they found certaine monsters, who in all things resembled the shape of men, sauing that their feete were like the feete of an oxe, and they had in deede mens heads but dogges faces. They spake, as it were, two words like men, but at the third they barked like dogges. From hence they retired into Comania, and there some of them remaine vnto this day.

The Morduans.
Bulgaria magna.
Hungaria magna.
Parossitæ.
Samogetæ.
The North ocean.
Northerne monsters.

Of the expedition of duke Cyrpodan. Chap. 16.

AT the same time Occoday Can sent duke Cyrpodan with an armie against Kergis, who also subdued them in battell. These men are Pagans, hauing no beardes at all. They haue a custome when any of their fathers die, for griefe and in token of lamentation to drawe as it were, a leather thong ouerthwart their faces, from one eare to the other. This nation being conquered, duke Cyrpodan marched with his forces Southward against the Armenians. And trauailing through certain desert places, they found monsters in the shape of men, which had each of them but one arme & one hand growing out of the midst of their breast, and but one foote. Two of them vsed to shoote in one bowe, and they ran so swiftly, that horses could not ouertake them. They ran also vpon that one foote by hopping and leaping, and being weary of such walking, they went vpon their hand and their foote, turning themselues round, as it were in a circle. And being wearie of so doing, they ran againe according to their wonted manner. Isidore calleth them Cyclopedes. And as it was told vs in court, by the clergie men of Russia, who remaine with the foresayd Emperour, many ambassadours were sent from them vnto the Emperours court, to obtaine peace. From thence they proceeded forth into Armenia, which they conquered in battell, and part also of Georgia. And the other part is vnder their iurisdiction, paying as yet euery yeare vnto them for tribute, 20000. pieces of coyne called Yperpera. From thence they marched into the dominions of the puissant and mighty Soldan called Deurum, whom also they vanquished in fight. And to be short, they went on farther sacking and conquering, euen vnto the Soldan of Aleppo his dominions, and now they haue subdued that land also; determining to inuade other countries beyond it: neither returned they afterward into their owne land vnto this day. Likewise the same armie marched forward against the Caliph of Baldach his countrey, which they subdued also, & exacted

Kergis.
Cyclopedes.
Armenia & Georgia conquered.
The Soldan of Aleppo his land.
The Caliph of Baldach.

exacted at his handes the daylie tribute of 400. Byzantines, besides Baldakines and other giftes. Also euery yeare they send messengers vnto the Caliph mouing him to come vnto them. Who sending back great giftes together with his tribute beseecheth the to be fauourable vnto him. Howbeit the Tartarian Emperour receiueth al his gifts, & yet still neuertheles sends for him, to haue him come.

How the Tartars behaue themselues in warre. Chap. 17.

The military discipline of the Tartars.

CHingis Cham diuided his Tartars by captaines of ten, captaines of an 100. and captaines of a 1000. And ouer ten Millenaries or captains of a 1000, he placed, as it were, one Colonel, and yet notwithstanding ouer one whole armie he authorised two or three dukes, but yet so that all should haue especiall regard vnto one of the said dukes. And when they ioine battel against any other nation, vnles they do all with one consent giue backe, euery man that flies is put to death. And if one or two, or more of ten proceed manfully to the battel, but the residue of those ten draw backe & follow not the company, they are in like maner slaine. Also, if one among ten or more bee taken, their fellowes, if they rescue the not, are punished with death. Moreouer they are enioined to haue these weapons following. Two long bowes or one good one at the least, three quiuers full of arrowes, & one axe, and ropes to draw engines withal. But the richer sort haue single edged swords, with sharpe points, and somewhat crooked. They haue also armed horses with their shoulders and breasts defenced, they haue helmets and brigandines. Some of them haue iackes, and caparisons for their horses made of leather artificially doubled or trebled vpon their bodies. The vpper part of their helmet is of iron or steele, but that part which compasseth about the necke and the throate is of leather. Howbeit some of them haue all their foresaide furniture of iron framed in maner following. They beate out many thinne plates a finger broad, and a handful long, and making in euery one of them eight little holes, they put thereunto three strong and streight leather thongs. So they ioine the plates one to another, as it were, ascending by degrees. Then they tie the plates vnto the said thongs, with other small and slender thongs, drawen through the holes aforesayd, and in the vpper part, on each side therof, they fasten one small doubled thong vnto another, that the plates may firmely be knit together. These they make, as well for their horses caparisons, as for the armour of their men: And they skowre them so bright that a man may behold his face in them. Some of them vpon the necke of their launce haue an hooke, wherewithall they attempt to pull men out of their saddles. The heads of their arrowes are exceedingly sharpe cutting both wayes like a two edged sworde, and they alwaies carie a file in their quiuers to whet their arrowheads. They haue targets made of wickers, or of small roddes. Howbeit they doe not (as we suppose) accustome to carrie them, but onely about the tents, or in the Emperours or dukes guardes, & that only in the night season. They are most politique in warres, hauing bene exercised therein with other nations for the space of these 42. yeres. When they come at any riuers, the chiefe men of the company hane a round and light piece of leather, about the borders whereof making many loopes, they put a rope into them to drawe it together like a purse, and so bring it into the rounde forme of a ball, which leather they fill with their garments and other necessaries, trussing it vp most strongly. But vpon the midst of the vpper parte thereof, they lay their saddles and other hard things, there also doe the men themselues sit. This their boate they tye vnto an horse tayle, causing a man to swimme before, & to guide ouer the horse, or sometime they haue two oares to row themselues ouer. The first horse therefore being driuen into the water, all the other horses of the company followe him, and so they passe through the riuer. But the poorer sort of common souldiers haue euery man his leather bag or sachell well sowen together, wherin he packs vp all his trinkets, and strongly trussing it vp hangs it at his horses tayle, and so passeth ouer, in maner aforesaid.

Their weapō

Their experience & cunning in warre.

Their maner of passing ouer riuers.

Howe they may be resisted. Chap. 18.

I Deeme not any one kingdome or prouince able to resist them: because they vse to take vp souldiers out of euery countrey of their dominions. And if so be the neighbour prouince which

which they inuade, wil not aide them, vtterly wasting it, with the inhabitants therof, whom they take from thence with them, they proceed on to fight against another countrey. And placing their captiues in the forefront of the battell, if they fight not couragiously, they put them to the sworde. Wherefore, if Christians would withstande them, it is expedient, that the prouinces and gouernours of countreies should agree in one, and so by common counsell, should giue them resistance. Their souldiers also must be furnished with strong handbowes & cros-bowes, which they greatly dread, & with sufficiēt arrowes, with maces also of good iron, or an axe with a long handle or staffe. When they make their arrow heads, they must (according to ỹ Tartars custome) dip thē red-hot into water mingled with salte, that they may be strong to pierce the enemies armour. They that wil may haue swords also & lances with hooks at the ends, to pull thē from their saddles, out of which they are easilie remoued. They must haue helmets likewise & other armour to defend thēselues & their horses frō the Tartars weapons & arrowes, & they that are vnarmed, must (according to ỹ Tartars custome) march behinde their fellowes, and discharge at the enemie with long bowes and cros-bowes. And (as it is aboue said of the Tartars) they must orderly dispose their bandes and troupes, and ordeine lawes for their souldiers. Whosoeuer runneth to the pray or spoyle, before the victorie be atchieued, must vndergoe a most seuere punishment. For such a fellow is put to death among the Tartars without all pitie or mercie. The place of battel must be chosen, if it be possible, in a plaine fielde, where they may see round about, neither must all be in one company, but in manie and seuerall bandes, not very farre distant one from another. They which giue the first encounter must sende one band before, and must haue another in a readynesse to relieue and second the former in time conuenient. They must haue spies also on euery side to giue them notice when the rest of the enemies bandes approch. For therefore ought they alwayes to send forth band against band & troupe against troupe, because the Tartar euer practiseth to gette his enemie in the midst and so to enuiron him. Let our bands take this caueat also, if the enemie retire, not to make any long pursuit after him, lest peraduenture (according to his custome) he might draw them into some secret ambush: for the Tartar fights more by policie then by maine force. And againe, lest our horses bee tired: for we are not so well stored with horses as they. Those horses which the Tartars vse one day, they ride not vpon three or foure dayes after. Moreouer, if the Tartars draw homeward, our men must not therefore depart and cassein their bandes, or separate themselues asunder: because they doe this vpon policie, namely to haue our armie diuided, that they may more securely inuade and waste the countrey. And in very deede, our captaines ought both day and night to keepe their armie in a readines: and not to lie out of their armour, but at all assayes, to bee prouided for battell. For the Tartars like diuels are alwaies watching and deuising howe to practise mischiefe. Furthermore, if in battell any of the Tartars be cast off their horse backes, they must presently bee layd holde on and taken, for being on foote they shoote strongly, wounding and killing both horses and men.

Counsel how to wage warre against the Tartars.

A notable temper of iron or steele.

* Iohannes de plano Carpini.

Of the iourney of frier * Iohn vnto the first guard of the Tartars. Chap. 19.

The iourney of frier Iohn & his fellow Legates.

WE therefore by the commaundement of the sea apostolique setting foorth towards the nations of the East, chose first to trauel vnto the Tartars, because we feared that there might be great danger imminent vpon the Church of God next vnto them, by their inuasions. Proceeding on therefore, we came to the king of Bohemia, who being of our familiar acquaintance, aduised vs to take our iourney through Polonia and Russia. For we had kinsfolkes in Polonia, by whose assistance, we might enter into Russia. Hauing giuen vs his letters, hee caused our charges also to be defrayed, in all his chiefe houses and cities, till we came vnto his nephew Bole-laus duke of Slesia, who also was familiar and well knowen vnto vs. The like fauour he shewed vs also, till wee came vnto Conradus duke of * Lautiscia, vnto whome then (by Gods especiall fauour towards vs) lord Wasilico duke of Russia was come, from whose mouth we heard more at large cōcerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had sent ambassadours thither, who were returned backe vnto him. Wherefore, it being giuen vs to vnderstand, that we must bestow giftes vpon them, we caused certaine skinnes of beuers and

Boleslaus duke of Silesia.

* Meziscia.

other

other beastes to be bought with part of that money, which was giuen vpon almes to succour vs by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the * duches of Cracow, and a bishop, and certaine souldiers being aduertised of, gaue vs likewise more of the same skins. And to be short, duke Wasilico being earnestly requested by the duke of Cracow, and by the bishop and barons, on our behalfe, conducted vs with him, vnto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, enterteined vs at his owne charges, to the ende that we might refresh our selues a while. And when, being requested by vs, he had caused his bishops to resort vnto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admonishing them to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church. To the same purpose also, we our selues admonished them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the bishops and others thereunto. Howbeit because duke Daniel the brother of Wasilico aforesaid (hauing as then taken his iourney vnto Baty) was absent, they could not at that time, make a finall answere. After these things duke Wasilico sent vs forward with one of his seruants as farre as Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia. Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our liues by reason of the Lituanians, who did often inuade y borders of Russia, euen in those verie places by which we were to passe. But in regard of the foresayd seruant, wee were out of the Russians daunger, the greatest part of whome were either slaine, or caried into captiuitie by the Tartars. Moreouer, at Danilon wee were feeble euen vnto the death. (Notwithstanding wee caused our selues to bee carried in a waggon through the snowe and extreme colde) And being come vnto Kiow, wee consulted with the Millenary, & other noble men there concerning our iourney. They told vs, that if wee carried those horses, which wee then had, vnto the Tartars, great store of snowe lying vpon the ground, they would all dye: be cause they knew not howe to digge vp the grasse vnder the snow, as the Tartarian horses doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eate, the Tartars hauing neither hay nor strawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leaue them behind at Kiow with two seruants appointed to keepe them. And wee were constrayned to bestow gifts vpon the Millenary, that we might obtaine his fauour to allowe vs poste horses and a guide. Wherefore beginning our iourney the second daye after the feast of the Purification, wee arrined at the towne of Canow, which was immediatly vnder the dominion of the Tartars. The gouernour whereof allowed vs horses and a guide vnto another towne, wherein wee found one Michæas to be gouernour, a man full of all malice and despight. Who notwithstanding, hauing receiued giftes at our handes, according to his maner conducted vs to the first guarde of the Tartars.

* Grosulaus.

Daniel brother vnto Wasilico.

The Lituanians.

The fodder of the Tartarian horses.

Michæas the malicious.

How he and his company were at the first receiued of the Tartars. Chap. 20.

WHerefore, the first saturday next after Ashwednesday, hauing about the Sunnes going downe, taken vp our place of rest, the armed Tartars came rushing vpon vs in vncouth and horrible maner, being very inquisitiue of vs what maner of persons, or of what condition we were: & when we had answered them that we were the Popes Legates, receiuing some victuals at our handes, they immediatly departed. Moreouer in the morning rising and proceeding on our iourney, the chiefe of them which were in the guard met with vs, demanding why, or for what intent and purpose we came thither: and what busines we had with them: Vnto whom we answered, We are the legates of our lord the Pope, who is the father & lord of the Christians. He hath sent vs as well vnto your Emperour, as to your princes, and all other Tartars for this purpose, because it is his pleasure, that all Christians should be in league with the Tartars, and should haue peace with them. It is his desire also that they should become great or in fauour with God in heauen, therfore he admonisheth them aswel by vs, as by his own letters, to become Christians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Iesu Christ, because they could not otherwise be saued. Moreouer, he giues the to vnderstand, that he much marueileth at their mōstrous slaughters & massacres of mankind, & especially of Christians, but most of al of Hungarians, Mountaineirs, & Polonians, being al his subiects, hauing not iniuried them in ought, nor attempted to doe them iniurie. And because the Lord God is grieuously offended thereat, he aduiseth them from henceforth to beware of such dealing, & to repent them of that which they had done. He requesteth also, that they would write

The contents of the legacie.

write an answere vnto him, what they purpose to doe hereafter, and what their intention is. All which things being heard and vnderstood, the Tartars sayd that they would appoint vs poste horses and a guide vnto Corrensa. And immediately demanding giftes at our hands, they obtained them. Then receiuing the same horses, from which they dismounted, together with a guide wee tooke our iourney vnto Corrensa. But they riding a swift pace, sent a messenger before vnto the sayd duke Corrensa, to signifie the message, which we had deliuered vnto them. This duke is gouernour of all them, which lie in guard against the nations of the West, least some enemy might on the sudden and at vnawares breake in vpon them. And hee is said to haue 60000. men vnder him.

Corrensa.

The duke of the Westerne marches.

How they were receiued at the court of Corrensa. Chap. 21.

The maner of seeking the Tartarian princes.

BEing come therefore vnto his court, hee caused our tent to bee placed farre from him, and sent his agents to demaund of vs with what we would incline vnto him, that is to say, what giftes we would offer, in doing our obeisance vnto him. Vnto whome wee answered, that our lord the Pope had not sent any giftes at all, because he was not certaine that wee should euer bee able to come at them: for we passed through most dangerous places. Notwithstanding, to our abilitie, we will honour him with some part of those things, which haue bene, by the goodnes of God, & the fauour of the Pope, bestowed vpō vs for our sustenance. Hauing receiued our gifts, they conducted vs vnto the Orda or tent of the duke, & we were instructed to bow thrise with our left knee before the doore of the tente, and in any case to beware, lest wee set our foote vpon the threshold of the sayd doore. And that after we were entred, wee should rehearse before the duke and all his nobles, the same wordes, which wee had before sayde, kneeling vpon our knees. Then presented wee the letters of our lord the Pope: but our interpreter whome we had hired and brought with vs from Kiow was not sufficiently able to interpret them, neither was there any other esteemed to bee meete for the same purpose. Here certaine poste horses and three Tartars were appoynted for vs to conduct vs from hence with al speede vnto duke Bathy. This Bathy is the mightiest prince among them except the Emperour, & they are bound to obey him before all other princes. We began our iourney towards his court the first tuesday in Lent, and riding as fast as our horses could trot (for we had fresh horses almost thrise or fonre times a day) we posted from morning till night, yea very often in the night season also, and yet could we not come at him before Maundie thursday. All this iourney we went through the land of Comania, which is al plaine ground, and hath foure mighty riuers running through it: The first is called ‡ Neper, on the side whereof towards Russia, duke Corrensa & Montij marched vp and downe, which Montij on the other side vpon the plaines is greater then he. The second is called ‡ Don, vpon the banke whereof marcheth a certain prince hauing in mariage the sister of Baty, his name is Tirbon. The third is called ‡ Volga, which is an exceeding great riuer, vpon the bankes whereof duke Bathy marcheth. The fourth is called ‡ Iaec, vpon which two Millenaries doe march, on each side of the riuer one. All these, in the winter time, descend down to the sea, & in summer ascend backe by the bankes of the said riuers vp to the mountains. The sea last named is the § Great sea, out of which the arme of S. George proceedeth, which runneth by Constantinople. These riuers do abound with plenty of fishes, but especially Volga, & they exonerate theselues into the Grecian sea, which is called Mare maior. Ouer Neper we went many daies vpon the ice. Along the shore also of the Grecian sea we went very dangerously vpon the ice in sundry places, & that for many daies together. For about the shore the waters are frozen three leagues into the sea. But before we came vnto Bathy, two of our Tartars rode afore, to giue him intelligence of all the sayings which we had vttered in the presence of Corrensa.

Duke Bathy & his power.

‡ Boristhenes.

‡ Tanais.

‡ Rha.

‡ Rhymnus.

§ Pontus Euxinus. He is deceiued, for albeit Neper & Don run into Mare maior: yet Volga & Iaec flowe into the Caspian sea.

How we were receiued at the court of the great prince Bathy. Chap. 22.

A ceremony of passing betweene two fires.

MOreouer, when we came vnto Bathy in the land of Comania, we were seated a good league distant from his tabernacles. And when we should be conducted vnto his court, it was tolde vs that we must passe between two fires. But we would by no means be induced thereunto, Howb it.

Howbeit, they said vnto vs: you may passe through without al danger: for we would haue you to doe it for none other cause, but only that if you intend any mischiefe against our lord, or bring any poyson with you, fire may take away all euill. Vnto whom we answered, that to the end we might cleare ourselues from all suspition of any such matter, we were contented to passe through. When therefore we were come vnto the Orda, being demanded by his agent Eldegay with what present or gift we would do our obeisance? Wee gaue the same answere which we did at the court of Corensa. The gifts being giuen and receiued, the causes of our iourney also being heard, they brought vs into the tabernacle of the prince, first bowing ourselues at the doore, & being admonished, as before, not to tread vpon the threshold. And being entred, we spake vnto him kneeling vpon our knees, & deliuered him our letters, and requested him to haue interpreters to translate them. Who accordingly on good friday were sent vnto vs, and we together with them, diligently translated our sayd letters into the Russian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages. This interpretation was presented vnto Bathy, which he read, & attentiuely noted. At length wee were conducted home againe vnto our owne lodging, howbeit no victuals were giuen vnto vs, except it were once a litle Millet in a dish, the first night of our comming. This Bathy caries himselfe very stately & magnificently, hauing porters and all officers after the maner of the Emperour, and sittes in a lofty seate or throne together with one of his wiues. The rest, namely, as well his brethren and sonnes, as other great personages sit vnderneath him in the midst vpon a bench, and others sit downe vpon the ground, behinde him, but the men on the right hand and the women on the left. He hath very faire and large tentes of linnen cloth also, which were once the kings of Hungaria. Neither dare any man come into his tent (besides them of his owne family) vnles he be called, be he neuer so mighty and great, except perhaps it be knowen that it is his pleasure. Wee also, for the same cause, sate on the left hand; for so doe all ambassadors in going: but in returning from the Emperour, we were alwaies placed on the right hand. In the middest stands his table, neare vnto the doore of the tent, vpon the which there is drinke filled in golden and siluer vessels. Neither doth Bathy at any time drinke, nor any other of the Tartarian princes, especially being in a publique place, but they haue singing and minstrilsie before them. And alwaies, when hee rides, there is a canopie or small tent carried ouer his head vpon the point of a iauelinc. And so doe all the great princes of the Tartars, & their wiues also. The sayd Bathy is courteous enough vnto his owne men, and yet is hee had in great awe by them: he is most cruel in fight: he is exceedingly prudent and politique in warre, because he hath now continued a long time in martiall affaires.

Eldegay.

Bathy heareth the Legates.

He behaues himselfe like a king.

Their customs of drinking at the sound of minstrels.

How departing from Bathy, they passed through the land of Comania, and of the Kangittæ. Chap. 23.

MOreouer, vpon Easter euen we were called vnto the tent, and there came forth to meete vs the foresaid agent of Bathy, saying on his masters behalfe, that we should go into their land, vnto the Emperor Cuyne, determing certaine of our company with this pretence, that they would send them backe vnto the Pope, to whom we gaue letters of al our affaires to deliuer vnto him. But being come as farre as duke Montij aforesaid, there they were kept vntill our returne. Vpon Easter day, hauing said our praiers, and taken a slender breakfast, in the company of two Tartars, which were assigned vnto vs by Corensa we departed with many teares, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were so feeble in bodie, that we were scarce able to ride. For all that Lent through, our meat was Millet onely with a little water and salte. And so likewise vpon other fasting dayes. Neither had we ought to drinke, but snowe melted in a skillet. And passi ngthrough Comania we rode most earnestly, hauing change of horses fiue times or oftener in a day, except when we went through deserts, for then we were allowed better and stronger horses, which could vndergoe the whole labour. And thus farre had we trauailed from the beginning of Lent vntill eight dayes after Easter. The land of Comania on the North side immediately after Russia, hath eth people called Morduyni Byleri, that is, Bulgaria magna, the Bastarci, that is, Hungaria magna, next vnto the Bastarci, the Parositæ and the Samogetæ. Next vnto the Samogetæ

They trauelled post from Easter day to the 22. of July Eastward of Volga.

A description of Comania.

The North Ocean.

are those people which are sayd to haue dogges faces, inhabiting vpon the desert sho the Ocean. On the South side it hath the Alani, the Circassi, the Gazari, Greece and stantinople; also the land of Iberia, the Cathes, the Brutaches who are said to be Iewes sh their heads all ouer, the landes also of Scythia, of Georgia, of Armenia, of Turkie the West side it hath Hungaria, and Russia. Also Comania is a most large and long cou The inhabitantes whereof called Comani the Tartars slewe, some notwithstanding fled them, and the rest were subdued vnder their bondage. But most of them that fle

The land of the Kangittæ.

returned againe. Afterward wee entred the lande of the Kangittæ, which in many hath great scarcetie of waters, wherin there are but fewe inhabitants by reason of the sayd defect of water. For this cause diuers of the seruants of Ieroslaus duke of Russ they were trauelling towards him into the land of Tartaria, died for thirst, in that d As before in Comania, so likewise in this countrey, wee found many skulles and bon dead men lying vpon the earth like a dunghill. Through this countrey we were trau from the eight day after Easter vntill Ascension day. The inhabitants therof were Pa and neither they nor the Comanians vsed to till the ground, but liued onely vpon c neither built they any houses but dwelled in tents. These men also haue the Tartars r out, and doe possesse and inhabite their countrey, howbeit, those that remained are red into their bondage.

Ieroslaus duke of Russia.

How they came vnto the first court of the new Emperour. Chap. 24.

The land of the Bisermins.

MOreouer, out of the land of the Kangittæ, we entered into the countrey of ỹ Biser who speake the language of Comania, but obserue the law of the Saracens. In this cou we found innumerable cities with castles ruined, & many towns left desolate. The lor this countrey was called Soldan Alti, who with al his progenie, was destroyed by the Tar This countrey hath most huge mountaines. On the South side it hath Ierusalem and Bald and all the whole countrey of the Saracens. In the next territories adioyning doe inh two carnall brothers dukes of the Tartars, namely, Burin and Cadan, the sonnes of Thya who was the sonne of Chingis Can. On the North side thereof it hath the land of the bl Kythayans, and the Ocean. In the same countrie Syban the brother of Bathy remain Through this countrie we were trauelling from the feast of Ascension, vntil eight daies fore the feast of S. John Baptist. And then we entred into the land of the blacke Kythay in which the Emperour built an house, where we were called in to drinke. Also the Em rours deputy in that place caused the chiefe men of the citie and his two sonnes to dri before vs. Departing from hence, wee founde a certaine small sea, vpon the shore whe stands a little mountaine. In which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from whence winter time such vehement tempests of winds doe issue, that trauellers can scarcely, and great danger passe by the same way. In summer time, the noise in deede of the wind heard there, but it procedeth gently out of the hole. Along the shores of the foresaid we trauiled for the space of many dayes, which although it bee not very great, yet ha many islandes, and wee passed by leauing it on our left hande. In this lande dwelleth O whome wee sayde to bee auncient vnto all the Tartarian dukes. And it is the Orda or c of his father which hee inhabiteth, and one of his wiues beareth rule there. For it is a cust among the Tartars, that the Courts of Princes or of noble men are not dissolued, but alwa some women are appointed to keepe and gouerne them, vpon whom certain gifts are bestow in like sort as they are giuen vnto their Lords. And so at length we arriued at the first c of the Emperour, wherein one of his wiues dwelt.

Alti Soldanus. Huge mountaines.

Burin and Cadan.

The North ocean.

Syban brother vnto Bathy.

The blacke Kythayans.

A small sea.

Many dayes.

Orda cap. 23.

The first court of the Emperour.

Howe they came vnto Cuyne himselfe, who was forthwith to be chosen Emperour. Chap. 25.

BVt because we had not as yet seene the Emperour, they would not inuite vs nor admit into his Orda, but caused good attendance and entertainement, after the Tartars fashion, be giuen vnto vs in oure owne tent, and they caused vs to stay there, and to refresh our sel with them one day. Departing thence vpon the euen of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, w

enter

entered into the land of the Naymani, who are Pagans. But vpon the very feast day of the saide Apostles, there fel a mightie snowe in that place, and wee had extreame colde weather. This lande is full of mountaines, and colde beyonde measure, and there is little plaine ground to bee seene. These two nations last mentioned vsed not to till their grounde, but, like vnto the Tartars, dwelt in tents, which the sayde Tartars had destroyed. Through this countrey wee were trauailing manie dayes. Then entered wee into the lande of the Mongals, whome wee call Tartars. Through the Tartars lande wee continued our trauaile (as wee suppose) for the space of some three weekes, riding alwayes hastily and with speede, and vpon the day of Marie Magdalene we arriued at the court of Cuyne the Emperour elect. But therefore did we make great haste all this way, because our Tartarian guides were straightly commaunded to bring vs vnto the court Imperiall with all speede, which court hath beene these many yeeres, ordained for the election of the Emperour. Wherefore rising earely, wee trauailed vntill night without eating of any thing, and oftentimes wee came so late vnto our lodging, that we had no time to eate the same night, but that which we should haue eaten ouer night, was giuen vs in the morning. And often changing our horses, wee spared no Horseflesh, but rode swiftly and without intermission, as fast as our horses could trot.

The land of Naymani.

The 22. of July.

How Cuyne entertained the Minorite Friers. Chap. 26.

BVt when wee were come vnto the court of Cuyne, hee caused (after the Tartars manner) a Tent and all expenses necessarie to bee prouided for vs. And his people entreated vs with more regarde and courtesie, then they did anie other Ambassadours. Howbeeit wee were not called before his presence, because hee was not as yet elected, nor admitted vnto his empire. Notwithstanding, the interpretation of the Popes letters, and the message which we deliuered, were sent vnto him by the foresaid Bathy. And hauing stayed there fiue or sixe dayes, hee sent vs vnto his mother, vnder whome there was mainteyned a verie solemne and royall court. And being come thither, we saw an huge tent of fine white cloth pitched, which was, to our iudgement, of so great quantitie, that more then two thousand men might stand within it, and round about it there was a wall of planks set vp, painted with diuers images. Wee therefore with our Tartars assigned to attende vpon vs, tooke our iourney thither, and there were all the Dukes assembled, eche one of them riding vp and downe with his traine ouer the hilles and dales. The first day they were all clad in white, but the second in skarlet robes. Then came Cuyne vnto the saide tent. Moreouer, the third day they were all in blew robes, and the fourth in most rich robes of Baldakin cloth. In the wall of boardes, about the tent aforesaid, were two great gates, by one of the which gates, the Emperour only was to enter, and at that gate there was no gard of men appointed to stand, although it stood continually open, because none durst go in or come out the same way: all that were admitted, entred by another gate, at which there stood watchmen, with bowes, swords, & arrowes. And whosoeuer approched vnto the tent beyond the bounds and limit assigned, being caught, was beaten, but if he fled, he was shot at with arrowes or iron. There were many that to our iudgement, had vpon their bridles, trappers, saddles, and such like furniture, to the value of 20. markes in pure gold. The foresaid Dukes (as we thinke) communed together within the tent, and consulted about the election of their Emperor. But all the residue of the people were placed farre away without the walles of board, & in this maner they staied almost til noone. Then began they to drink mares milk, & so continued drinking til euen tide, and that in so great quantity, as it was wonderfull. And they called vs in vnto them, and gaue vs of their ale, because we could not drink their mares milke. And this they did vnto vs in token of great honor. But they compelled vs to drink so much, that in regard of our customary diet, wee coulde by no meanes endure it. Whereupon, gluing them to vnderstand, that it was hurtful vnto vs, they ceassed to compel vs any more. Without the doore stoode Duke Ierosiaus of Susdal, in Russia, and a great many Dukes of the Kythayans, and of the Solangi. The two sonnes also of the king of Georgia, the ligier of the Caliph of Baldach, who was a Soldan, and (as we thinke) aboue ten Soldans of the Saracens beside. And, as it was tolde vs by the agents, there were more then 4000. ambassadors, partly of such as paide tributes, and

The courtesie of Cuyne towards Ambassadors.

The tent roial.

A generall assemblie.

The banquet of the Nobles.

Ierosiaus Duke of Susdal.

Ambassadors of sundry nations.

such as presented gifts, and other Soldans, and Dukes, which came to yeeld themselues, and such as the Tartars had sent for, and such as were gouernours of lands. All these were placed without the lists, and had drinke giuen vnto them. But almost continually they all of them gaue vs and Duke Ieroslaus the vpper hand, when we were abroad in their companie.

How he was exalted to his Empire. Chap. 27.

The beginnings of Cuyne his empire.

ANd to our remembrance, we remained there, about the space of foure weekes. The election was to our thinking there celebrated, but it was not published and proclaimed there. And it was greatly suspected so to be, because alwayes when Cuyne came forth out of the tent, he had a noyse of musicke, and was bowed vnto, or honoured with faire wands, hauing purple wooll vpon the tops of them, and that, so long as he remained abroad: which seruice was performed to none of the other Dukes. The foresaid tent or court is called by them Syra Orda. Departing thence, wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4. leagues vnto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a riuers side, betweene certaine mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda. For there was Cuyne to be placed in the throne Emperiall, vpon the day of the Assumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the same time, as is aboue said, the matter was deferred. There was also a tent erected vpon pillars, which were couered with plates of golde, and were ioyned vnto other timber with golden nailes. It was couered aboue with Baldakin cloth, but there was other cloth spread ouer that, next vnto the ayre. Wee abode there vnto the feast of Saint Bartholomew, what time there was assembled an huge multitude standing with their faces towards the South. And a certaine number of them beeing a stones cast distant from the residue, making continuall prayers, and kneeling vpon their knees, proceeded farther and farther towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they vsed inchantments, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to some other, woulde not kneele vpon the grounde with them. And hauing done so a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our selues, for wee were none of his subiects.

Syra Orda.

The golden Orda. The 15. of August.

Wollen cloth.

Of his age and demeanour, and of his seale. Chap. 28.

THis Emperour, when hee was exalted vnto his gouernment, seemed to bee about the age of fourty or fourty fiue yeeres, He was of a meane stature, very wise and politike, and passing serious and graue in all his demeanour. A rare thing it was, for a man to see him laugh or behaue himselfe lightly, as those Christians report, which abode continually with him. Certaine Christians of his familie earnestly and strongly affirmed vnto vs, that he himselfe was about to become a Christian. A token and argument whereof was, that hee reteined diuers Cleargie men of the Christians. Hee had likewise at all times a Chappell of Christians, neere vnto his great Tent, where the Clearkes (like vnto other Christians, and according to the custome of the Græcians) doe sing publiquely and openly, and ring belles at certaine houres, bee there neuer so great a multitude of Tartars, or of other people in presence. And yet none of their Dukes doe the like. It is the manner of the Emperour neuer to talke his owne selfe with a stranger, though he be neuer so great, but heareth and answeareth by a speaker. And when any of his subiects (howe great soeuer they bee) are in propounding anie matter of importaunce vnto him, or in hearing his answeare, they continue kneeling vpon their knees vnto the ende of their conference. Neither is it lawfull for any man to speake of any affaires, after they haue beene determined of by the Emperour. The sayde Emperour, hath in his affaires both publike and priuate, an Agent, and Secretary of estate, with Scribes and all other Officials, except aduocates. For, without the noyse of pleading, or sentence giuing, all things are done according to the Emperours will and pleasure. Other Tartarian princes do the like in those things which belong vnto the. But, be it known vnto al men, that whilest we remained at the said Emperors court, which hath bin ordained and kept for these many yeeres, the saide Cuyne being Emperor new elect, together with al his princes, erected a flag of defiance against the Church of God, & the Romane empire, and against

His inclination to Christianitie.

His zealestie.

A lawlesse authoritie.

against al Christian kingdomes and nations of the West, vnlesse peraduenture (which God forbid) they will condescend vnto those things, which he hath inioined vnto our lord the Pope, & to all potentates and people of the Christias, namely, that they wil become obedient vnto him. For, except Christendom, there is no land vnder heauē, which they stand in feare of, and for that cause they prepare themselues to battel against vs. This Emperors father, namely Occoday was poisoned to death, which is the cause why they haue for a short space absteined from warre. But their intent and purpose is (as I haue aboue said) to subdue the whole world vnto themselues, as they were commanded by Chingis Can. Hence it is that the Emperor in his letters writeth after this maner: The power of God, & Emperour of all men. Also, vpon his seale, there is this posie ingrauen: God in heauen, and Cuyne Can vpon earth, the power of God: the seale of the Emperour of all men. Warre intended against all Christians.

Of the admission of the Friers and Ambassadours vnto the Emperour. Chap. 29.

IN the same place where the Emperour was established into his throne, we were summoned before him. And Chingay his chiefe secretary hauing written downe our names, and the names of them that sent vs, with the name of the Duke of Solangi, & of others, cried out with a loude voice, rehearsing the said names before the Emperour, and the assembly of his Dukes. Which beeing done, ech one of vs bowed his left knee foure times, & they gaue vs warning not to touch the threshold. And after they had searched vs most diligently for kniues, and could not find any about vs, we entred in at the doore vpon the East side: because no man dare presume to enter at the West doore, but the Emperour onely. In like maner, euery Tartarian Duke entreth on the West side into his tent. Howbeit the inferiour sort doe not greatly regard such ceremonies. This therefore was the first time, when we entred into the Emperours tent in his presence, after he was created Emperour. Likewise all other ambassadours were there receiued by him, but very fewe were admitted into his tent. And there were presented vnto him such abundance of gifts by the saide Ambassadours, that they seemed to be infinite, namely in Samites, robes of purple, and of Baldakin cloth, silke girdles wrought with golde, and costly skinnes, with other gifts also. Likewise there was a certaine Sun Canopie, or small tent (which was to bee caried ouer the Emperours head) presented vnto him, being set full of precious stones. And a gouernour of one Prouince brought vnto him a companie of camels couered with Baldakins. They had saddles also vpon their backs, with certaine other instruments, within the which were places for men to sitte vpon. Also they brought many horses & mules vnto him furnished w trappers and caparisons, some being made of leather, and some of iron. And we were demanded whether we would bestow any gifts vpō him or no? But wee were not of abilitie so to doe, hauing in a maner spent all our prouision. There were also vpon an hill standing a good distance from the tents, more then 500. carts, which were all ful of siluer and of gold, and silke garments. And they were all diuided betweene the Emperour and his Dukes, and euery Duke bestowed vpon his owne followers what pleased him. Cuyne knoweth the Legates. Gifts presented vnto him. 500. Cartsfull of treasure.

Of the place where the Emperor and his mother tooke their leaues one of another, and of Ieroslaus Duke of Russia. Chap. 30.

DEparting thence, we came vnto another place, where a wonderfull braue tent, all of red purple, giuen by the Kythayans, was pitched. Wee were admitted into that also, and alwaies when we entred, there was giuen vnto vs ale and wine to drinke, & sodden flesh (when we would) to eate. There was also a loftie stage built of boords, where the Emperours throne was placed, being very curiously wrought out of iuorie, wherein also there was golde and precious stones, and (as we remember) there were certain degrees or staires to ascend vnto it. And it was round vpon the top. There were benches placed about the saide throne, whereon the ladies sate towarde the left hand of the Emperour vpon stooles, (but none sate aloft on the right hande) and the Dukes sate vpon benches below, the said throne being in the midst. Certaine others sate behinde the Dukes, and euery day there resorted great companie of Ladies thither. The three tents whereof we spake before, were very large, A tent of purple. A throne of Iuorie.

large, but the Emperour his wiues had other great and faire tentes made of white felt. This was the place where the Emperour parted companie with his mother: for she went into one part of the land, and the Emperour into another to execute iustice. For there was taken a certaine Concubine of this Emperour, which had poysoned his father to death, at the same time when the Tartars armie was in Hungarie, which, for the same cause returned home. Moreouer, vpon the foresaide Concubine, and many other of her confederats sentence of iudgemeiit was pronounced, and they were put to death. At the same time, Ieroslaus the great Duke of Soldal, which is a part of Russia, deceased. For being (as it were for honours sake) inuited to eate and drink with the Emperours mother, and immediatly after the banquet, returning vnto his lodging, he fel sicke, and within seuen dayes, died. And after his death, his body was of a strange blew colour, and it was commonly reported, that the said Duke was poisoned, to the ende that the Tartars might freely and totally possesse his Dukedome.

The death of Occoday returned. Or, Soldal.

How the Friers comming at length vnto the Emperour, gaue, and receiued letters. Chap. 31.

Coyne dissembleth with the Legates.

TO be short, the Tartars brought vs vnto their Emperor, who when he had heard of them, that we were come vnto him, comanded that we should return, vnto his mother. For he was determined the next day, (as it is aboue said) to set vp a flag of defiace against al y countreis of the West, which he would haue vs in no case to know. Wherefore returning, we staied some few dayes with his mother, and so returned backe again vnto him. With whom we continued for the space of one whole moneth in such extreme hunger and thirst, that we could scarce hold life and soule together. For the prouision allowed vs for foure dayes, was scantly sufficient for one day. Neither could we buy vs any sustenance, because the market was too farre off. Howbeit the Lorde prouided for vs a Russian goldsmith, named Cosmas, who being greatly in the Emperours fauour, procured vs some sustenance. This man shewed vnto vs the throne of the Emperour, which hee had made, before it was set in the proper place, and his seale, which he also had framed. Afterward the Emperor sent for vs, giuing vs to vnderstand by Chingay his chief Secretary, that wee should write downe our messages & affaires, and should deliuer them vnto him. Which thing we performed accordingly. After many daies he called for vs againe, demanding whether there were any with our Lord the Pope, which vnderstood the Russian, the Sarracen, or the Tartarian language? To whom we answered, that we had none of those letters or languages. Howbeit, that there were certaine Saracens in the land, but inhabiting a great distance from our Lord the Pope. And wee saide, that wee thought it most expedient, that when they had written their mindes in the Tartarian language, and had interpreted the meaning therof vnto vs, we should diligently translate it into our own tongue, and so deliuer both the letter and the translation thereof vnto our Lord the Pope. Then departed they from vs, and went vnto the Emperour. And after the day of S. Martine, we were called for againe. Then Kadac principal agent for the whole empire, and Chingay, and Bala, with diuers other Scribes, came vnto vs, and interpreted the letter word for word. And hauing written it in Latine, they caused vs to interprete vnto them eche sentence, to wit if we had erred in any word. And when both letters were written, they made vs to reade them ouer twise more, least we should haue mistaken ought. For they said vnto vs: Take heed that ye vnderstand all things thr ughly, for if you should not vnderstand the whole matter aright, it might breed some inconuenience. They wrote the said letters also in the Saracen tongue, that there might be some found in our dominions which could reade and interprete them, if need should require.

Cosmas a Russian.

The message of Chingay.

How they were licensed to depart. Chap. 32.

The Legates are loath to haue any Ambassadours sent from the Tartars to the Christians.

ANd (as our Tartars told vs) the Emperour was purposed to send his ambassadors with vs. Howbeit, he was desirous (as we thought) that we our selues should craue that fauour at his hands. And when one of our Tartars being an ancient man, exhorted vs to make the said petition,

petition, we thought it not good for vs, that the Emperor should send his ambassadours. Wherfore we gaue him answere, that it was not for vs to make any such petition, but if it pleased the Emperour of his owne accord to send them, we would diligently (by Gods assistance) see them conducted in safetie. Howbeit, we thought it expedient for vs, that they should not goe, and that for diuers causes. First, because we feared, least they, seeing the dissentions and warres which are among vs, should be the more encouraged to make warre against vs. Secondly, we feared, that they would be insteade of spies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we misdoubted that they would be slaine by the way. For our nations be arrogant and proud. For when as those seruants (which at the request of the Cardinall attended vpon vs, namely the legates of Almaine) returned vnto him in the Tartars attire, they were almost stoned in the way, by the Dutch, and were compelled to put off those garments. And it is the Tartars custome, neuer to bee reconciled vnto such as haue slaine their Ambassadours, till they haue reuenged themselues. Fourthly, least they should bee taken from vs by mayne force. Fiftly, because there could come no good by their ambassade, for they were to haue none other commission, or authoritie, but onely to deliuer their Emperours letter vnto the Pope, and to the Princes of Christendome, which very same letters wee our selues had, and we knew right well, that much harme might ensue thereof. Wherefore, the third day after this, namely, vpon the feast of Saint Brice, they gaue vs our passe-port and a Letter sealed with the Emperours owne seale, sending vs vnto the Emperours mother, who gaue vnto eche of vs a gowne made of Foxe-skinnes, with the furre on the outside, and a piece of purple. And our Tartars stole a yarde out of euery one of them. And out of that which was giuen vnto our seruant, they stole the better halfe. Which false dealing of theirs, we knew well inough, but would make no words thereof. November 13. They are rewarded with gifts.

How they returned homewards. Chap. 33.

THen taking our iourney to returne, we trauailed all Winter long, lying in the deserts oftentimes vpon the snow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye vpon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field. And oftentimes in the morning, we found our selues all couered with snow driuen ouer vs by the winde. And so trauailing till the feast of our Lordes Ascension, we arriued at the court of Bathy. Of whom when wee had enquired, what answere he would send vnto our Lord the Pope, he said that he had nothing to giue vs in charge, but onely that we should diligently deliuer that which the Emperour had written. And, hauing receiued letters for our safe conduct, the thirteenth day after Pentecost, being Saterday, wee were proceeded as farre as Montij, with whome our foresaide associates and seruants remained, which were withheld from vs, and we caused them to be deliuered vnto vs. From hence wee trauailed vnto Corrensa, to whom, requiring gifts the second time at our hands, we gaue none, because we had not wherewithall. And hee appointed vs two Comanians, which liued among the common people of the Tartars, to be our guides vnto the citie of Kiow in Russia. Howbeit one of our Tartars parted not from vs, till we were past the vtmost gard of the Tartars. But the other guides, namely the Comanians, which were giuen vs by Corrensa, brought vs from the last garde vnto the citie of Kiow, in the space of sixe dayes. And there we arriued fifteene dayes before the feast of Saint Iohn Baptist. Moreouer, the Citizens of Kiow hauing intelligence of our approch, came foorth all of them to meete vs, with great ioy. For they reioyced ouer vs, as ouer men that had bene risen from death to life. So likewise they did vnto vs throughout all Russia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Wasilico made vs a royall feast, and interteined vs with them against our willes for the space of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their Bishops, and other men of account, being in consultation together about those matters which we had propounded vnto them in our iourney towards the Tartars, answered vs with common consent, saying: that they would holde the Pope for their speciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their Lady & mistresse, confirming likewise al things which they had sent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their Abbate. And for the same purpose, they sent their Ambassadours and letters by vs also, vnto our Lord the Pope. The sore iourneys of the legates in returning. Bathy. Corrensa. Iune 8. How they were welcomed at their returne. Basilius and Daniel Princes.

Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratiæ 1253. ad partes Orientales.

EXcellentissimo Domino & Christianissimo, Ludouico Dei gratia Regi Francorum illustri, frater Willielmus de Rubruquis in ordine fratrum Minorum minimus salutem, & semper triumphare in Christo. Scriptum est in Ecclesiastico de sapiente, In terram alienarum gentium transibit, bona & mala in omnibus tentabit. Hoc opus, Domine mi Rex, feci: sed vtinam vt sapiens & non stultus. Multi enim faciunt quod facit sapiens, sed non sapienter, sed magis stultè: de quorum numero timeo me esse. Tamen quocunque modo fecerim; quia dixistis mihi quando recessi à vobis, vt omnia scriberem vobis, quæcunque viderem inter Tartaros, & etiam monuistis vt non timerem vobis scribere longas literas, facio quod iniunxistis: Cum timore tamen & verecundia, quia verba congrua mihi non suppetunt, quæ debeam tantæ scribere Maiestati. Nouerit ergò vestra sancta maiestas, quod anno Domini millessimo ducentessimo, quinquagessimo tertio, nonas Maij ingressi sumus mare Ponti, quod Bulgarici vocant, Maius Mare: & habet mille octo milliaria in longum, vt didici à mercatoribus, & distinguitur quasi in duas partes. Circa medium enim eius sunt duæ prouinciæ terræ, vna ad Aquilonem, & alia ad meridiem. Illa quæ est ad meridiem dicitur Synopolis; & est castrum & portus Soldani Turchiæ. Quæ verò ad Aquilonem est, est Prouincia quædam, quæ nunc dicitur à Latinis Gasaria, à Græcis verò qui inhabitant eam super littus maris dicitur Cassaria, hoc est Cæsaria. Et sunt promontoria quædam extendentia se in mare, & contra meridiem versus Synopolim. Et sunt trecenta milliaria inter Synopolim & Cassariam. Ita quod sint septingenta milliaria ab istis punctis versus Constantinopolim in longum & latum: & septingenta versus Orientem: hoc est, Hiberiam, quæ est prouincia Georgiæ. Ad prouinciam Gasariæ siue Casariæ applicuimus, quæ est quasi triangularis, ad Occidentem habens ciuitatem, quæ dicitur Kersoua, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens marterizatus. Et nauigantes coràm ea vidimus insulam in qua est templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum. In medio verò quasi in cuspide ad meridiem habet ciuitatem quæ dicitur Soldaia, quæ ex transuerso respicit Synopolim: Et illuc applicant omnes Mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras Aquilonares, & è contrario venientes de Rossia & terris Aquilonaribus, volentes transire in Turchiam. Illi portant varium & grisium, & alias pelles pretiosas. Alij portant telas de cottone siue bombasio, & pannos sericos & species aromaticas. Ad Orientè verò illius prouinciæ est ciuitas quæ dicitur Matriga, vbi cadit fluuius Tanais in mare Ponti per orificium habens latitudinem duodecem milliarium. Ille enim fluuius antequam ingrediatur mare Ponti, facit quoddam mare versus Aquilonem, habens in latitudine & longitudine septingintà milliaria, nusquam habens profunditatem vltra sex passus, vnde magna vasa non ingrediuntur illud. Sed mercatores de Constantinopoli applicantes ad prædictam ciuitatem Matertam, mittunt barcas suas vsque ad flumen Tanaim, vt emant pisces siccatos, sturiones, thosas, borbatas, & alios pisces infinitæ multitudinis. Prædicta verò prouincia Cassaria cingitur mari in tribus lateribus: ad Occidentem scilicet, vbi est Kersoua ciuitas Clementis, ad meridiem vbi est ciuitas Soldaia, ad quam applicuimus, quæ est cuspis prouinciæ, & ad Orientem Maricandis, vbi est ciuitas Materta, & orificium Tanais. Vltra illud orificium est Zikia quæ non obedit Tartaris: Et Sueui & Hiberi ad Orientem, qui non obediunt Tartaris. Postea versus meridiem est Trapesunda quæ habet proprium Dominum nomine Guidonem, qui est de genere imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, qui obedit Tartaris: postea Synopolis quæ est Soldani Turchiæ qui similiter obedit: postea terra Vastacij cuius filius dicitur Astar ab auo materno, qui non obedit. Ab orificio Tanais versus Occidentem vsque ad Danubium totum est subditum. Etiam vltrà Danubium versus Constantinopolim, Valakia, quæ est terra Assani, & minor Bulgaria vsque in Solonomam omnes soluunt eis tributum. Et etiam vltra tributum condictum sumpserunt annis nuper transactis de qualibet domo securim vnam, & totum frumentum quod inuenerunt in massa. Applicuimus ergò Soldaiæ in 12. Kalendas Iunij: & præuenerant nos quidam mercatores de Constantinopoli, qui dixerunt venturos illuc nuncios de terra sancta volentes ire ad Sartach. Ego tamen prædicaueram publicè in Ramis Palmarum

apud

Ecclus. 39. vers. 4.

Soldaia.

Matriga ciuitas.

Zikia.

apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non essem nuncius, nec vester, nec alicuius, sed ibam apud illos incredulos secundùm regulam nostram. Tunc cùm applicuissem, monebant me dicti mercatores vt cautè loquerer, quia dixerunt me esse nuncium, & si non dicerem me esse nuncium, quod non præberetur mihi transitus. Tunc loquutus sum hoc modo ad capitaneos ciuitatis, imò ad vicarios capitaneorum, quia capitanei iuerant ad Baatu portantes tributum, & non fuerant adhuc reuersi. Nos audiuimus, dixi, de Domino vestro Sartach in Terra Sancta quòd esset Christianus: & gaudsi sunt inde vehementer Christiani, & præcipuè Dominus Rex Francorum Christianissimus, qui ibi peregrinatur, & pugnat contra Saracenos, vt eripiat loca sancta de manibus eorum: vnde volo ire ad Sartach, & portare ei literas Domini Regis, in quibus monet eum de vtilitate totius Christianitatis. Et ipsi receperunt nos gratanter, & dederunt nobis hospitium in ecclesia Episcopali. Et Episcopus ipsius ecclesiæ fuerat ad Sartach, qui multa bona dixit mihi de Sartach, quæ ego postea non inueni. Tunc dederunt nobis optionem vtrum vellemus habere bigas cum bobus ad portandum res nostras vel equos pro summarijs. Et mercatores Constantinopolitani consuluerunt mihi quod non acciperem bigas, imò quod emerem proprias bigas coopertas, in quibus apportant Ruteni pelles suas, & in illis includerem res nostras quas vellem quotidiè deponere, quia si acciperem equos, oporteret me in qualibet Herbergia deponere & reponere super alios, & prætereà equitarem lentiori gressu iuxta bouis. Et tunc acquieui consilio eorum malo, tum quia fui in itinere vsq; Sarthach duobus mensibus, quod potuissem vno mense fecisse, si iuissem equis. Attuleram mecum de Constantinopoli fructus & vinum muscatum, & biscoctum delicatum de consilio mercatorum ad præsentandū capitaneis primis, vt faciliùs pateret mihi transitus; quia nullus apud eos respicitur rectis oculis, qui venit vacua manu. Quæ omnia posui in vna biga, quando nō inueni ibi capitaneos ciuitatis, quia dicebāt mihi, quod gratissima foret Sarthach, si possem deferre ea vsq; ad eū. Arripuimus ergo iter tunc circa Kalend. Iunij cum bigis nostris quatuor coopertis & cū alijs duabus quas accepimus ab eis, In quibus portabantur lectisternia ad dormiendū de noctę, & quinque equos dabant nobis ad equitandum. Eramus enim quinq; personæ. Ego & socius meus frater Bartholomeus de Cremona, & Goset lator præsentium, & homo dei Turgemannus, & puer Nicolaus, quem emeram Constantinopoli de nostra eleemosyna. Dederunt etiam duos homines qui ducebant bigas & custodiebant bones & equos. Sunt autem alta promontoria super Mare à Kersoua vsque ad orificium Tanais: & sunt quadraginta castella inter Kersouam & Soldaiam, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium idioma: inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma est Teutonicum. Post illa montana versus Aquilonem est pulcherrima sylua in planicie, plena fontibus & riuulis: Et post illam syluam est planicies maxima, quæ durat per quinque dietas vsque ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ ad aquilonem, quæ coarctatur habens Mare ad Orientem & Occidentem: Ita quod est vnum fossatum magnum ab vno Mari vsque ad aliud. In illa planicie solebant esse Comani antequam venirent Tartari, & cogebant ciuitates prædictas & castra vt darent eis tributum. Et cum venerunt Tartari, tanta multitudo Comanorū intrauit prouinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt vsque ad ripam Maris, quod comedebant se mutuo viui morientes: secundum quod narrauit mihi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit: Quod viui deuorabant & lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, sicut canes cadauera. Versus extremitatem illius prouinciæ sunt lacus multi & magni: in quorum ripis sunt fontes salmastri, quorum aqua, quàm cito intrat lacum, efficit salem durum ad modum glaciei. Et de illis salinis habent Baatu & Sartach magnos reditus: quia de tota Russia veniunt illuc pro sale: & de qualibet biga onusta dant duas telas de cottone valentes dimidiam lpperperam. Veniunt, & per Mare multæ naues pro sale, quæ omnes dant tributum secundum sui quantitatem. Postquam ergò recessimus de Soldaia, tertia die inuenimus Tartaros: inter quos cùm intraueram, visum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud sæculum. Quorum vitam & mores vobis describam prout possum.

De Tartaris & domibus eorum.

NVsquam habent manentem ciuitatem, sed futuram ignorant. Inter se diuiserunt Scythiam, quæ durat à Danubio vsque ad ortum solis. Et quilibet Capitaneus, secundum quod habet plures vel pauciores homines sub se, scit terminos pascuorum suorum, & vbi debet

pascere hyeme & æstate, vere & autumno. In hyeme enim descendunt ad calidiores regiones versus meridiem. In æstate ascendunt ad frigidiores versus aquilonem. Loca pascuosa sine aquis pascunt in hyeme quando est ibi nix, quia niuem habent pro aqua. Domum in qua dormiunt fundant super rotam de virgis cancellatis, cuius tigna sunt de virgis, & conueniunt in vnam parualam rotam superius, de qua ascendit collum sursum tanquam fumigatorium, quam cooperiunt filtro albo: & frequentius imbuunt etiam filtrum calce vel terra alba & puluere ossium, vt albens splendeat, & aliquando nigro. Et filtrum illud circa collum superius decorant pulchra varietate picturæ. Ante ostium similiter suspendunt filtrum opere polimitario variatum. Consumunt enim filtrum coloratum in faciendo vites & arbores, aues & bestias. Et faciunt tales domos ita magnas, quod habent triginta pedes in latitudine. Ego enim mensurau semel latitudinem inter vestigia rotarum vnius bigæ viginti pedum: & quando domus erat super bigam excedebat extra rotas in vtroque latere quinque pedibus ad minus. Ego numerau in vna biga viginti duos boues trahentes vnam domum: Vndecem in vno ordine secundum latitudinem bigæ, & alios vndecem ante illos: Axis bigæ erat magnus ad modum arboris nauis: Et vnus homo stabat in ostio domus super bigam minans boues. Insuper faciunt quadrangulos de virgulis fissis attenuatis ad quantitatem vnius arcæ magnæ: & postea de vna extremitate ad aliam eleuant testudinem de similibus virgis, & ostiolum faciunt in anteriori extremitate: & postea cooperiunt illam cistam siue domunculam filtro nigro inbuto seuo siue lacte ouino, ne possit penetrari pluuia: quod similiter decorant opere polimitario vel plumario. Et in talibus arcis ponunt totam suppellectilem suam & thesaurum: quas ligant fortiter super bigas alteras quas trahunt cameli, vt possint transuadare flumina. Tales arcas nunquam deponunt de bigis. Quando deponunt domus suas mansionarias, semper vertunt portam ad meridiem; & consequenter collocant bigas cum arcis hinc & inde prope domum ad dimidium iactum lapidis: ita quod domus stat inter duos ordines bigarum quasi inter duos muros. Matronæ faciunt sibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas nescirem vobis describere nisi per picturam. ‖ Imo omnia depinxissem vobis si sciuissem pingere. Vnus diues Moal siue Tartar habet bene tales bigas cum arcis ducentas vel centum. Baatu habet sexdecem vxores: quælibet habet vnam magnam domum, exceptis aliis paruis, quas collocant post magnam, quæ sunt quasi cameræ; in quibus habitant puellæ. Ad quamlibet istarum domorum appendent ducentæ bigæ. Et quando deponunt domus, prima vxor deponit suam curiam in capite occidentali, & postea aliæ secundum ordinem suum: ita quod vltima vxor erit in capite Orientali: & erit spacium inter curiam vnius dominæ & alterius, iactus vnius lapidis. Vnde curia vnius diuitis Moal apparebit quasi vna magna Villa: tunc paucissimi viri erunt in ea. Vna mulierula ducet 20. bigas vel 30. Terra enim plana est. Et ligant bigas cum bobus vel camelis vnam post aliam: & sedebit mulierula in anteriori minans bouem, & omnes aliæ pari gressu sequentur. Si contingat venire ad aliquem malum passum, soluunt eas & transducunt sigillatim: Vadunt enim lento gressu, sicut aguus vel bos potest ambulare.

‖ Nota.

De lectis eorum & poculis.

POstquam deposuerint domus versa porta ad meridiem, collocant lectum domini ad partem aquilonarem. Locus mulierum est semper ad latus Orientale hoc est ad sinistrum domini domus cum sedet in lecto suo versa facie ad meridiem: locus verò virorum ad latus occidentale, hoc est ad dextrum. Viri ingredientes domum nullo modo suspenderent phareтram ad partem mulierum. Et super caput Domini est semper vna imago quasi puppa & statuuncula de filtro, quam vocant fratrem domini: alia similis super caput dominæ, quam vocant fratrem dominæ, affixa parieti: & superius inter vtramque illarum est vna parualа, macilenta, quæ est quasi custos totius domus. Domina domus ponit ad latus suum dextrum ad pedes lecti in eminenti loco pelliculam hœdinam impletam lana vel alia materia, & iuxta illam statuunculam paruulam respicientem famulas & mulieres. Iuxta ostium ad partem mulieris est iterum alia imago cum vbere vaccino, pro mulieribus quæ mungunt vaccas. De officio fœminarum est mungere vaccas. Ad aliud latus ostij versus viros est alia statua cum vbere equæ pro viris qui mungunt equas. Et cum conuenerint ad potandum primo spargunt de potu

potu illi imagini, quæ est super caput domini: postea alijs imaginibus per ordinem: postea exit minister domum cum cipho & potu, & spargit ter ad meridiem, qualibet vice flectendo genu; & hoc ad reuerentiam ignis: postea ad Orientem ad reuerentiam aeris: postea ad Occidentem ad reuerentiam aquæ: ad aquilonem projciunt pro mortuis. Quando tenet dominus ciphum in manu & debet bibere, tunc primo antequam bibat, infundit terræ partem suam. Si bibit sedens super equum, infundit antequam bibat, super collum vel crinem equi. Postquam vero minister sic sparserit ad quatuor latera mundi, reuertitur in domum & sunt parati duo famuli cum duobus ciphis & totidem patenis vt deferant potum domino & vxori sedenti iuxta eum sursum in lecto. Et cum habet plures vxores, illa cum qua dormit in nocte sedet iuxta eum in die: & oportet quod omnes aliæ veniant ad domum illam illa die ad bibendum: & ibi tenetur curia illa die: & xenia quæ deferuntur, illa deponuntur in thesauris illius dominæ. Bancus ibi est cum vtre lactis vel cum alio potu & cum ciphis.

De potibus eorum & qualiter prouocant alios ad bibendum.

FAciunt in hyeme optimum potum, de risio, de millio, de melle: claret sicut vinum. Et defertur eis vinum à remotis partibus. In æstate non curant nisi de Cosmos. Stat semper infra domum ad introitum portæ, & iuxta illud stat citharista cum citherula sua. Citheræ & vielas nostras non vidi ibi, sed multa alia instrumenta, quæ apud nos non habentur. Et cum incipit bibere tunc vnus ministrorū exclamat alta voce, HA: & citharista percutit cicharum. Et quando faciunt festum magnum, tunc omnes plaudunt manibus & saltant ad vocem citharæ, viri coram Domino, & mulieres coram domina. Et postquam dominus biberit, tunc exclamat minister sicut priùs, & tacet citharista: tunc bibunt omnes in circuitu viri & mulieres: & aliquando bibunt certatim valde turpiter & gulose. Et quando volunt aliquem prouocare ad potū arripiunt eum per aures & trahunt fortiter vt dilatent ei gulam, & plaudant & saltant coram eo. Item cum aliqui volunt facere magnum festum & gaudium, vnus accipit ciphum plenum, & alij duo sunt ei à dextris & sinistris: & sic illi tres veniunt cantantes vsque ad illum cui debent porrigere ciphum, & cantant & saltant coram eo: & cum porrigit manum ad recipiendum ciphum, ipsi subito resiliunt, & iterum sicut prius reuertuntur, & sic illudunt ei ter vel quater retrahendo ciphum, donec fuerit bene exhileratus & bonum habeat appetitum, & tunc dant ei ciphum, & cantant & plaudunt manibus & terunt pedibus donec biberit. Similiter in Florida.

De cibarijs eorum.

DE cibis & victualibus eorum noueritis, quod indifferenter comedunt omnia morticina sua. Et inter tot pecora & armenta non potest esse quin multa animalia moriantur. Tamen in æstate quamdiu durat eis cosmos, hoc est lac equinum, non curant de alio cibo. Vnde tunc si contingat eis mori bouem vel equum, siccant carnes scindendo per tenues pecias & suspendendo ad solem & ventum, quæ statim sine sale siccantur absque aliquo fœtore. De intestinis equorum faciunt andulges meliores quàm de porcis: quas comedunt recentes: reliquas carnes seruant ad hyemem. De pellibus boum faciunt vtres magnos, quos mirabiliter siccant ad fumum. De posteriori parte pellis equi faciunt pulcherrimos soculares. De carne vnius arietis dant comedere quinquaginta hominibus vel centum. Scindunt enim minutatim in scutella cum sale & aqua, aliam enim salsam non faciunt, & tunc cum puncto cultelli vel furcinula, quas proprias faciunt ad hoc, cum qua solemus comedere pira & poma cocta in vino, porrigunt cuilibet circumstantium buccellam vnam vel duas, secundum multitudinem comedentium. Dominus antequam proponitur caro arietis in primo ipse accipit quod placet ei: & etiam si dat alicui partem specialem, oportet quod accipiens comedat eam solus, & nemini licet dare ei. Si non potest totum comedere, asportat secum, vel dat garcioni suo, si est presens, qui custodiat ei: sin aliter, recondit in saptargat suo, hoc est in bursa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia, in qua & ossa recondunt, quando non habent spacium bene rodendi ea, vt postea rodant, ne pereat aliquid de cibo

Quomodo faciunt Cosmos.

IPsum Cosmos, hoc est lac iumentinum fit hoc modo. Extendunt cordam longam super terram ad duos palos fixos in terra, & ad illam cordam ligant circiter horas tres, pullos equarum quas volunt mungere. Tunc stant matres iuxta pullos suos & permittunt se pacifice mungi. Et si aliqua est nimis indomita, tunc accipit vnus homo pullum & supponit ei permittens parum sugere, tunc retrahit illum, & emunctor lactis succedit. Congregata ergo multitudine lactis, quod est ita dulce sicut vaccinum, dum est recens, fundunt illud in magnum vtrem sine bucellam, & incipiunt illud concutere cum ligno ad hoc aptato, quod grossum est inferius sicut caput hominis & cauatum subtus: & quam cito concutiunt illud, incipit bullire sicut vinum nouū, & acescere siue fermentari, & excutiunt illud donec extrahant butirum. Tunc gustant illud; & quando est temperate pungitiuum bibunt: pungit enim super linguam sicut vinum raspei dum bibitur. Et postquam homo cessat bibere, relinquit saporem super linguam lactis amygdalini, & multum reddit interiora hominis iucunda, & etiam inebriat debilia capita: multum etiam prouocat vrinam. Faciunt etiam Cara-cosmos, hoc est nigrum cosmos ad vsum magnorum dominorum, hoc modo. Lac equinum non coagulatur. Ratio enim est: quod nullius animalis lac nisi cuius fetet venter non inuenitur coagulum. In ventre pulli equi non inuenitur: vnde lac equæ non coagulatur. Concutiunt ergo lac in tantum, quod omnino quod spissum est in eo vadat ad fundum rectà, sicut fæces vini, & quod purum est remanet superius & est sicut serum, & sicut mustum album. Fæces sunt albæ multum, & dantur seruis, & faciunt multum dormire. Illud clarum bibunt domini: & est pro certo valde suauis potus & bonæ efficaciæ. Baatu habet 30. casalia circa herbergiam suam ad vnam dietam, quorum vnum quodq; qualibet die seruit ei de tali lacte centum equarum, hoc est, qualibet die lac trium millium equarū, excepto alio lacte albo, quod deferunt alij. Sicut enim in Syria rustici dant tertiam partem fructuum, quam ipsi afferunt ad curias dominorum suorum, ita & isti lac equarū tertiæ diei. De lacte vaccino primò extrahunt butyrū & bulliunt illud vsque ad perfectā decoctionē, & postea recondunt illud in vtribus arietinis quos ad hoc reseruant. Et non ponunt sal in butiro: tamen propter magnam decoctionē non putrescit: & reseruant illud contra hyemem. Residuū lac quod remanet post butirum permittunt acescere quantum acrius fieri potest & bulliunt illud, & coagulatur bulliendo, & coagulum illud desiccant ad solem, & efficitur durum sicut scoria ferri. Quod recondunt in saccis contra hyemem: tempore hyemali quando deficit eis lac, ponunt illud acre coagulum, quod ipsi vocant gri-vt, in vtre, & super infundunt aquam calidam, & concutiunt fortiter donec illud resoluatur in aqua; quæ ex illo efficitur tota acetosa, & illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. Summè cauent ne bibant aquam puram.

De bestijs quas comedunt, & de vestibus, ac de venatione eorum.

MAgni domini habent casalia versus meridiem, de quibus afferunt eis milium & farinam contra hyemem. pauperes procurant sibi pro arietibus & pellibus commutando. Selaui etiam implent ventrem suum aqua crassa, & hac contenti sunt. Mures cum longis caudis non comedunt & omne genus murium habens curtam caudam. Sunt etiam ibi multæ marmotes, quas ipsi vocant Sogur: quæ conueniunt in vna fouea in hyeme 20. vel 30. pariter, & dormiunt sex mensibus: quas capiunt in magna multitudine. Sunt etiam ibi, cuniculi habentes longam caudam sicut cari; & in summitate caudæ habent pilos nigros & albos. Habent & multas alias bestiolas bonas ad comedendum: quas ipsi valde bene discernunt. Ceruos non vidi ibi. lepores paucos vidi, gaselos multos. Asinos syluestres vidi in magna multitudine, qui sunt quasi muli. Vidi & aliud genus animalis quod dicitur Artak, quod habet recte corpus arietis & cornua torta, sed tantæ quantitatis, quod vix poteram vna manu leuare duo cornua: & faciunt de cornibus illis ciphos magnos. Habent falcones, girfalcones, & herodios in magna multitudine: quos ompes portant super manum dexteram: & ponunt semper falconi vnam corrigiam paruulam circa collum, quæ pendet ei vsque ad medietatem pectoris: per quam cum proijciunt eum ad prædam, inclinant cum sinistra manu caput & pectus falconis, ne verberetur à vento, vel ne feratur sursum. Magnum ergo partem victus sui acquirunt venatione.

venatione. De vestibus & habitu eorum noueritis, quod de Catayа & alijs regionibus Orientis, & etiam de Perside & alijs regionibus austri veniunt eis panni serici & aurei, & telæ de bambasio, quibus induuntur in æstate. De Russia, de Moxel, & Maiore Bulgaria & Pascatir, quæ est maior Hungaria, & Kersis: (quæ omnes sunt regiones ad Aquilonem & plenæ syluis;) & alijs multis regionibus ad latus aquilonare, quæ eis obediunt, adducuntur eis pelles preciosæ multi generis; quas nunquã vidi in partibus nostris: Quibus induuntur in hyeme. Et faciunt semper in hyeme duas pelliceas ad minus: vnam, cuius pilus est ad carnem: aliam cuius pilus est extra contra ventum & niues, quæ multoties sunt de pellibus lupinis vel vulpibus vel papionibus. Et dum sedent in domo habent aliam delicatiorem. Pauperes faciunt illas exteriores de canibus & capris. Quum volunt venari feras, conueniunt magna multitudo & circundant regionem in qua sciunt feras esse, & paulatim appropinquant sibi, donec concludant feras inter se quasi infra circulum, & tunc sagitant ad eas. faciunt etiam braccas de pellibus. Diuites etiam furrant vestes suas de stupa setæ, quæ est supra modum mollis, & leuis & calida. Pauperes furrant vestes de tela de bambasio, de delicatiori lana quam possunt extrahere: de grossiori faciunt filtrum ad cooperiendum domos suas & cistas, & ad lectisternia. De lana etiam & tertia parte pilorum equi admixta, faciunt cordas suas. De filtro etiam faciunt puellas sub sellis, & capas contra pluuiam. Vnde multum expendunt de lana. Habitum virorum vidistis. Maior Hungaria. Nota.

De rasura virorum & ornatu mulierum.

Viri radunt in summitate capitis quadrangulum, & ab anterioribus angulis ducunt rasuram cristæ capitis vsque ad tempora. Radunt etiam tempora & collum vsque ad summum concauitatis ceruicis: & frontem anterius vsque ad frontinellam, super quam relinquunt manipulum pilorum descendentium vsque ad supercilia: In angulis occipitis relinquunt crines, quibus faciunt tricas, quas succingunt nodando vsque ad aures. Et habitus puellarum non differt ab habitu virorum, nisi quod aliquantulum est longior. Sed in crastino postquam est nupta radit caluariam suam à medietate capitis versus frontem, & habet tunicam latam sicut cuculla monialis, & per omnia latiorem & longiorem, fissam ante, quam ligat sub dextro latere. In hoc enim differunt Tartari à Turcis: quod Turci ligant tunicas suas ad sinistram, Tartari semper ad dextram. Postea habent ornamentum capitis, quod vocant botta, quod fit de cortice arboris vel alia materia, quam possunt inuenire, leuiore: & est grossum & rotundum, quantum potest duabus manibus complecti; longum vero vnius cubiti & plus, quadrum superius, sicut capitellum vnius columnæ. Istud botta cooperiunt panno serico precioso; & est concauum interius: & super capitellum in medio vel super quadraturã illam ponunt virgulam de calamis pennarum vel cannis gracilibus longitudinis scilicet vnius cubiti & plus: & illam sibi virgulam ornant superius de pennis pauonis, & per longum in circuitu pennulis caudæ malardi, & etiam lapidibus præciosis. Diuites dominæ istud ornamentum ponunt in summitate capitis quod stringunt fortiter cum almucia, quæ foramen habet in summitate ad hoc aptatũ, & in isto recondunt crines suos quos recolligũt à parte posteriori ad summitatem capitis quasi in nodo vno & reponunt in illo botta, quod postea fortiter ligant sub gutture. Vnde quum equitant plures dominæ simul & videntur à longe, apparent milites, habentes galeas in capitibus cum lanceis eleuatis. Illud enim botta apparet galea de super lancea. Et sedent omnes mulieres super equos sicut viri diuersificantes coxas; & ligant cuculllas suas panno serico aerij coloris super renes, & alia fascia stringunt ad mamillas: & ligant vnam peciam albam sub occulis, quæ descendit vsque ad pectus. Et sunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, & quæ minus habet de naso pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies suas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

De officio mulierum, & operibus earum, ac de nuptijs earum.

OFficium fœminarum est ducere bigas, ponere domus super eas & deponere, mungere vaccas, facere butirum & grint, parare pelles, & consuere eas, quas consuunt filo deneruis. diuidunt enim neruos in minuta fila, & postea illa contorquent in vnum longum filum. Consuunt etiam soculares & soccos & alias vestes. Vestes vero nunquam lauant, quia dicunt quod

quod Deus tunc irascitur, & quod fiant tonitrua si suspendantur ad siccandum: Imo lauantes verberant & eis auferunt. Tonitrua supra modum timent: tunc omnes extraneos emittunt de domibus suis; & inuoluunt se in filtris nigris, in quibus latitant, donec transierit. Nunquã etiã lauant scutellos, imo carne cocta alueum in quo debent ponere eam lauant brodio bullicnte de caldaria, & postea refundunt in caldariam, faciunt & filtrum & cooperiunt domos. Viri faciunt solùm arcus & sagittas, fabricant strepas & frænas, & faciunt cellas, carpentant domos & bigas: custodiunt equos & mungunt equas, concutiunt ipsum cosmos & lac equinum, faciunt vtres in quibus reconditur: custodiunt etiam cameles, & onerant eos Oues & Capras custodiunt mixtim & mungunt aliquando viri, aliquando mulieres. De lacte ouium inspissato & salso parant pelles. Cum volunt manus vel caput lauare implent os suum aqua & paulatim fundunt de ore suo super manus, & eadem humectant crines suos, & lauant caput suum. De nuptijs eorum noueritis quod nemo habet ibi vxorem nisi emat eam: vnde aliquando sunt puellæ multum adultæ ante quam nubant: semper enim tenent eas parentes, donec vendant eas. Seruant etiam gradus consanguinitatis primum & secundum: nullum autem seruant affinitatis. Habent enim simul vel successiue duas sorores. Nulla vidua nubit inter eos, hac ratione; quia credunt quod omnes qui seruiunt eis in hac vita seruient in futura. Vndede vidua credunt, quod semper reuertitur post mortem ad primum maritum. Vnde accidit turpis consuetudo inter eos quòd filius scilicet ducit aliquando omnes vxores patris sui, excepta matre. Curia enim patris & matris semper accidit iuniori filio. Vnde oportet quod ipse prohideat omnibus vxoribus patris sui, quia aduenient cæ cum curia paterna. Et tunc si vult vtitur eis pro vxoribus, quia non reputat sibi iniuriam, si reuertatur ad patrem post mortem. Cum ergo aliquis fecerit pactum cum aliquo de filia accipienda, facit pater puellæ conuiuium, & illa fugit ad consanguineos, vt ibi lateat: Tunc pater dicit, Ecce filia mea tua est, accipe eam vbicunque inueneris: Tunc ille quærit cum amicis suis, donec inueniat eam, & oportet, quod vi capiat eam & ducat eam quasi violenter ad domum.

P. filius patris.

De iusticijs eorum & indicijs, & de morte ac sepultura eorum.

DE iusticijs eorum noueritis, quod quando duo homines pugnant, nemo audet se intermittere. Etiam pater non audet iuuare filium. Sed qui peiorem partem habet, appellat ad curiam domini. Et si alius post appellationem tangat eum, interficitur. Sed oportet quod statim absque dilatione vadat: Et ille qui passus est iniuriam ducit eum quasi captiuum. Neminem puniunt capitali sententia, nisi deprehensus fuerit in facto, vel confessus. Sed quum diffamatus est à pluribus, bene torquent eum, vt confiteatur. Homicidio puniunt capitali sententia, & etiam coitum cum non sua. Non suam dico vel vxorem vel famulam: Sua enim sclaua licet vti prout libet. Item enorme furtum puniunt morte. Pro leui furto, sicut pro vno ariete, dummodo non fuerit sæpe deprehensus in hoc, verberant crudeliter. Et si dant centum ictus oportet quod habeant centum baculos, de illis dico, qui verberantur sententia curiæ. Item falsos nuncios, quia faciunt se nuncios & non sunt, interficiunt. Item sacrilegas, de quibus dicam vobis postea plenius, quia tales reputant venefica. Quando aliquis moritur plangunt vehemẽter vlulando: & tunc sunt liberi quod non dant vectigal vsque ad annum. Et si quis interest morti alicujus adulti non ingreditur domum ipsius Mangucham vsque ad annum. Si paruulus est qui moritur, non ingreditur vsque post lunationem. Iuxta sepulturam defuncti semper relinquunt domum vnam. Si est de nobilibus, hoc est de genere Chingis, qui fuit primus pater & dominus eorum, illius qui moritur ignoratur sepultura: & semper circa loca illa vbi sepeliunt nobiles suos est vna herbergia hominum custodientium sepulturas. Non intellexi quod ipsi recondunt thesaurum cum mortuis. Comani faciunt magnum tumulum super defunctum & erigunt ei statuam versa facie ad orientem, tenentem cyphum in manu sua ante vmbelicum. fabricant & diuitibus pyramides, id est domunculas acutas: & alicubi vidi magnas turres de tegulis coctis: alicubi lapideas domos, quamuis lapides non inueniantur ibi. Vidi quendam nouiter defunctum, cui suspenderant pelles sexdecem equorum, ad quodlibet latus mundi quatuor inter perticas altas: & apposuerunt ei cosmos vt biberet, & carnes vt comederet: & tamen dicebant de illo quod

quod fuerat baptizatus. Alias vidi sepulturas versus orientem. Areas scilicet magnas structas lapidibus, aliquas rotundas, alquas quadratas, & postea quatuor lapides longos erectos ad quatuor regiones mundi circa aream. Et vbi aliquis infirmatur cubat in lecto & ponit signum super domum suam, quod ibi est infirmus, & quod nullus ingrediatur: vnde nullus visitat infirmum nisi seruiens eius. Quando etiam aliquis de magnis curijs infirmatur, ponunt custodes longe circa curiam, qui infra illos terminos neminem permittunt transire: timent enim ne mali spiritus vel ventus veniant cum ingredientibus. Ipsos diuinatores vocant tanquam sacerdotes suos.

Qualiter ingressi sunt inter Tartaros, & de ingratitudine eorum.

QVando ergo ingressi sumus inter illos barbaros, visum fuit mihi, vt dixi superius, quod ingrederer aliud seculum. Circumdederunt enim nos in equis postquam diu fecerant nos expectare sedentes in vmbra sub bigis nigris. Prima quæstio fuit, vtrum vnquam fuissemus inter eos, habito quod non: inceperunt impudenter petere de cibarijs nostris, & dedimus de pane biscocto & vino quod attuleramus nobiscum de villa: & potata vna lagena vini, petierunt aliam, dicentes, quod homo non ingreditur domum vno pede. non dedimus eis, excusantes nos quod parum haberemus. Tunc quæsiuerunt vnde veniremus, & quo vellemus ire. dixi eis superiora verba, quod audieramus de Sartach, quod esset Christianus, & quod vellem ire ad eum, quia habebam deferre ei literas vestras. Ipsi diligenter quæsiuerunt, vtrum irem de mea voluntate, vel vtrum mitterer. Ego respondi quod nemo coegit me ad eundum, nec fuissem nisi voluissem: vnde de mea voluntate ibam, & etiam de voluntate superioris mei. Bene caui, quod nunquam dixi, me esse nuncium vestrum. Tunc quæsiuerunt quid esset in bigis, vtrum esset aurum vel argentum, vel vestes preciosæ, quas deferrem Sartach. Ego respondi, quod Sartach videret quid deferremus ei, quando peruenieremus ad eum; & quod non intererat eorum ista quærere: sed faceremus deduci vsque ad capitaneum suum, & ipse si vellet mihi præbere ducatum vsque ad Sartach faceret: sin minus, reuerterer. Erat enim in illa prouincia vnus consanguineus Baatu, nomine Scacatai, cui dominus imperator Constantinopolitanus mittebat literas deprecatorias, quod me permitteret transire. Tunc ipsi acquieuerunt, præbentes nobis equos & boues & duos homines, qui deducerent nos. Et alij qui adduxerant nos sunt reuersi. Prius tamen antequam prædicta darent, fecerunt nos diu expectare petentes de pane nostro pro parvulis suis: Et omnia quæ videbant super famulos nostros, cultellos, chirothecas, bursas, corrigias, omnia admirantes & volentes habere. Excusabam me, quia longa nobis restabat via, nec debebamus ita cito spoliare nos rebus necessarijs ad tantam viam perficiendam. Tunc dicebant quod essem batrator. Verum est quod nihil abstulerint vi: Sed valde importune & impudenter petunt quæ vident. Et si dat homo eis perdit, quia sunt ingrati. Reputant se dominos mundi, & videtur eis, quod nihil debeat eis negari ab aliquo. Si non dat, & postea indigeat seruicio eorum, male ministrant ei. Dederunt nobis bibere de lacte suo vaccino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoso valde, quod ipsi vocant Apram: & sic recessimus ab eis. Et visum fuit mihi recte, quod euasissem de manibus dæmonum. In crastino peruenimus ad capitaneum. Ex quo recessimus a Soldaia vsque ad Sartach in duobus mensibus nunquam iacuimus in domo nec in tentorio, sed semper sub dio, vel sub bigis nostris, nec vidimus aliquam villam, vel vestigium alicujus ædificij vbi fuisset villa, nisi tumbas Comanorũ in maxima multitudine. Illo sero dedit nobis garcio qui ducebat nos bibere cosmos; ad cuius haustum totus sudaui propter horrorem & nouitatem, quia nunquam biberam de eo. valde tamen sapidum videbatur mihi, sicut vere est.

De curia Scacatay, & quod Christiani non bibunt cosmos.

MAne ergo obviauimus bigis Scacatay onustis domibus. Et videbatur mihi quod obuiaret mihi ciuitas magna. Mirabar etiam super multitudine armentorum boum & equorum & gregum, ouium: paucos videbam homines qui ista gubernarent. vnde inquisiui quot homines haberet sub se? & dictum fuit mihi, quod non plusquam quingentos, quorum medietatem transiueramus in alia herbergia. Tunc incepit mihi dicere garcio qui ducebat nos, quod aliquid oporteret Scacatay dare: & ipse fecit nos stare, & præcessit nuncians aduentum nostrum.

trum. Iam erat hora plusquam tertia, & deposuerunt domos suas iuxta quandam aquam. Et venit ad nos interpres ipsius, qui statim cognito, quod nunquam fueramus inter illos, poposcit de cibis nostris, & dedimus ei, poscebat etiam vestimentum aliquod, quia dicturus erat verbù nostrum ante dominum suum. Excusauimus nos. Quæsiuit quid portaremus domino suo? Accepimus vnum flasconem de vino, & impleuimus vnum veringal de biscocto & platellum vnum de pomis & aliis fructibus. Sed non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretiosum. Sic tamen ingressi sumus cum timore & verecundia. Sedebat ipse in lecto suo tenens citharulam in manu, & vxor sua iuxta eum: de qua credebâ in veritate, quod amputasset sibi nasum inter oculos vt simior esset: nihil enim habebat ibi de naso, & vnxerat locum illum quodam vnguento nigro, & etiam supercilia: quod erat turpissimum in oculis nostris. Tunc dixi ei verba supradicta. Vbique enim oportebat nos dicere idem verbum. Super hoc enim eramus bene præmoniti ab illis qui fuerant inter illos, quod nunquam mutaremus verba nostra. Rogaui etiam cum vt dignaretur accipere munusculum de manu nostra, excusans me, quia monachus eram, nec erat ordinis nostri possidere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes preciosas. Vnde non habebam aliquid talium, quod possem ei dare: sed de cibis nostris acciperet pro benedictione. Tunc fecit recipi, & distribuit statim hominibus suis qui conuenerant ad potandum. Dedi etiam ei literas Imperatoris Constantinopolitani: (Hoc fuit in octauis ascensionis) Qui statim eas Soldaiam misit vt ibi interpretarentur: quia erant in Græco, nec habebat secum qui sciret literas Græcas. Quæsiuit etiam à nobis, si vellemus bibere cosmos, hoc est, lac iumentinum. Christiani enim Ruteni, Græci, & Alani, qui sunt inter eos, qui volunt stricte custodire legem suam, non bibunt illud: Imo non reputant se Christianos postquam biberunt. Et sacerdotes eorum reconciliant eos, tanquam negassent fidem Christianam. Ego respondi, quod habebamus adhuc sufficienter ad bibendum: & cum ille potus deficeret nobis, oporteret nos bibere illud, quod daretur nobis. Quæsiuit etiam quid contineretur in literis nostris, quas mittebatis Sartach. Dixi quod clausæ erant bullæ nostræ: & quod non erant in eis nisi bona verba & amicabilia. Quæsiuit & quæ verba diceremus Sartach? Respondi, Verba fidei Christianæ. Quæsiuit quæ? Quia libenter vellet audire. Tunc exposui ei prout potui per interpretem meum, qui nullius erat ingenij, nec alicuius eloquentiæ, symbolù fidei. Quo audito, ipse tacuit & mouit caput. Tunc assignauit nobis duos homines, qui nos custodirent, & equos & bones: & fecit nos bigare secum, donec reuerteretur nuncius, quem ipse miserat pro interpretatione, literarum imperatoris; & iuimus cum eo vsque in crastinum Pentecostes.

Nota diligenter.

Qualiter Alani venerunt ad eos in vigilia Pentecostes.

IN vigilia Pentecostes venerunt ad nos quidam Alani, qui ibi dicuntur || Acias. Christiani secundum ritum Græcorum; habentes literas Græcas & sacerdotes Græcos: tamen non sunt schismatici sicut Græci; sed sine acceptione personarum venerantur omnem Christianum: & detulerunt nobis carnes coctas, rogantes vt comederemus de cibo eorum, & oraremus pro quodam defuncto eorum. Tunc dixi quod vigilia erat tantæ solennitatis, quod illa die non comederemus carnes. Et exposui eis de solennitate, super quo fuerunt multum gauisi: quia omnia ignorabant quæ spectant ad ritum Christianum, solo nomine Christi excepto. Quæsierunt & ipsi & alij multi Christiani, Ruteni & Hungari, vtrum possent saluari, quia oportebat eos bibere cosmos, & comedere morticinia & interfecta à Saracenis & alijs infidelibus: quæ etiam ipsi Græci & Ruteni sacerdotes reputant quasi morticinia vel idolis immolata: quia ignorabant tempora ieiunij: nec poterant custodire etiam si cognouissent. Tunc rectificabar eos prout potui, docens & confortans in fide. Carnes quas detulerant reseruauimus vsque ad diem festum: nihil enim inueniebamus venale pro auro & argento, nisi pro telis & alijs || pannis: & illos non habebamus. Quum famuli nostri offerebant eis ipperpera, ipsi fricabant digitis, & ponebant ad nares, vt odore sentirent, virum essent cuprum. Nec dabant nobis cibum nisi lac vaccinum acre valde & fœtidum. Vinum iam deficiebat nobis. Aqua ita turbabatur ab equis, quod non erat potabilis. Nisi fuisset biscoctum quod habebamus, & gratiâ Dei, forte fuissemus mortui.

Vel Alan.

¶ Nota diligenter.

De

De Saraceno qui dixit se velle baptizarj, et de hominibus qui apparent leprosi.

IN die pentecostes venit ad nos quidam Saracenus, qui cum loqueretur nobiscum, incepimus exponere fidem. Qui audiens beneficia Dei exhibita humano generi in incarnatione Christi, & resurrectionem mortuorum, & iudicium futurum, & quod ablutio peccatorum esset in baptismo: dixit se velle baptizari. Et cum pararemus nos ad baptizandum eum, ipse subito ascendit equum suum, dicens se iturum domum & habiturum consilium cum vxore sua. Qui in crastino loquens nobiscum, dixit quod nullo modo auderet accipere baptisma, quia tunc non biberet cosmos. Christiani enim illius loci hoc dicebant, quod nullus verus Christianus deberet bibere: & sine potu illo non posset viuere in solitudine illa. A qua opinione nullo modo potui diuertere illum. Vnde noueritis pro certo quod multũ elongantur à fide propter illam opinionem quæ iam viguit inter illos per Rutenos, quorum maxima multitudo est inter eos. Illa die dedit nobis ille capitaneus vnum hominem, qui nos deduceret vsque ad Sartach: & duos qui ducerent nos vsque ad proximam herbergiam; quæ inde distabat quinque dietas prout boues poterant ire. Dederunt etiam nobis vnam capram pro cibo & plures vtres lactis vaccini, & de cosmos parum: quia illud preciosum est inter illos. Et sic arripientes iter rectè in aquilonem, visum fuit mihi quod vnam portam inferni transissemus. Garciones qui ducebant nos, incipiebant nobis audacter furari, quia videbant nos parum cautos. Tandem amissis pluribus vexatio dabat nobis intellectum. Peruenimus tandem ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ, quæ clauditur vno fossato ab vno mari vsque ad aliud: extra quam erat herbergia eorum apud quos intrassemus: videbantur nobis leprosi omnes: quia erant viles homines ibi collocati, vt reciperent tributum ab accipientibus sal a salinis superius dictis. Ab illo loco, vt dicebant, oportebat nos ambulare quindecim diebus, quibus non inueniremus populum. Cum illis bibimus cosmos: & dedimus illis vnum veringal plenum fructibus & panem biscoctum. Qui dederunt nobis octo boues, vnam capram pro tanto itinere, & nescio quot vtres plenos lacte vaccinõ. Sic mutatis bobus arripuimus iter, quod perfecimus decem diebus vsque ad aliam herbergiam: nec inuenimus aquam in illa via nisi in fossis in conuallibus factis, exceptis duobus paruis fluminibus. Et tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo exiuimus prædictam prouinciam Gasariæ, habentes mare ad meridiem & vastam solitudinem ad aquilonem: quæ durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine: In qua nulla est sylua, nullus mons, nullus lapis. Herba est optima. In hac solebant pascere Comani, qui dicuntur Capchat. A Teutonicis verò dicuntur Valani, & prouincia Valania Ab Isidoro vero dicitur à flumine Tanai vsque ad paludes Meotidis & Danubium Alania. Et durat ista terra in longitudine a Danubio vsque Tanaim; qui est terminus Asiæ & Europæ, itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando prout equitant Tartari: Quæ tota inhabitabatur à Comanis Capchat, & etiam vltra à Tanai vsque ‖ Etilium: Inter quæ flumina sunt decem dietæ magnæ. Ad aquilonem verò istius prouinciæ iacet Russia, quæ vbique syluas habet, & protenditur à Polonia & Hungaria vsque Tanaim: quæ tota vastata est à Tartaris, & adhuc quotidie vastatur. Præponunt enim Rutenis, quia sunt Christiani, Saracenos: & cum non possunt amplius dare aurum vel argentum, ducunt eos & paruulos eorum tanquam greges ad solitudinem vt custodiant animalia eorum. Vltra Russiam ad aquilonem est Prussia, quam nuper subiugauerunt totam fratres Teutonici. Et certe de facili acquirerent Russiam, si apponerent manum. Si enim Tartari audirent, quod magnus sacerdos, hoc est, Papa faceret cruce signari contra eos, omnes fugerent ad solitudines suas.

Salinæ.

Decem dietæ.

Comanie longitudo. Italia quæ & Volga fluuius. Russia.

Prussia.

De tedijs quæ patiebantur, & de sepultura Comanorum.

IBamus ergo versus orientem, nihil videntes nisi cœlum & terram, & aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, & etiam sepulturas Comanorum, quæ apparebant nobis à duabus leucis secundum quod solebant parentelæ eorum sepeliri simul. Quam diu eramus in solitudine bene erat nobis: quòd tædium quod patiebar quum veniebamus ad mansiones eorum non possem exprimere verbis. Volebat enim dux noster, quod ad quoslibet capitaneos ingrederer cum xenio: & ad hoc non sufficiebant expensæ. Quotidie enim eramus octo personæ comedentes viaticum nostrũ exceptis seruientibus, qui omnes volebant

comedere nobiscum. Nos enim eramus quinque, & ipsi tres qui ducebant nos: duo decentes bigas, & vnus iturus nobiscum vsque ad Sartach. Carnes quas cabant non sufficiebant; nec inueniebamus aliquid venale pro moneta. Et cum sedebamus sub bigis nostris pro vmbra, quia calor erat ibi maximus illo tempore, ipsi ita importune ingerebant se nobis, quod concinabant nos, volentes omnia nostra videre. Si arripiebat eos appetitus gurgulionis ventrem, non elongabant se a nobis, quam possit faba iactari. Imo iuxta nos colloquentes mutuo faciebant immunditias suas: & multa alia faciebant quæ erant supra modum tædiosa. Super omnia grauabat me, quod cum volebam dicere eis aliquod verbum ædificationis, interpres meus dicebat, non facietis me prædicare: quia nescio talia verba dicere. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim perpendi postea, quum incepi aliquantulum intelligere idioma, quod quum dicebam vnum, ipse totum aliud dicebat, secundum quod ei occurrebat. Tunc videns periculum loquendi per ipsum, elegi magis tacere. Ambulauimus ergo cum magno labore de mansione in mansionem: ita quod paucis diebus ante festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ veni ad fluuium magnum Tanais: qui diuidit Asiam ab Europa, sicut Nilus diuidit Ægypti, Asiam ab Africa. In illo loco quo applicuimus fecerunt Baatu & Sartach fieri quoddam casale de Rutenis in ripa orientali, qui transferunt nuncios & mercatores cum nauiculis. Ipsi transtulerunt nos primo & postea bigas ponentes vnam rotam in vna barca & aliam in alia, ligantes barcas ad inuicem; & sic remigantes transibant. Ibi egit dux noster valde stulte. Ipse enim credebat, quod illi de casali deberent nobis mittere equos, & dimisit animalia quæ adduxeramus in alia biga, vt redirent ad dominos suos. Et quum postulauimus ab eis animalia, ipsi respondebant quod habebant priuilegiū à Baatu, quod non tenerentur ad aliud, nisi transferre euntes & redeuntes: etiam à mercatoribus accipiebant magnum tributum. Stetimus ergo ibi in ripa fluminis tribus diebus. Prima die dederunt nobis magnam borbotam recentem: secunda die panem de siligine & parum de carnibus, quas acceperat procurator villæ ostiatim per diuersas domos. Tertia die pisces siccos, quos habent ibi in magna multitudine. Fluuius ille erat ibi tantæ latitudinis, quantæ est Sequana Parisijs. Et antequam peruenissemus ad locum illum, transiuimus multas aquas pulcherrimas & piscosissimas: Sed Tartari nesciunt eos capere: nec curant de pisce nisi sit ita magnus, quod possunt comedere carnes eius, sicut carnes arietinas. Ille fluuius est terminus Orientalis Russiæ; & oritur de paludibus quæ pertingunt ad Oceanum ad aquilonem. Fluuius vero currit ad meridiem in quoddam magnum Mare septingentorum millium, antequam pertingat ad Mare Ponti: Et omnes aquæ quas transiuimus vadunt ad illas partes. Habet etiam prædictum flumen magnam syluam in ripa Occidentali. Vltra locum illum non ascendunt Tartari versus Aquilonem: quia tunc temporis || circa introitum Augusti incipiunt redire versus meridiem. Vnde aliud est casale inferius vbi transeunt nuncij tempore hyemali. Eramus igitur ibi in magna angustia, quia nec equos nec boues inueniebamus pro pecunia. Tandem postquam ostendi eis, quod laborani pro communi vtilitate omnium Christianorum, accõmodauerunt nobis boues & homines: nos autem oportebat ire pedibus. Tunc temporis metebant siliginem: triticum non proficiebat ibi bene. Milium habent in magna copia. Mulieres Rutenæ ornant capita sicut nostræ. Supertunicalia sua exterius ornant vario vel grisio a pedibus vsque ad genua. Homines portant capas sicut Teutonici: sed in capite portant pileos de filtro acutos in summitate longo acumine. Ambulauimus ergo tribus diebus non inuenientes populum. Et cum essemus valde fatigati & boues similiter, nec sciremus quorsum possemus Tartaros inuenire, accurrerunt subito duo equi, quos recepimus cum gaudio magno, & ascenderunt eos dux noster & interpres, vt specularentur quorsum possemus populum inuenire. Tandem quarta die inuentis hominibus gauisi sumus tanquam naufragi venientes ad portum. Tunc acceptis equis & bobus iuimus de mansione ad mansionem donec peruenimus vsque ad herbergiam Sartach secundo Calendas Augusti.

Color vestimenta ibi in vsitate.

Tanais fluuius.

Casale Rutenorum.

Latitudo Tanais.

Oceanus.

‖ Ad introitum Augusti redeunt ad meridiem.

De regione Sartach, & de gentibus illius.

REgio ista vltra Tanaim est pulcherrima, habens flumina & syluas ad aquilonem. Sunt syluæ maximæ, quas inhabitant duo genera hominum: Moxel scilicet, qui sunt sine lege, puri pagani. Ciuitatem non habent sed casulas in syluis. Dominus eorum & magna pars eorum

eorum fuerunt interfecti in Alemania. Tartari enim duxerant eos ad introitum Alemaniæ. Vnde ipsi multum commendant Alemanos, sperantes quod adhuc liberabuntur per eos à seruitute Tartarorum. Si mercator veniat ad eos, oportet quod ille apud quem primo descendit prouideat ei quamdiu vult esse inter eos. Si quis dormiat cum vxore alterius, ille non curat nisi videat proprijs oculis: vnde non sunt Zelotypi. Abundant apud eos porci, mel, & cera, pelles preciosæ, & falcones. Post illos sunt alij qui dicuntur Merdas, quos latini vocant Merduos, & sunt Saraceni. Post illos est ‖ Etilia, quæ est maior fluuius, quam vnquam viderim: & venit ab Aquilone de maiori Bulgaria tendens ad meridiem: & cadit in quendam lacum habentem spacium quatuor mensium in circuitu, de quo postea dicam vobis. Ista ergo duo flumina Tanais & Etilia versus regiones Aquilonis per quas transiuimus non distant ab inuicem nisi decem dietis, sed ad meridiem multum diuiduntur ab inuicem. Tanais enim descendit in Mare Ponti: Etilia facit prædictum Mare siue lacum, cum alijs multis fluminibus, quæ cadunt in illum de Perside. Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos in quibus habitant in lateribus versus solitudinem illam Cergis & Alani siue ‖ Acas, qui sunt Christiani & adhuc pugnant contra Tartaros. Post istos prope Mare siue lacum Etiliæ sunt quidam Saraceni qui dicuntur Lesgi, qui similiter obediunt. Post hos est Porta ferrea, quam fecit Alexander ad excludendas Barbaras gentes de Perside: de cuius situ dicam vobis postea, ‖ quia transiui per eam in reditu. Et inter ista duo flumina in illis terris per quas transiuimus habitabant Comani antequam Tartari occuparent eas.

Merdui Saraceni.

‖ vel Volga fluuius.

‖ Kerku. vel Aas.

Lesgi Saraceni.

‖ Reditus eius per Derbent.

De Curia Sartach & de gloria eius.

INuenimus ergo Sartach prope Etiliam per tres dietas: cuius curia valde magna videbatur nobis: quia habet sex vxores, & filius eius primogenitus iuxta eum duas vel tres: & quælibet habet domum magnam & bigas forte ducentas. Accessit autem ductor noster ad quendam Nestorinum Coiat nomine, qui est vnus de maioribus Curiæ suæ. Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini Iannam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. In sero præcepit nobis dictus Coiat, vt veniremus ad eum. Tunc incepit quærere ductor noster quid portaremus ei, & cœpit multum scandalizari, quum vidit quod nihil parabamus ad portandum. Stetimus coram eo, & ipse sedebat in gloria sua & faciebat sonare citharam & saltare coram se. Tunc dixi ei verba prædicta qualiter veniremus ad dominum eius, rogans eum vt iuuaret nos vt Dominus eius videret literas nostras. Excusaui etiam me quia monachus eram, non habens, nec recipiens, nec tractans aurum vel argentum vel aliquid preciosum, solis libris & capella in qua seruiebamus deo exceptis: vnde nullum xenium afferebamus ei nec domino suo. Qui enim propria dimiseram, non poteram portator esse alienorum. Tunc respondit satis mansuete, quod bene faciebam ex quo eram monachus: sic seruarem votum meum, & non indigebat rebus nostris; sed magis daret nobis de suis, si indigeremus: & fecit nos sedere & bibere de lacte suo. Et post pauca rogauit vt diceremus benedictionem pro eo, quod & fecimus. Quæsiuit & quis esset maior dominus inter Francos. Dixi, Imperator, si haberet terram suam in pace. Non, inquit, sed Rex Franciæ. Audiuerat enim de vobis à domino Baldewyno de Hannonia. Inueni etiam ibi vnum de Socijs domus Dominicæ, qui fuerat in Cypro, qui narrauerat omnia quæ viderat. Tunc reuersi sumus ad hospitium nostrum. In crastino misi ei vnum flasconem de vino Muscato, quod optime se custodierat in tam longa via; & cophinum plenum biscocto quod fuit ei gratissimum, & retinuit illo sero famulos nostros secum. In crastino mandauit mihi quod venirem ad curiam; afferens literas regis & capellam & libros mecum, quia dominus suus vellet videre ea: quod & fecimus, onerantes vnam bigam libris & capella, & aliam pane & vino & fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros & vestes explicari, & circumstabant nos in equis multi Tartari & Christiani & Saraceni: quibus inspectis, quæsiuit, si vellem ista omnia dare domino suo, quo audito, expaui, & displicuit mihi verbum, dissimulans tamen respondi, domine rogamus, quatenus dominus noster dignetur recipere panem istum, vinum & fructus non pro xenio quia exiguum quid est, sed pro benedictione, ne vacua manu veniamus coram eo. Ipse autem videbit literas domini regis, & per eas sciet, qua de causa venimus ad eum: & tunc stabimus mandato eius nos & omnes res nostræ. Vestes enim sanctæ sunt, & non licet eas contingere

Coiat Nesturinus.

nisi sacerdotibus. Tunc præcepit quod indueremus nos iuri coram domino suo: quod & fecimus. Ego autem indutus preciosioribus vestibus accepi in pectore puluinar, quod erat valde pulchrum, & biblium quod dederatis mihi, psalterium pulcherrimum, quod dederat mihi domina regina, in quo erant picturæ pulchræ. Socius meus accepit missale & cruecm, clericus indutus superciliclo accepit thuribulum: sic accessimus ante dominum eius: & leuauerunt filtrum quod pendebat ante ostium vt nos posset videre. Tunc fecerunt flectere genua ter clerico & interpreti: à nobis non requisiuerunt. Tunc monuerunt nos valde diligenter, vt cauteremus ingrediendo & egrediendo ne tangeremus limen domus, & vt cantaremus aliquam benedictionem pro eo. Tunc ingressi sumus cantando, Salue regina. In introitu autem ostij stabat bancus cum cosmos & cum ciphis. Et conuenerant omnes vxores eius: & ipsi Moal. Ingredientes nobiscum comprimebant nos. Illic Coiac tulit ei thuribulum cum incenso, quod ipse respexit, tenens in manu diligenter: postea tulit ei psalterium quod valde respexit, & vxor eius sedens iuxta eum. Postea tulit biblium, & ipse quæsiuit, si euangelium esset ibi. Dixi, etiam tota Scriptura Sacra. Accepit etiam crucem in manu sua, & quæsiuit de imagine, virum esset imago Christi? Respondi quod sic. Ipsi Nestoriani & Armeni nunquam faciunt super cruces suas figuram Christi. Vnde videntur male sentire de passione, vel erubescunt eam. Postea fecit circumstantes nos retrahere se, vt plenius posset videre ornamenta nostra. Tunc obtuli ei literas vestras cum transcriptis in Arabico & Syriano. Feceram enim eas transferri in Acon in vtraque litera & lingua. Et ibi erant sacerdotes Armeni, qui sciebant Turcicum & Arabicum, & Ille Socius domus Domini qui sciebat Syrianum, & Turcicum & Arabicum. Tunc exiuimus & deposuimus vestimenta nostra: & venerunt scriptores & ille Coiac, & fecerunt literas interpretari. Quibus auditis, fecit recipi panem & vinum & fructus: vestimenta & libros fecit nos reportare ad hospitium. Hoc actum est in festo Sancti Petri ad vincula.

Qualiter habuerunt in mandatis adire Baatu patrem Sartach.

IN crastino mane venit quidam sacerdos frater ipsius Coiac postulans vasculum cum chrismate, quia Sartach volebat illud videre, vt dicebat, & dedimus ei. Hora vespertina vocauit nos Coiac, dicens nobis: Dominus rex scripsit bona verba Domino meo: Sed sunt in eis difficilia, de quibus nihil auderet facere, sine consilio patris sui. Vnde oportet vos ire ad patrem suum, & duas bigas quas adduxistis heri cum vestimentis & libris dimittetis mihi, quia Dominus meus vult res diligentius videre. Ego statim suspicatus sum malum de cupiditate eius, & dixi ei. Domine, non solum illas sed etiam duas quas adhuc habemus relinquemus sub custodia vestra. Non inquit, illas relinquetis, de alijs facietis velle vestrum. Dixi quod hoc nullo modo posset fieri. Sed totam dimitteremus ei. Tunc quæsiuit si vellemus morari in terra? Ego dixi, Si bene intellexistis literas domini regis, potestis scire, quod sic. Tunc dixit, quod oporteret nos esse patientes multum, & humiles. Sic discessimus ab eo illo sero. In crastino mane misit vnum sacerdotem Nestorinum pro bigis, & nos duximus omnes quatuor. Tunc occurrens nobis frater ipsius Coiacis, separauit omnia nostra ab ipsis rebus quas tuleramus pridie ad curiam, & illa accepit tanquam sua, scilicet libros & vestimenta: & Coiac præceperat, quod ferremus nobiscum vestimenta quibis induti fueramus coram Sartach vt illis indueremur coram Baatu si expediret: quas ille sacerdos abstulit nobis vi, dicens: Tu attulisti eas ad Sartach, modo vis ferre Baatu? Et cum vellem ei reddere rationem, respondit mihi, Ne loquaris nimis, & vade viam tuam. Tunc necessaria fuit patientia, quia apud Sartach, non patebat nobis ingressus; nec aliquis erat, qui nobis exhiberet iusticiam. Timebam etiam de interprete, ne ipse aliquid aliter dixisset, quam ego dixissem ei: quia ipsi bene voluisset, quod de omnibus fecissemus xenium. Vnum erat mihi solacium, quia quum persensi cupiditatem eorum, ego subtraxi de libris Biblium & sententias, & alios libros quos magis diligebam. Psalterium dominæ reginæ non fui ausus subtrahere, quia illud fuerat nimis notatum propter aureas picturas quæ erant in eo. Sic ergo rencrsi summs cum duobus residuis bigis ad hospitium nostrum. Tunc venit ille, qui debebat ducere nos ad Baatu, volens cum festinatione arripere iter: cui dixi quod nulla ratione ducerem bigas. Quod ipse retulit ad Coiac. Tunc præcepit Coiac quod relinqueremus eas apud ipsum cum garcione

garcione nostro: quod & fecimus. Sic ergo euntes versus Baatu recta in Orientem, tertia die peruenimus ad Etiliam: cuius aquas cum vidi, mirabar vnde ab Aquilone descenderunt tantæ aquæ. Antequam recederemus à Sartach, dixit nobis supradictus Coiac cum alijs multis scriptoribus curiæ, Nolite dicere quod dominus noster sit Christianus, sed Moal. Quia nomen Christianitatis videtur eis nomen cuiusdam gentis. In tantam superbiam sunt erecti, quod quamuis aliquid forte credant de Christo, tamen nolunt dici Christiani volentes nomen suum, hoc est, Moal exaltare super omne nomen. Nec volunt vocari Tartari: Tartari enim fuerunt alia gens de quibus sic didici.

Peruenimus ad Etiliam vel Volgam.

Tartari volunt vocari Moal.

Qualiter Sartach, & Mangucham & Kencham faciunt reuerentiam Christianis.

TEmpore quo Franci ceperunt Antiochiam tenebat monarchiam in illis lateribus Aquilonis quidam qui vocabatur Concan. Con est proprium nomen: Can nomen dignitatis quod idem est qui diuinator. Omnes diuinatores vocant Can. Vnde principes dicuntur Can, quia penes eos spectat regimen populi per diuinationem. Vnde legitur in historia Antiochiæ, quod Turci miserunt propter succursum contra Francos ad regnum Con can. De illis enim partibus venerunt omnes Turci. Iste Con erat Cara-Catay. Cara idem est quod nigrum. Catai nomen gentis. Vnde Cara-Catay idem est quod nigri Catay. Et hoc dicitur ad differentiam ipsorum Catay qui erant in Oriente super Oceanum de quibus postea dicam vobis. Isti Catay erant in quibusdam alpibus per quas transiui. Et in quadam planicie inter illas Alpes erat quidam Nestorinus pastor potens & dominus super populum, qui dicebatur Yayman, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Mortuo Con can eleuauit se ille Nestorius in regem, & vocabant eum Nestoriani Regem Iohannem: & plus dicebant de ipso in decuplo quàm veritas esset. Ita enim faciunt Nestoriani venientes de partibus illis. De nihilo enim faciunt magnos rumores. Vnde disseminauerunt de Sartach quod esset Christianus, & de Mangu Can & Ken can: quia faciunt maiorem reuerentiam Christianis, quàm alijs populis, & tamen in veritate Christiani non sunt. Sic ergo exiuit magna fama de illo Rege Iohanne. Et quando ego transiui per pascua eius, nullus aliquid sciebat de eo nisi Nestoriani pauci. In pascuis eius habitat Kencam, apud cuius curiam fuit frater Andreas: & ego etiam transiui per eam in reditu. Huic Iohanni erat frater quidam potens, pastor similiter, nomine Vut: & ipse erat vltra Alpes ipsorum Caracatay, distans à fratre suo spacium trium hebdomadarum & erat dominus cuiusdam Villulæ quæ dicitur Caracarum, populum habens sub se, qui dicebantur Crit, Merkit, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Sed ipse dominus eorum dimisso cultu Christi, sectabatur idola: habens sacerdotes idolorum, qui omnes sunt inuocatores dæmonum & sortilegi. Vltra pascua istius ad decem vel quindecem dietas erant pascua Moal: qui erant pauperrimi homines sine capitaneo & sine lege, exceptis sortilegijs & diuinationibus, quibus omnes in partibus illis intendunt. Et iuxta Moal erant alij pauperes, qui dicebantur Tartari. Rex Iohannes mortuus fuit sine hærede, & ditatus est frater eius Vnc; & faciebat se vocari Can: & mittebantur armenta greges eius vsque ad terminos Moal. Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo Moal: & furabatur de animalibus Vnc can quod poterat: In tantum quod conquesti sunt pastores Vut domino suo. Tunc congregauit exercitum & equitauit in terram Moal, quærens ipsum Cyngis. Et ille fugit inter Tartaros & latuit ibi. Tunc ipse Vut accepta præda Moal & à Tartaris reuersus est. Tunc ipse Cyngis allocutus est Tartaros & ipsos Moal dicens, Quia sine duce sumus opprimunt nos viciui nostri. Et fecerunt ipsum ducem & capitaneum Tartari & Moal. Tunc latenter congregato exercitu irruit super ipsum Vut, & vicit ipsum, & ipse fugit in Cathaiam. Ibi capta fuit filia eius, quam Cyngis dedit vni ex filijs in vxorem, ex quo ipsa suscepit istum qui nunc regnat Mangu. Tunc ipse Cyngis premittebat vbique ipsos Tartaros: & inde exiuit nomen eorum, quia vbique clamabatur, Ecce Tartari veniunt. Sed per crebra bella modo omnes fere deleti sunt. Vnde isti Moal modo volunt extinguere illud nomen, & suum eleuare. Terra illa in qua primo fuerunt, & vbi est adhuc curia Cyngiscan, vocatur Mancherule. Sed quia Tartari est regio circa quam fuit acquisitio eorum, illam ciuitatem habent pro regali, & ibi prope eligunt suum Can.

Con Can.

Vnde venerunt Turci.

Caracatay.

Oceanus.

Vel Nayman.

Presbyter Iohannes.

Kencham vbi habitauit.

Frater Andreas in Curia Kencham.

Vut can, vel Vnc.

Caracarum Villula.

Crit, & Merkit.

Moal pauperrimi homines.

Tartarorum sedes.

Cyngis.

Mangu-can.

Mancherule.

De Rutenis

De Rutenis & Hungaris, & Alanis, & de mari Caspio.

DE Sartach autem virum credit in Christum vel non nescio. Hoc scio quod Christianus non vult dici. Immò magis videtur mihi deridere Christianos. Ipse enim est in itinere Christianorum, scilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgariæ, Soldainorum, Kerkisorum, Alanorum: qui omnes transeunt per eum quum vadunt ad curiam patris sui deferre ei munera, vnde magis amplectitur eos. Tamen si Saraceni veniant, & maius afferant, citiùs expediuntur. Habet etiam circa se Nestorinos sacerdotes, qui pulsant tabulam, & cantant officium suum.

Berta vel Berca. Est alius qui dicitur Berta super Baatu, qui pascit versus Portam ferream, vbi est iter Saracenorum omnium qui veniunt de Perside & de Turchis, qui euntes ad Baatu, & transeuntes per eum, deferunt ei munera. Et ille facit se Saracenum, & non permittit in terra sua comedi carnes porcinas. Baatu in reditu nostro præceperat ei, quod transferret se de illo loco vltra Etiliam ad Orientem, nolens nuncios Saracenorum transire per eum, quia videbatur sibi damnosum.

Quatuor autem diebus quibus fuimus in curia Sartach, nunquam prouisum fuit nobis de cibo, nisi semel de modico cosmos. In via verò inter ipsum & patrem suum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni enim & Hungari, & Alani serui eorum, quorum est magna multitudo inter eos, associant se viginti vel triginta simul, & fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras & arcus, & quemcunque inueniunt de nocte interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et quando sunt equi eorum fatigati veniunt de nocte ad multitudinem equorum in pascuis, & mutant equos, & vnum vel duos ducunt secum, vt comedant quum indiguerint. Occursum ergo talium timebat multum Dux noster. In illa via faissemus mortui fame, si non portauissemus hobiscum modicum de biscocto.

Venimus tandem ad Etiliam maximum flumen. Est enim in quadruplo maius quàm Sequana, & profundissimum. Veniens de maiori Bulgaria, quæ est ad Aquilonem, tendens in quendam lacum, siue quoddam mare, quod modò vocant mare Sircan, à quadam ciuitate, quæ est iuxta ripam eius in Perside. Sed Isidorus vocat illud mare Caspium. Habet enim montes Caspios, & Persidem à meridie: montes verò Musihet, hoc est, Assassinorum ad Orientem, qui contiguantur cum montibus Caspijs: Ad Aquilonem verò habet illam solitudinem, in qua modò sunt Tartari. Prius verò erant ibi quidam qui dicebantur Cangliæ. Et ex illo latere recipit Etiliam, qui crescit in æstate sicut Nilus Ægypti. Ad Occidentem verò habet montes Alanorum & Lesgi; & Portam ferream, & montes Georgianorum. Habet igitur illud mare tria latera inter montes, Aquilonare verò habet ad planiciem. Frater Andreas ipse circumdedit duo latera eius, meridionale scilicet & Orientale. Ego verò alia duo; Aquilonare scilicet in eundo à Baatu ad Mangu cham, Occidentale verò in reuertendo de Baatu in Syriam. Quatuor mensibus potest circumdari. Et non est verum quod dicit Isidorus, quòd sit sinus exiens ab Oceano: nusquam enim tangit Oceanum, sed vndique circundatur terra.

Exacta maris Caspij descriptio.

Cangliæ populi, vel Cangitæ.

Frater Andreas.

Reprehenditur Isidori error de mari Caspio.

De curia Baatu, & qualiter recepti fuerunt ab eo.

OTra illa regio à latere Occidentali istius maris, vbi sunt Porta ferrea Alexandri, & montes Alanorum, vsq; ad Oceanum Aquilonarem & paludes Mæotidis vbi mergitur Tanais, solebat dici Albania: de qua dicit Isidorus, quòd habet canes ita magnos, tantæque feritatis, vt tauros premant, leones perimant. Quod verũ est, prout intellexi à narrantibus, quod ibi versus Oceanum Aquilonarem faciunt canes trahere in bigis sicut boues propter magnitudinem & fortitudinem eorum. In illo ergo loco vbi nos applicuimus super Etiliam est casale nouum, quod fecerunt Tartari de Rutenis mixtim, qui transponunt nuncios euntes, & redeuntes ad curiam Baatu: quia Baatu est in vlteriori ripa versus Orientem: nec transit illum locum vbi nos applicuimus ascendendo in æstate, sed tam incipiebat descendere. De Ianuario enim vsque ad Augustum ascendit ipse, & omnes alij versus frigidas regiones, & in Augusto incipiunt redire. Descendimus ergo in naui ab illo casali vsque ad curiam eius. Et ab illo loco vsque ad villas maioris Bulgariæ versus Aquilonem, sunt quinque dietæ. Et miror quis Diabolus portauit illuc legem Machometi. A Porta enim ferrea, quæ est exitus Persidis.

Oceanus Aquilonaris, Isidoro. Oceanus Aquilonaris.

Descendit naui per flumen Volgam. Nota.

Persidis, sunt plusquàm triginta dietæ per transuersum, solitudinem ascendendo iuxta Etiliam vsque in illam Bulgariam, vbi nulla est ciuitas, nisi quædam casalia propè vbi cadit Etilia in mare. Et illi Bulgari sunt pessimi Saraceni, fortius tenentes legem Machometi, quàm aliqui alij. Quum ergo vidi curiam Baatu, expaui; quia videbantur propè domus eius, quasi quædam magna ciuitas protensa in lōgum, & populus vndiq; circumfusus, vsq; ad tres vel quatuor leucas. Et sicut populus Israel sciebat vnusquisq;, ad quam regionem tabernaculi deberet figere tentoria: ita ipsi sciunt ad quod latus curiæ debeant se collocare, quando ipsi deponunt domus. Vnde dicitur curia Orda lingua eorum, quod sonat medium, quia semper est in medio hominum suorum: hoc excepto, quod rectà ad meridiem nullus se collocat, quia ad partem illam aperiuntur portæ Curiæ: Sed à dextris & à sinistris extendunt se quantum volunt secundum exigentiam locorum: dummodo rectè ante curiam, vel ex opposito curiæ non descendunt. Fuimus ergo ducti ad quendam Saracenum, qui non prouidebat nobis de aliquo cibo: sequenti die fuimus ad curiam, & fecerat extendi magnum tentorium, quia domus non potuisset capere tot homines & mulieres, quot conuenerant. Monuit nos ductor noster vt non loqueremur, donec Baatu præciperet: & tunc loqueremur breuiter. Quæsiuit etiam vtrum misissetis nuncios ad eos. Dixi qualiter miseratis ad Kencham, & quod nec ad ipsum misissetis nuncios, nec ad Sartach literas, nisi credidissetis eos fuisse Christianos: quia non pro timore aliquo, sed ex congratulatione, quia audiueratis eos esse Christianos misistis. Tunc duxit nos ad papilionem: & monebamur, ne tangeremus cordas tentorij, quas ipsi reputant loco liminis domus. Stetimus ibi nudis pedibus in habitu nostro discoopertis capitibus, & eramus spectaculum magnum in oculis eorum. Fuerat enim ibi frater Iohannes de Plano Carpini, sed ipse mutauerat habitum ne contemneretur; quia erat nuncius Domini Papæ. Tunc inducti fuimus vsque ad medium tentorij, nec requisiuerunt vt faceremus aliquam reuerentiam genua flectendo, sicut solent facere nuncij. Stetimus ergo coram eo quantum possit dici, Miserere mei Deus: & omnes erant in summo silentio. Ipse verò super solium longum sedebat & latum sicut lectus, totum deauratum, ad quod ascendebatur tribus gradibus, & vna domina iuxta eum. Viri vero diffusi sedebant à dextris dominæ & à sinistris: quod non implebant mulieres ex parte vna, quia erant ibi solæ vxores Baatu, implebant viri. Bancus verò cum cosmos & ciphis maximis aureis & argenteis, ornatis lapidibus prætiosis erat in introitu tentorij. Respexit ergo nos diligentius, & nos eum: & videbatur mihi similis in statura Domino Iohanni de Bello monte cuius anima requiescit in pace. Erat etiam vultus eius tunc perfusus gutta rosea. Tandem præcepit vt loquerer. Tunc ductor noster præcepit vt flecteremus genua, & loqueremur. Flexi vnum genu tanquam homini: tunc innuit quod ambo flecterem, quod & feci, nolens contendere super hoc. Tunc præcepit quod loquerer. Et ego cogitans quod orarem Dominum, quia flexeram ambo genua, Incepi verba oratione, dicens: Domine, nos oramus Dominum, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, qui dedit vobis ista terrena, vt det vobis post hæc cœlestia: quia hæc sine illis vana sunt. Et ipse diligenter auscultauit, & subiunxit: Noueritis pro certo quòd cœlestia non habebitis, nisi fueritis Christianus. Dicit enim Deus, Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Ad illud verbum ipse modestè subrisit, & alij Moal inceperunt plaudere manus deridendo nos. Et obstupuit interpres meus, quem oportuit me confortare ne timerem. Tunc facto silentio, dixi: Ego veni ad filium vestrum, quia audiuimus quòd esset Christianus, & attuli ei literas ex parte Domini Regis Francorum: ipse misit me huc ad vos. Vos debetis scire qua de causa. Tunc fecit me surgere. Et quæsiuit nomen vestrum, & meum, & socij mei, & interpretis, & fecit omnia scribi. Quæsiuit etiam, quia intellexerat quod exieratis terram vestram cum exercitu vt haberetis bellum. Respondi, Contra Saracenos violantes domum Dei Hierusalem. Quæsiuit etiam si vnquam misissetis nuncios ad eum. Ad vos dixi nunquam. Tunc fecit nos sedere, & dari de lacte suo ad bibendum, quod ipsi valdè magnum reputant, quando aliquis bibit cosmos cum eo in domo sua. Et dum sedens respicerem terram, præcepit vt eleuarem vultum, volens adhuc nos amplius respicere, vel fortè pro sortilegio: quia habent pro malo omine vel signo, vel pro mala Prognostica, quando aliquis sedet coram eis inclinata facie quasi tristis, maximè quum appodiat maxillam, vel mentum super manum. Tunc exiuimus, & post pauca, venit Ductor noster ad nos, & ducens nos ad hospitium, dixit mihi, Dominus Rex rogat, quod retinearis in terra ista:

30 dietæ à Porta ferrea. Astracan.

Descriptio curiæ Baatu.

Horda sonat medium.

Misit rex Franciæ ad Kencham nuncios.

Iohannes de Plano carpini.

Literæ Regis Francorum.

ista: & hoc non potest Baatu facere sine conscientia Mangu cham. Vnde oportet quod tu & interpres tuus eatis ad Mangu cham. Socius verò tuus & alius homo reuertentur ad curiam Sartach ibi expectantes donec reuertatis. Tunc incepit homo DEI Interpres lugere reputans se perditum: Socius etiam meus contestari, quod citius amputarent ei caput, quam quod diuideretur à me. Et ego dixi, quod sine socio non possem ire: Et etiam quod benè indigebamus duobus famulis, quia si contingeret vnum infirmari, non possem solus remanere. Tunc ipse reuersus ad curiam dixit verba Baatu. Tunc præcepit: vadant duo sacerdotes & interpres: & Clericus reuertatur ad Sartach. Ille reuersus dixit nobis summam. Et quando volebam loqui pro Clerico, quod iret nobiscum, dixit, Non loquamini amplius, quia Baatu definiuit, & eo amplius non audeo redire ad curiam. De eleemosyna habebat Goset clericus viginti sex ipperpera, & non plus: quorum decem retinuit sibi & puero: & sexdecem dedit homini Dei pro nobis. Et sic diuisi sumus cum lachrimis ab inuicem: Illo redeunte ad curiam Sartach, & nobis ibi remanentibus.

De itinere fratrum versus curiam Mangu cham.

IN Vigilia Assumptionis peruenit ipse clericus ad Curiam Sartach: & in crastino fuerunt Sacerdotes Nestorini induti vestimentis nostris coram Sartach. Tunc ducti fuimus ad alium hospitem, qui debebat nobis prouidere de domo & cibo & equis. Sed quia non habuimus, quod daremus ei, omnia malè faciebat. Et bigauimus cum Baatu descendendo iuxta Etiliam quinque septimanas. Aliquando habuit socius meus tantam famem, quod dicebat mihi quasi lachrymando: videbatur mihi quod nunquam comederim. Forum sequitur semper Curiam Baatu. Sed illud erat tam longè à nobis, quod non poteramus ire. Oportebat enim nos ire pedibus pro defectu equorum. Tandem inuenerunt nos quidam Hungari, qui fuerant Clericuli, quorum vnus sciebat adhuc cantare multa corde, & habebatur ab alijs Hungaris quasi Sacerdos, & vocabatur ad exequias suorum defunctorum: Et alius fuerat competenter instructus in Grammatica: qui intelligebat quicquid dicebamus ei literaliter, sed nesciebat respondere: qui fecerunt nobis magnam consolationem, afferentes cosmos ad bibendum, & carnes aliquando ad comedendum: qui quum postulassent à nobis aliquos libros, & non haberem quos possem dare, nullos enim habebam, nisi Biblium & breuiarium, dolui multum. Tunc dixi eis, afferte nobis chartas, & ego scribam vobis, quandiu erimus hic: quod & fecerunt. Et scripsi vtrasque horas Beatæ Virginis & officium defunctorum. Quodam die iunxit se nobis quidam Comanus, salutans nos verbis latinis, dicens, Saluete Domini. Ego mirans, ipso resalutato, quæsiui ab eo, quis eum docuerat illam salutationem. Et ipse dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus à fratribus nostris qui docuerant illum eam. Dixit etiam quod Baatu quæsiuerat ab eo multa de nobis, & quod ipse dixerat ei conditiones ordinis nostri. Ego vidi Baatu equitantem cum turba sua, & omnes patres familias equitantes cum eo, secundùm æstimationem meam non erant quingenti viri. Tandem circa finem exaltationis sanctæ crucis venit ad nos quidam diues Moal, cuius pater erat millenarius, quod magnum est inter eos, dicens, Ego vos debeo ducere ad Mangu cham, & est iter quatuor mensium: & tantum frigus est ibi, quod finduntur ibi lapides & arbores pro frigore: Videatis vtrum poteritis sustinere. Cui respondi: Spero in virtute Dei, quod nos sustinebimus, quod alij homines possunt sustinere. Tunc dixit: Si non poteritis sustinere, ego relinquam vos in via. Cui respondi, hoc non esset iustum: quia non iuimus pro nobis, nisi missi à Domino vestro: Vnde ex quo vobis committimur, non debetis nos dimittere. Tunc dixit, benè erit. Post hoc fecit nos ostendere sibi omnes vestes nostras, & quod sibi videbatur minus necessarium fecit deponere sub custodia hospitis nostri. In crastino attulerunt cuilibet nostrum vnam pelliceam villosam arietinam & braccas de eadem, & botas siue bucellos secundùm morem eorum cum soccis de filtro; & almucias de pellibus secundum modum eorum. Et secunda die post exaltationem Sanctæ crucis incepimus equitare nos tres habentes signarios: & equitauimus continuè versus Orientem vsque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, per totam illam terram, & adhuc amplius habitabant Cangle, quædam parentela Romanorum. Ad Aquilonem habebamus maiorem Bulgariam, & ad meridiem prædictum mare Caspium.

Quinque septimanas iuxta Etiliam descendebant.

Quidam Hungari.

Comanus.

Iter quatuor mensium à Volga.

Ingens frigus.

16. Septemb.

Cangle populi. Maior Bulgaria.

De

De flumine Iagag, & de diuersis regionibus siue nationibus.

POstquam iueramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia inuenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: & venit ab Aquilone de terra Pascatir descendens in prædictum mare. Idioma Pascatir & Hungarorum idem est: & sunt pastores sine ciuitate aliqua. Et contiguatur maiori Bulgariæ ab Occidente. Ab illa terra versus Orientem in latere illo Aquilonari non est amplius aliqua ciuitas. Vnde Bulgaria maior est vltima regio habens ciuitatem. De illa regione Pascatir exierunt Huni, qui posteà dicti sunt Hungari. Vnde ipsa est maior Bulgaria. Et dicit Isidorus, quòd pernicibus equis claustra Alexandri rupibus Caucasi feras gentes cohibentia transierunt: ita quod vsque in Ægyptum soluebatur eis tributum. Destruxerunt etiam omnes terras vsque in Franciam. Vnde fuerunt maioris potentiæ, quàm sunt adhuc Tartari. Cum illis occurrerunt Blaci & Bulgari & Vandali. De illa enim maiori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari: Et qui sunt vltra Danubium propè Constantinopolin, & iuxta Pascatir sunt Ilac, quod idem est quod Blac: sed B. nesciunt Tartari sonare: à quibus venerunt illi qui sunt in terra Assani. Vtrosque enim vocant Ilac, & hos & illos lingua Rutenorum & Polonorum, & Boëmorum. Sclauorum est idem idioma cum lingua Vandalorum, quorum omnium manus fuit cum Hunis: & nunc pro maiori parte est cum Tartaris quos Deus suscitauit à remotioribus partibus, populum multum, & gentem stultam, secundùm quod dicit Dominus, Prouocabo eos, id est, non custodientes Legem suam, in eo qui non est populus, & in gente stulta irritabo eos. Hoc completur ad literam super omnes nationes non custodientes Legem Dei. Hoc quod dixi de terra Pascatir scio per fratres Prædicatores, ‖ qui iuerunt illuc ante aduentum Tartarorum. Et ex tunc erant ipsi subiugati à vicinis Bulgaris Saracenis, & plures eorum facti Saraceni. Alia possunt sciri per Chronica: quia constat quod illæ prouinciæ post Constantinopolim, quæ modo dicuntur Bulgaria, Valachia, Sclauonia, fuerunt prouinciæ Græcorum. Hungaria fuit Pannonia. Equitauimus ergo per terram Cangle à festo Sanctæ crucis vsque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, quolibet die ferè quantum est à Parisijs vsque Aurelianum, secundùm quod possum estimare, & plus aliquando: secundùm quod habebamus copiam equorum. Aliquando enim mutabamus bis in die vel ter equos. Aliquando ibamus duobus diebus vel tribus, quibus non inueniebamus populum, & oportebat leuius ire. De viginti vel triginta equis nos semper habebamus peiores, quia extranei eramus. Omnes enim accipiebant ante nos equos meliores. Mihi semper prouidebant de forti equo, quia eram ponderosus valdè: sed vtrum suauiter ambularet vel non, de hoc non auderem facere quæstionem. Nec etiam audebam conqueri, si durè portaret. Sed fortunam suam oportebat vnumquemque sustinere. Vnde oriebatur nobis difficillimus labor: quia multoties fatigabantur equi, antequam possemus peruenire ad populum. Et tunc oportebat nos percutere & flagellare equos, ponere etiam vestes super alios saginarios, mutare equos saginarios; aliquando nos duos ire in vno equo.

Iagag flumen 12. dietis à Volga.

Pascatir terra, vel Bracirdurum terra vel Zibiet.

Hungari à Pascatir oriundi.

Nota.

Deut. 32. 21.

‖ Qui fuerunt isti fratres?

Cangle planicies ingens.

De fame & siti, & alijs miserijs quas sustinuerunt in itinere.

DE fame & siti, frigore & fatigatione non est numerus. Non enim dant cibum nisi in sero. In mane dant aliquid bibere, vel sorbere milium. In sero dabant nobis carnes, scapulam arietis cum costis & de brodio ad mensuram bibere. Quando habebamus de brodio carnium ad satietatem optimè reficiebamur. Et videbatur mihi suauissimus potus & maximè nutriens. Feria sexta permanebam ieiunus vsq; ad noctem, nihil auriens. Tunc oportebat me in tristitia & dolore comedere carnes. Aliquando oportebat nos comedere carnes semicoctas vel ferè crudas propter defectum materiæ ignis, quando iacebamus in campis & de nocte descendebamus: quia tunc non poteramus benè colligere stercora equorum vel boum: aliam materiam ignis rarò inueniebamus; nisi fortè alicubi aliquas spinas. In ripis etiam aliquorum fluminum sunt alicubi syluæ. Sed hoc rarò. In principio despiciebat nos multùm Ductor noster, & fastidiebat eum ducere tam viles homines. Postea tamen quando incepit nos melius cognoscere, ducebat nos per curias diuitum Moallorum: & oportebat nos orare pro ipsis. Vnde si habuissem bonum interpretem, habebam oportunitatem seminandi multa bona. Ille Chingis primus Cham habuit quatuor filios, de quibus egressi

Defectus materiæ ignis.

Aliqua flumina.

Vasta solitudo. — Nota diligenter. — Iter versus meridiem octo dierum. — Asini velocissimi. — Montes altissimi. — Terræ cultæ. — Kenchat villa Saracenorum. — Septimo die Nouembris ibant super glaciem. — Ciuitas valdè parua. — Magnus fluuius. — Multæ paludes. — Vites.

sunt multi, qui omnes habent modo magnas curias: & quotidiè multiplicantur & diffunduntur per illam Vastam solitudinem, quæ est sicut mare. Per multos ergò illorum ducebat nos Ductor noster. Et mirabantur supra modum, quia nolebamus recipere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes preciosas. Quærebant etiam de magno Papa, si esset ita senex sicùt audierant: audierant enim quod esset quingentorum annorum. Quærebant de terris nostris si ibi essent multæ oues, & boues, & equi. De Oceano mari non potuerunt intelligere, quod esset sine termino vel sine ripa. In vigilia omnium Sanctorum dimisimus viam in Orientem, ‖ quia iam populus descenderat multum versus meridiem: Et dreximus iter per quasdam Alpes rectè in meridiem continuè per octo dies. In illa solitudine vidi multos asinos, quos vocant Colan, qui magis assimulantur mulis: quos multum prosequuti sunt Dux noster & socij eius, sed nihil profecerunt propter nimiam velocitatem eorum. Septima die inceperunt nobis apparere ad meridiem montes altissimi: & intrauimus planiciem, quæ irrigabatur sicut hortus, & inuenimus terras cultas. In octauis omnium Sanctorum intrauimus villam quandam Saracenorum nomine Kenchat: cuius capitaneus occurrebat extra villam duci nostro cum ceruisia & ciphis. Hic est enim mos eorum; quod de omnibus villis subditis eis, occurratur nuncijs Baatu, & Mangu cham cum cibo & potu. Tunc temporis ibant ibi super glaciem. Et prius à festo Sancti Michaelis habueramus gelu in solitudine. Quæsiui de nomine Prouinciæ illius: sed quia iam eramus in alio territorio nescierunt mihi dicere, nisi à nomine ciuitatis, quæ erat valdè parua. Et descendebat magnus fluuius de montibus qui irrigabat totam regionem, secundùm quod volebant aquam ducere: nec descendebat in aliquod mare, sed absorbebatur à terra: & faciebat etiam multas paludes. Ibi vidi vites, & bibi bis de vino.

De interfectione Ban & habitatione Teutonicorum.

Casale. — Montes Caucasi contiguantur mari Orientali. — Talas, vel Chincitalas ciuitas. — Frater Andreas. — Casale. — Bolac villa. Auri fodinæ. — Iter ad dilonem Mangu cham. — Alpes in quibus habitabant Caracatay. — Magnus fluuius. — Terra culta. — Equius villa bona. — Longissimè à Perside.

Sequenti die venimus ad aliud casale propinquius montibus. Et quæsiui de montibus, de quibus intellexi, quòd essent montes Caucasi: qui contiguantur ex vtraque parte maris ab Occidente vsque ad Orientem: & quod transiueramus mare supradictum, quod intrat Etiliá. Quæsiui etiam de Talas ciuitate, in qua erant Teutonici serui Buri, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quæ iueram multum in curia Sartach & Baatu. Sed nihil poteram intelligere, nisi quod Ban dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occasione. Ipse non erat in bonis pascuis. Et quadam die dum esset ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus suis. Nonne sum de genere Chingis can sicut Baatus (Et ipse erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam super ripam Etiliæ, sicut Baatu, vt pascam ibi? Quæ verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ipse Baatu scripsit hominibus illius, vt adducerent ei dominum ipsorum vinctum: quod & fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quæsiuit ab eo si dixisset tale verbum: & ipse confessus est, tamen excusauit se, quia ebrius erat: (quia solent condonare ebrijs:) & Baatu respondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput. De illis Teutonicis nihil potui cognoscere vsque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in supradicto casali intellexi, quod Talas erat post nos iuxta mõtes per sex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipse Mangu transtulerat eos de licentia Baatu versus Orientem spacio itineris vnius mensis à Talas ad quandam villam quæ dicitur Bolac: vbi fodiunt aurum, & fabricant arma. Vnde non potui ire nec redire per eos. Transiui eundo satis prope, per tres dietas fortè, ciuitatem illam: sed ego ignoraui: nec potuissem etiam declinasse extra viam, si benè sciuissem. A prædicto casali iuimus ad Orientem iuxta montes prædictos: & ex tunc intrauimus inter homines Mangu cham, qui vbique cantabant & plaudebant coram ductore nostro: quia ipse erat nuncius Baatu. Hunc enim honorem exhibent sibi mutuo, vt homines Mangu cham recipiant nuncios Baatu prædicto modo: Et similiter homines Baatu nuncios Mangu. Tamen homines Baatu superiores sunt, nec exequuntur ita diligenter. Paucis diebus post hoc intrauimus Alpes, in quibus solebant habitare Cara catay: & inuenimus ibi magnum fluuium, quem oportuit nos transire nauigio. Post hæc intrauimus quandam vallem, vbi vidi castrum quoddam destructum, cuius muri non erant nisi de luto, & terra colebatur ibi. Et pòst inuenimus quandam bonam villam quæ dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes Persicum: longissimè tamen erant à Perside. Sequenti die transgressis illis Alpibus quæ descendebant à magnis montibus ad meridiem, ingressi sumus pulcherrimam planiciem habentem montes altos à dextris,

dextris, & quoddam mare à sinistris, siue quendam lacum qui durat quindecem dietas in circuitu. Et illa planicies tota irrigabatur ad libitum aquis descendentibus de montibus, quæ omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In æstate rediuimus ad latus Aquilonare illius maris, vbi similiter erant magni montes. In planicie prædicta solebant esse multæ villæ: sed pro maiori parte omnes erant destructæ, vt pascerent ibi Tartari: quia optima pascua erant ibi. Vnam magnam villam inuenimus ibi nomine Cailac, in qua erat forum, & frequentabant eam multi mercatores. In illa quieuimus quindecem diebus, expectantes quendam scriptorem Baatu, qui debebat esse socius ducis nostri in negotijs expediendis in curia Mangu. Terra illa solebat dici Organum: & solebant habere proprium idioma, & propriam literam: Sed hæc tota erat occupata à Contomannis. Etiam in literatura illa & idiomate solebant facere Nestorini de partibus illis. Dicuntur Organa, quia solebant esse optimi Organistæ vel Citharistæ, vt dicebatur mihi. Ibi primo vidi Idolatrias, de quibus noueritis, quod sunt multæ sectæ in Oriente.

Lacus quindecem dietarum circuitu.

Cailac magna villa & plena mercatoribus.

Contomanni.

Quod Nestorini et Saraceni sunt mixti & Idolatræ.

PRimi sunt Iugures, quorum terra contiguatur cum terra prædicta Organum inter montes illos versus Orientem: Et in omnibus ciuitatibus eorum sunt mixti Nestorini & Saraceni. Et ipsi etiã sunt diffusi versus Persidem in ciuitatibus Saracenorum. In prædicta ciuitate Cealac habebant etiam ipsi tres Idolatrias, quarum duas intraui, vt viderem stultitias eorum. In prima inueni quendam, qui habebat cruciculam de atramento super manum suam. Vnde credidi quod esset Christianus: quia ad omnia quæ querebam ab eo, respondebat vt Christianus. Vnde quæsiui ab eo: Quare ergo non habetis crucem & imaginem Iesu Christi? Et ipse respondit, non habemus consuetudinem. vnde ego credidi quod essent Christiani: sed ex defectu doctrinæ omitterent. Videbam enim ibi post quandam cistam, quæ erat eis loco altaris, super quam ponunt lucernas & oblationes, quandam imaginationem habentem alas quasi Sancti Michaelis: & alias quasi ipsorum tenentes digitos sicut ad benedicendum. Illo sero non potui aliud inuenire. Quia Saraceni in tantũ inuitant eos, quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis. Vnde quando quærebam a Saracenis de ritu talium, ipsi scandalizabantur. In crastino fuerunt kalendæ & pascha Saracenorum & mutaui hospitium: ita quod fui hospitatus prope aliam Idolatriam. Homines enim colligunt nuncios, quilibet secundum posse suum vel portionem suam. Tunc intrans Idolatriam prædictam inueni sacerdotes Idolorum. In kalendis enim aperiunt templa sua, & ornant se sacerdotes, & offerunt populi oblationes de pane & fructibus. Primò ergo describo vobis ritus communes omnes Idolatrarum: & postea istorum Iugurum; qui sunt quasi secta diuisa ab alijs. Omnes adorant ad Aquilonem complosis manibus: & prosternentes se genibus flexis ad terram, ponentes frontem super manus. Vnde Nestorini in partibus illis nullo modo iungunt manus orando: sed orant extensis palmis ante pectus. Porrigunt templa sua ab Oriente in Occidentem: & in latere Aquilonari faciunt cameram vnam quasi eorũ exeuntem: vel aliter, Si est domus quadrati, in medio domus ad latus aquilonare intercludunt vnam cameram in loco chori. Ibi ergo collocant vnam arcam longam & latam sicut mensam vnam. Et post illam arcam contra meridiem collocant principale idolum: quod ego vidi apud Caracarum, ita magnum sicut pingitur Sanctus Christopherus. Et dixit mihi quidam sacerdos Nestorinus, qui venerat ex Cataya, quod in terra illa est Idolum ita magnum, quod potest videri à duabus dietis. Et collocant alia idola in circuitu, omnia pulcherrime deaurata: Super cistam illam, quæ est quasi mensa vna, ponunt lucernas & oblationes. Omnes portæ templorum sunt apertæ ad meridiem contrario modo Saracenis. Item habent campanas magnas sicut nos. Ideo credo quod orientales Christiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni tamen habent & Græci in Gasaria.

Iugures populi, Idolatræ.

Cailac.

Iugures secta diuisa ab alijs Idolatris.

fuit apud Caracarum frater Wilhelmus.

De templis eorum & idolis, & qualiter se habent in officio deorum suorum.

OMnes sacerdotes eorum rasum habent totum caput & barbam; sunt vestiti de croceo, & seruant castitatem, ex quo radunt caput: Et viuunt pariter centum vel ducenti in vna congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant templum, ponunt duo scamna, & sedent è regione chorus contra chorum habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt super illa scamna:

 & habent

& habent capita discooperta quàdiu insunt in templo, legentes in silencio, & tenentes silencium. Vnde cùm ingressus fuissem apud Oratorium quoddam eorum, & inuenissem eos ita cedentes, multis modis tentaui eos prouocare ad verba, & nullo modo potui. Habent etiam quecunque vadunt quendam restem centum vel ducentorum nucleorum, sicut nos portamus pater noster: Et dicunt semper hoc verba: Ou mam Hactaui: hoc est, Deus tu nosti; secundum quod quidem eorum interpretatus est mihi. Et toties expectant remunerationem à Deo, quoties hoc dicendo memoratur Dei. Circa templum suum semper faciunt pulchrum atrium, quod bene includunt muro: & ad meridiem faciunt portam magnam, in qua sedent ad colloquendum. Et super illam portam erigunt perticam longam, quæ emineat si possint, super totam villam. Et per illam perticam potest cognosci, quod domus illa sit templum Idolorum. Ista communia sunt omnibus Idolatris. Quando ergo ingressus fui prædictam Idolatriam, inueni sacerdotes sedentes sub porta exteriori. Illi quos vidi, videbantur mihi fratres Franci esse rasis barbis. Tyaras habebant in capitibus cartaceas. Istorum lugurum sacerdotes habent eidem habitum quocunque vadunt: semper sunt in tunicis croceis satis strictis accincti desuper recte sicut Franci: & habent pallium super humerum sinistrum descendens inuolutù per pectus & dorsum ad latus dextrum sicut diaconus portans casulam in quadragesima. Istorum literas acceperunt Tartari. Ipsi incipiunt scribere sursum, & ducunt lineam deorsum, & eodem modo ipsi legunt & multiplicant lineas a sinistra ad dextram. Isti multum vtuntur cartis & caracteribus pro sortilegio. Vnde templa sua plena sunt breuibus suspensis. Et Mangu-cham mittit vobis literas in idiomate Moal & literatura eorum. Isti comburunt mortuos suos secundum antiquum modum, & recondunt puluerem in summitate pyramidis. Cùm ergo sedissem iuxta prædictos sacerdotes postquam ingressus fueram templum & vidissem idola eorum multa magna & parua: quæsiui ab eis, quid ipsi crederent de Deo. Qui respondentes, Non credimus nisi vnum Deum. Et ego quæsiui, Creditis quod ipse sit spiritus vel aliquid corporale? Dixerunt, credimus quod sit spiritus. Et ego: Creditis quod nunquam sumpserit humanam naturam: Dixerunt, minime. Tunc ego: ex quo creditis, quod non sit nisi vnus spiritus, quare facitis ei imagines corporales, & tot insuper? Et ex quo non creditis quod factus sit homo, quare facitis ei magis imagines hominum, quàm alterius animalis? Tunc responderunt, Nos non figuramus istas imagines Deo. Sed quando aliquis diues moritur ex nostris, vel filius, vel vxor, vel aliquis charus eius facit fieri imaginem defuncti, & ponit eam hic: & nos veneramur eam ad memoriam eius. Quibus ego, Tunc ergo non facitis ista nisi propter adulationem hominum. Immo dixerunt ad memoriam. Tunc quæsiuerunt à me quasi deridendo: vbi est Deus? Quibus ego. Vbi est anima vestra? Dixerunt, in corpore nostro. Quibus ego. Nonne est vbique in corpore tuo & totum regit, & tamen non videtur? Ita Deus vbique est, & omnia gubernat, inuisibilis tamen, quia intellectus & sapientia est. Tunc cum vellem plura rationicinari cum illis, interpres meus fatigatus, non valens verba exprimere, fecit me tacere. Istorum sectæ sunt Moal siue Tartari, quantum ad hoc, quod ipsi non credunt nisi vnum Deum: tamen faciunt de filtro imagines defunctorum suorum, & induunt eas quinque pannis preciosissimis, & ponunt in vna biga vel duabus, & illas bigas nullus audet tangere: & sunt sub custodia diuinatorum suorum, qui sunt eorum sacerdotes, de quibus postea narrabo vobis. Isti diuinatores semper sunt ante curiam ipsius Mangu & aliorū diuitum: pauperes enim non habent eos; nisi illi qui sunt de genere Chingis. Et cum debent bigare, ipsi præcedunt, sicut columna nubis filios Israel, & ipsi considerant locum metandi castra, & post deponunt domos suas; & post eos tota curia. Et tunc cum sit dies festus siue kalendæ ipsi extrahunt prædictas imagines & ponunt eas ordinate per circuitum in domo sua. Tunc veniunt Moal & ingrediuntur domum illam, & inclinant se imaginibus illis & venerantur illas. Et illam domum nemini ingredi extraneo licet: Quadam enim vice volui ingredi & multum durè increpatus fui.

Tyare cartacee.

Chinenses ita etiam seribunt.

Sortilegi.

Bombastio mortuorum.

De diuersis nationibus, & de illis qui comedere solebant parentes suos.

PRædicti vero lugures, qui sunt mixti cum Christianis & Saracenis, per frequentes disputationes, vt credo, peruenerunt ad hoc, quod non credunt nisi vnum deum. Et isti fuerunt habitantes in ciuitatibus, qui post obiuerunt Chingis Cham: vnde ipse dedit regi eorum filiam suam. Et ipsa Caracarum est quasi in territorio eorum: Et tota terra regis siue pres-

presbyteri Iohannis & Vut fratris eius circa terras eorum: Sed isti in pascuis ad aquilonem, illi Iugures inter montes ad meridiem. Inde est quod ipsi Moal sumpserunt literas eorum. Et ipsi sunt magni scriptores eorum: & omnes fere Nestorini sciunt literas eorum. Post istos sunt ipsi Tangut ad orientem inter montes illos, homines fortissimi, qui ceperunt Chingis in bello. Et pace facta dimissus ab eis, postea subiugauit eos. Isti habent boues fortissimos habentes caudas plenas pilis sicut equi, & ventres pilosos & dorsa. Bassiores sunt alijs bobus in tibijs, sed ferociores multum. Isti trahunt magnas domos Moallorum: & habent cornua gracilia, longa, acuosa, acutissima: ita quod oportet semper secare summitates eorum. Vacca non permittit se iniungi nisi cantetur ei. Habent etiam naturam bubali quia si vident hominem indutum rubeis, insiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Post illos sunt Tebet homines solentes comedere parentes suos defunctos, vt causa pietatis non facerent aliud sepulchrum eis nisi viscera sua. Modo tamen hoc dimiserunt, quia abominabiles erant omni nationi. Tamen adhuc faciunt pulchros ciphos de capitibus parentum, vt illis bibentes habeant memoriam eorum in iocunditate sua. Hoc dixit mihi qui viderat. Isti habent multum de auro in terra sua. Vnde qui indiget auro, fodit donec reperiat, & accipiat quando indiget, residuum condens in terra: quia si reponeret in arca vel in thesauro, crederet quod Deus auferret ei aliud quod est in terra. De istis hominibus vidi personas multum deformes. Tangut vidi homines magnos sed fuscos. Iugures sunt mediocris staturæ sicut nostri. Apud Iugures est fons & radix ideomatis Turci & Comanici. Post Tebet sunt Langa & Solanga, quorum nuncios vidi in curia: Qui adduxerant magnas bigas plusquam decem, quarum quælibet trahebatur sex bobus. Isti sunt parui homines & fusci sicut Hispani: & habent tunicas sicut supertunicale diaconi manicis parum strictioribus: & habent in capitibus mitras sicut episcopi. Sed pars anterior est parum interior quàm posterior, & non terminatur in vnum angulum: sed sunt quadræ desuper, & sunt de stramine rigidato per calorem magnum, & limato in tantum, quod fulget ad radium solis sicut speculum vel galea bene burnita. Et circa tempora habent longas bendas de eadem materia assutas ipsi mitræ; quæ se extendunt ad ventum sicut duo cornua egredientia de temporibus. Et quando ventus nimis iactat eas plicant eas per medium mitræ superius à tempore in tempus: & iacent sicut circulus ex transuerso capitis. Et principalis nuncius quando veniebat ad curiam, habebat tabulam de dente elephantino ad longitudinem vnius cubiti, & ad latitudinem vnius palmi, rasam multum: Et quandocunque loquebatur ipsi Cham, vel alicui magno viro, semper aspiciebat in illam tabulam, ac si inueniret ibi ea quæ dicebat: nec respiciebat ad dextram vel sinistram, nec in faciem illius cui loquebatur. Etiam accedens coram domino & recedens nusquam respicit nisi in tabulam suam. Vltra istos sunt alij homines, vt intellexi pro vero, qui dicuntur Muc, qui habent villas, sed nulla animalia sibi appropriant: tamen sunt multi greges & multa armenta in terra ipsorum, & nullus custodit ea. Sed cum aliquis indiget aliquo, ascendit collem & clamat, & omnia animalia audientia clamorem accedunt circa illum, & permittunt se tractari quasi domestica. Et si nuncius vel aliquis extraneus accedat ad regionem illam, ipsi includunt eum in domo, & ministrant ei necessaria, donec negocium eius fuerit expeditum. Quia si iret extraneus per regionem, animalia ad odorem eius fugerent, & efficerentur syluestria. Vltra est magna Cathaya, cuius incolæ antiquitus vt credo dicebantur Seres. Ab ipsis enim veniunt optimi panni serici. Et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam oppido eorum. Bene intellexi, quod in illa regione est oppidum habens muros argenteos & propugnacula aurea. In ista terra sunt multæ prouinciæ, quarum plures adhuc non obediunt Moallis. Et inter*

Patria Presbiter Iohannis.

Tangut populi, fortissimi.

Boues pilosis caudis: his similes sunt in Quiuera Americæ septentrionalis prouincia.

Tebet populi.

Auri abundantia.

Tangut homines magni sed fusci.

Langa & Solanga.

Solangi similes Hispanis, & fusci.

Tabula de elephantino.

Muc populi.

Magna Cathaya.

Aliqua desiderantur.

The iournal of frier William de Rubruquis a French man of the order of the minorite friers, vnto the East parts of the worlde. An. Dom. 1253.

TO his most Soueraigne, & most Christian Lord Lewis, by Gods grace the renowmed king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meanest of the Minorites order, wisheth health & cōtinual triumph in CHRIST.

It is written in the booke of Ecclesiasticus concerning the wise man: He shall trauell into forren

Eccles. 39. ver. 4.

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forren countries, and good and euill shall he trie in all things. The very same action (my lord and king) haue I atchieued: howbeit I wish that I haue done it like a wise man, and not like a foole. For many there be, that performe the same action which a wise man doth, not wisely but more vndiscreetly: of which number I feare myselfe to be one. Notwithstanding howsoeuer I haue done it, because you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnes, to write all things vnto you, which I should see among the Tartars, and you wished me also that I should not feare to write long letters, I haue done as your maiestie inioined me: yet with feare and reuerence, because I want wordes and eloquence sufficient to write vnto so great a maiestie. Be it knowen therefore vnto your sacred Maiestie, that in the yere of our Lord 1253. about the Nones of May, we entered into the sea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great sea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certaine merchants) 1008 miles, and is in a maner, diuided into two parts. About the midst thereof are two prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South prouince is called Synopolis, and it is the castle and porte of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North prouince is called of the Latines, Gasaria: of the Greeks, which inhabite vpon the sea shore thereof, it is called Cassaria, that is to say Cæsaria. And there are certaine head lands stretching foorth into the sea towards Synopolis. Also, there are 300. miles of distance betweene Synopolis and Cassaria. Insomuch that the distance from those points or places to Constantinople, in length and breadth is about 700. miles: and 700 miles also from thence to the East, namely to the countrey of Hiberia which is a prouince of Georgia. At the prouince of Gasaria or Cassaria we arriued, which prouince is, in a maner, three square, hauing a citie on the West part thereof called Kersoua, wherein S. Clement suffered martyrdome. And sayling before the said citie, we sawe an island, in which a Church is sayd to be built by the hands of angels. But about the midst of the said prouince toward the South, as it were, vpon a sharpe angle or point, standeth a citie called Soldaia directly ouer against Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the north countries, in their iourney outward, arriue, and as they returne homeward also from Russia, and the said Northerne regions, into Turkie. The foresaid merchants transport thither ermines and gray furres, with other rich and costly skinnes. Others carrie cloathes made of cotton or bombast, and silke, and diuers kindes of spices. But vpon the East part of the said prouince standeth a citie called Matriga, where the riuer Tanais dischargeth his streames into the sea of Pontus, the mouth wherof is twelue miles in breadth. For this riuer, before it entreth into the sea of Pontus, maketh a little sea, which hath in breadth and length seuen hundreth miles, & it is in no place there of aboue sixe paces deepe, whereupon great vessels cannot sayle ouer it. Howbeit the merchants of Constantinople, arriuing at the foresayd citie of ‖ Materta, send their barkes vnto the riuer of Tanais to buy dried fishes, Sturgeons, Thosses, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fishes. The foresayd prouince of Cassaria is compassed in with the sea on three sides thereof: namely on the West side, where Kersoua the citie of Saint Clement is situate: on the South side the citie of Soldaia whereat we arriued: on the East side Maricandis, and there stands the citie of Matriga vpon the mouth of the riuer Tanais. Beyond the sayd mouth standeth Zikia, which is not in subiection vnto the Tartars: also the people called Sueui and Hiberi towards the East, who likewise are not vnder the Tartars dominion. Moreouer towards the South, standeth the citie of Trapesunda, which hath a gouernour proper to it selfe, named Guydo being of the linage of the Emperours of Constantinople, and is subiect vnto the Tartars. Next vnto that is Synopolis the citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewise is in subiection vnto them. Next vnto these lyeth the countrey of Vastacius, whose sonne is called Astar, of his grandfather by the mothers side, who is not in subiection. All the land from the mouth of Tanais Westward as farre as Danubius is vnder their iurisdiction. Yea beyond Danubius also, towards Constantinople, Valakia, which is the land of Assanus, and Bulgaria minor as farre as Solonia, doe all pay tribute vnto them. And besides the tribute imposed, they haue also of late yeares, exacted of euery houshold an axe, and all such corne as they found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at Soldaia the twelfth of the Kalends of Iune. And diuers merchants of Constantinople, which were arriued there before vs, reported

Gasaria.

Soldaia.

The citie of Matriga.

‖ Matriga.

Zikia.

ported that certaine messengers were comming thither from the holy land, who were desirous to trauell vnto Sartach. Notwithstanding I my self had publikely giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within ℣ Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans messenger, but that I trauailed vnto those infidels according to the rule of our order. And being arriued, the said merchats admonished me to take diligent heede what I spake: because they hauing reported me to be a messenger, if I should say the contrary, that I were no messenger, I could not haue free passage granted vnto me. The I spake after this maner vnto the gouernors of the citie, or rather vnto their Lieutenats, because the gouernors themselues were gone to pay tribute vnto Baatu, & were not as yet returned. We heard of your lord Sartach (quoth I) in the holy land, that he was become a Christian: and the Christians were exceeding glad thereof, & especially the most Christian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, & fighteth against the Saracens to redeeme the holy places out of their handes: wherfore I am determined to go vnto Sartach, & to deliuer vnto him ℣ letters of my lord the king, wherein he admonisheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Christendome. And they receiued vs with gladnes, and gaue vs entertainement in the cathedrall Church. The bishop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the saide Sartach, which after I found to be nothing so. Then put they vs to our choyce, whither we wouldе haue cartes and oxen, or packehorses to transport our cariages. And the marchants of Constantinople aduised me, not to take cartes of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy couered cartes of mine owne, (such as the Russians carrie their skins in) and to put all our cariages, which I would daylie take out, into them: because, if I should vse horses, I must be constrained at euery baite to take downe my cariages, and to lift them vp againe on sundry horses backs: and besides, that I should ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the cartes. Wherefore contenting my selfe with their euil counsel, I was trauelling vnto Sartach 2. moneths which I could haue done in one, if I had gone by horse. I brought with me from Constantinople (being by the marchants aduised so to doe) pleasant fruits, muscadel wine, and delicate bisket bread to present vnto the gouernours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtaine free passage: because they looke fauourablie vpon no man which commeth with an emptie hand. All which thinges I bestowed in one of my cartes, (not finding the gouernours of the citie at home) for they told me, if I could carrie them to Sartach, that they would be most acceptable vnto him. Wee tooke our iourney therefore about the kalends of Iune, which fower couered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest vpon in the night, and they allowed vs fiue horses to ride vpon. For there were iust fiue persons in our company: namely, I my selfe and mine associate frier Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goset the bearer of these presents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas my seruant, whome I bought at Constantinople with some part of the almes bestowed vpon me. Moreouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our carts and gaue attendance vnto our oxen and horses. There be high promontories on the sea shore from Kersona vnto the mouth of Tanais. Also there are fortie castles betweene Kersoua and Soldaia, euery one of which almost haue their proper languages: amongst whome there were many Gothes, who spake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the said mountaines towards the North there is a most beautifull wood growing on a plaine ful of fountaines & freshets. And beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champion, continuing fiue dayes iourney vnto the very extremitie and borders of the said prouince northward, and there it is a narrow Isthmus or neck land, hauing sea on the East & West sides therof, insomuch that there is a ditch made frō one sea vnto the other. In the same plaine (before the Tartars sprang vp) were the Comanians wont to inhabite, who compelled the foresayd cities and castles to pay tribute vnto them. But when the Tartars came vpon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the foresaid prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the sea shore, being in such extreame famine, that they which were aliue, were constrained to eate vp those which were dead: and (as a marchant reported vnto me who sawe it with his owne eyes) that the liuing men deuoured and tore with their teeth, the raw

Frier Bartholomeus de Cremona.

The necke of Taurica Chersonesus.

flesh

flesh of the dead, as dogges would guawe vpon carrion. Towards the borders of the sayd prouince there be many great lakes: vpon the bankes whereof are salt pits or fountaines, the water of which so soone as it entereth into the lake, becommeth hard salte like vnto ice. And out of those salte pittes Baatu and Sartach haue great reuenues: for they repayre thither out of all Russia for salte: and for each carte loade they giue two webbes of cotton amounting to the value of half an Yperpera. There come by sea also many ships for salt, which pay tribute euery one of them according to their burden. The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars. Amongst whome being entered, me thought I was come into a new world. Whose life and maners I will describe vnto your Highnes as well as I can.

The Tartars.

Of the Tartars, and of their houses. Chap. 2.

THey haue in no place any setled citie to abide in, neither knowe they of the celestiall citie to come. They haue diuided all Scythia among themselues, which stretcheth from the riuer Danubius euen vnto the rising of the sunne. And euery of their captaines, according to the great or small number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his pastures, and where he ought to feed his cattel winter and summer, Spring and autumne. For in the winter they descend vnto the warme regions southward. And in the summer they ascend vnto the colde regions northward. In winter when snowe lyeth vpon the ground, they feede their cattell vpon pastures without water, because then they vse snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the roofe whereof consisteth (in like sorte) of wickers, meeting aboue into one little roundell, out of which roundell ascendeth upward a necke like vnto a chimney, which they couer with white felte, and oftentimes they lay morter or white earth vpon the sayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they couer it with blacke felte. The sayd felte on the necke of their house, they doe garnish ouer with beautifull varietie of pictures. Before the doore likewise they hang a felt curiously painted ouer. For they spend all their coloured felt in painting vines, trees, birds, and beastes thereupon. The sayd houses they make so large, that they conteine thirtie foote in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete ouer: and when the house was vpon the carte, it stretched ouer the wheeles on each side fiue feete at the least. I told 22. oxen in one teame, drawing an house vpon a cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleuen more before them: the axletree of the carte was of an huge bignes like vnto the mast of a ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, vpon the forestall of the carte driuing forth the oxen. Moreouer, they make certaine fouresquare baskets of small slender wickers as big as great chestes: and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde or couer of such like wickers, and make a doore in the fore side thereof. And then they couer the sayd chest or little house with black felt rubbed ouer with tallow or sheeps milke to keepe the raine from soaking through, which they decke likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such chests they put their whole houshold stuffe & treasure. Also the same chests they do strongly binde vpon other carts, which are drawen with camels, to ẏ end they may wade through riuers. Neither do they at any time take down the sayd chests from off their carts. When they take down their dwelling houses, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: & next of all they place the carts laden with their chests, here & there, within half a stones cast of ẏ house: insomuch that the house standeth betweene two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals. The matrons make for theselues most beautiful carts, which I am not able to describe vnto your maiestie but by pictures onlie: for I would right willingly haue painted al things for you, had my skill bin ought in that art. One rich Moal or Tartar hath 200. or 100. such cartes with chests. Duke Baatu hath sixteene wiues, euery one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And vnto euery of the said houses do belong 200. cartes. When they take their houses from

The benefite of a painter in strange countries.

from off the cartes, the principal wife placeth her court on the West frontier, and so all the rest in their order: so that the last wife dwelleth vpon the East frontier: and one of the said ladies courts is distant from another about a stones cast. Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like vnto a great village, very few men abiding in the same. One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their countries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oxen, one behind another. And there sittes a wench in the foremost carte driuing the oxen, and al the residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a slowe pace, as fast as a lambe or an oxe can walke.

Of their beds, and of their drinking pots. Chap. 3.

HAuing taken downe their houses from off their cartes, and turning the doores Southward, they place the bed of the master of the house, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwaies on the East side, namely on the left hand of the good man of the house sitting vpon his bed with his face Southwards: but the mens place is vpon ỹ West side, namely at the right hand of their master. Men when they enter into the house, wil not in any case hang their quiuers on the womens side. Ouer the masters head there is alwayes an image, like a puppet, made of felte, which they call the masters brother: and another ouer the head of the good wife or mistresse, which they call her brother being fastened to the wall: and aboue betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole house. The good wife or mistresse of the house placeth aloft at her beds feete, on the right hand, the skinne of a Kidde stuffed with wooll or some other matter, and neare vnto that a litle image or puppet looking towards the maidens and women. Next vnto the doore also on the womens side, there is another image with a cowes vdder, for the women that milke the kine. For it is the duety of their women to milke kine. On the other side of the doore next vnto the men, there is another image with the vdder of a mare, for the men which milke mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merie, they sprinckle parte of their drinke vpon the image which is aboue the masters head: afterward vpon other images in order: then goeth a seruant out of the house with a cuppe full of drinke sprinckling it thrise towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the fire. Then perfourmeth he the like superstitious idolatrie towards the East, for the honour of the ayre: and then to the West for the honour of the water: & lastly to the North in the behalfe of the dead. When the maister holdeth a cuppe in his hande to drinke, before he tasteth thereof, hee powreth his part vpon the ground. If he drinketh sitting on horse backe, hee powreth out part thereof vpon the necke or maine of his horse before hee himselfe drinketh. After the seruaunt aforesaide hath so discharged his cuppes to the fower quarters of the world, hee returneth into the house: and two other seruants stand ready with two cuppes, and two basons, to carrie drinke vnto their master and his wife, sitting together vpon a bed. And if he hath more wiues then one, she with whome hee slept the night before, sitteth by his side the daye following: and all his other wiues must that day resorte vnto the same house to drinke: and there is the court holden for that day: the giftes also which are presented that daye are layd vp in the chests of the sayd wife. And vpon a bench stands a vessell of milke or of other drinke and drinking cuppes.

Of their drinkes, and how they prouoke one another to drinking. Chap. 4.

IN winter time they make excellent drinke of Rise, of Mill, and of honie, being well and high coloured like wine. Also they haue wine brought vnto them from farre countries. In summer time they care not for any drinke, but Cosmos. And it standeth alwaies within the entrance of his doore, and next vnto it stands a minstrell with his fidle. I sawe there no such citterns and vials as ours commonly be, but many other musicall instruments which are not vsed among vs. And when the master of the house begins to drinke, one of his seruants cryeth out with a lowde voice HA, and the minstrell playes vpon his fidle. And when they make any great solemne feast, they all of them clap their hands & daunce to the noyse of musique,

They vse the like customs in Florida.

musique, the men before their master and the women before their mistresse. And when the master hath drunke, then cries out his seruant as before, and the minstrell stayeth his musique. Then drinke they all around both men and women: and sometimes they carowse for the victory very filthily and drunkenly. Also when they will prouoke any man, they pul him by the eares to the drinke, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his throate clapping their handes and dauncing before him. Moreouer when some of them will make great feasting and reioycing, one of the company takes a full cuppe, and two other stand, one on his right hand and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to haue the cuppe reached vnto him, still singing and dauncing before him: and when he stretcheth foorth his hand to receiue the cuppe, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and so hauing deluded him thrice or fower times by drawing backe the cuppe vntill he be merie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the cuppe, singing and dauncing and stamping with their feete, vntill he hath done drinking.

Of their foode and victuals. Chap. 5.

COncerning their foode and victuals, be it knowen vnto your Highnesse that they do, without al difference or exception, eat all their dead carrions. And amongst so many droues it cannot be, but some cattell must needes die. Howbeit in summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their mares milke lasteth, they care not for any foode. And if they chance to haue an oxe or an horse dye, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thin slices and hanging it vp against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without salt, and also without stenche or corruption. They make better puddings of their horses then of their hogs, which they eate being new made: the rest of the flesh they reserue vntill winter. They make of their oxe skins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully dry in the smoake. Of the hinder part of their horse hides they make very fine sandals & pantofles. They giue vnto 50. or an 100. men the flesh of one ram to eat. For they mince it in a bowle with salt and water (other sauce they haue none) and then with the point of a knife, or a litle forke which they make for the same purpose (such as wee vse to take rosted peares or apples out of wine withal) they reach vnto euery one of the company a morsell or twaine, according to the multitude of guestes. The master of the house, before the rams flesh be distributed, first of all himselfe taketh thereof, what he pleaseth. Also, if he giueth vnto any of the company a speciall part, the receiuer therof must eat it alone, and must not impart ought therof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it vp all, he caries it with him, or deliuers it vnto his boy, if he be present, to keepe it: if not, he puts it vp into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square buget, which they vse to cary about with them for the sauing of all such prouision, and wherein they lay vp their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burnish them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

Drying of flesh in the wind.

How they make their drinke called Cosmos. Chap. 6.

Their drinke called Cosmos, which is mares milke, is prepared after this maner. They fasten a long line vnto 2. posts standing firmely in the ground, & vnto the same line they tie the young foles of those mares, which they mean to milke. Then come the dams to stand by their foles gently suffering themselues to be milked. And if any of them be too vnruly, then one takes her fole, & puts it vnder her, letting it suck a while, and presently carying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the said mare. And hauing gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as sweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powre it into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the said bag with a piece of wood made for the purpose, hauing a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, & to be sower and sharp of taste, and they beate it in that maner till butter come thereof. Then taste they thereof, and being indifferently sharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the wine of raspes, when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught therof, it leaueth behind it a taste like the taste of almon milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weake braines: also it causeth

seth vrine to be auoided in great measure. Likewise Caracosmos, that is to say black Cosmos, for great lords to drink, they make on this maner. First they beat the said milke so long till the thickest part thereof descend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remaineth aboue, being like vnto whay or white must. The said lees or dregs being very white, are giuen to seruants, and will cause them to sleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleare their masters drinke: and in very deed it is marueilous sweete and holesome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirty cottages or granges within a daies iourney of his abiding place: euery one of which serueth him dayly with the Caracosmos of an hundreth mares milk, and so all of them together euery day with the milke of 3000. mares, besides white milke which other of his subiects bring. For euen as the husbandmen of Syria bestow the third part of their fruicts and carie it vnto the courts of their lords, euen so doe they their mares milke euery third day. Out of their cowes milke they first churne butter, boyling the which butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams skinnes, which they reserue for the same purpose. Neither doe they salte their butter: and yet by reason of the long seething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in store for winter. The churnmilke which remaineth of the butter, they let alone till it be as sowre as possibly it may be, then they boile it and in boiling, it is turned all into curdes, which curds they drie in the sun, making them as hard as the drosse of iron: and this kind of food also they store vp in sachels against winter. In the winter season when milke faileth them, they put the foresaid curds (which they cal Gry-vt) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it lustily till they haue resolued it into the said water, which is thereby made exceedingly sowre, and that they drinke in stead of milke. They are very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not fayre water by it selfe.

Of the beastes which they eat, of their garments, and of their maner of hunting. Chap. 7.

GReat lords haue cottages or granges towards the South, from whence their tenants bring them Millet and meale against winter. The poorer sort prouide themselues of such necessaries, for ẏ exchange of rams, & of other beasts skins. The Tartars slaues fil their bellies with thick water, & are therewithall contented. They wil neither eate mise with long tailes, nor any kinde of mise with short tailes. They haue also certaine litle beasts called by the Sogur, which lie in a caue twenty or thirty of them together, al the whole winter sleeping there for the space of sixe moneths: and these they take in great abundance. There are also a kind of conies hauing long tayles like vnto cats: & on the outside of their tailes grow blacke & white haires. They haue many other small beasts good to eat, which they know and discerne right well. I saw no Deere there, & but a fewe hares, but a great nūber of Roes. I saw wild asses in great abundance, which be like vnto Mules. Also I saw another kind of beast called Artak, hauing in al resemblance the body of a ram, & crooked hornes, which are of such bignes, that I could scarce lift vp a paire of them with one hand: & of these hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Falcons, Girfalcons, & other haukes in great plenty: all which they cary vpon their right hands: & they put alwaies about their Falcons necks a string of leather, which hangeth down to ẏ midst of their gorges, by the which string, whē they cast them off the fist at their game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads & breasts of the sayd haukes, least they should be tossed vp & downe, & beaten with the wind, or least they should soare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals, by hunting & hauking. Concerning their garments and attire be it knowen vnto your Maiestie, that out of Cataya & other regions of the East, out of Persia also and other countries of the South, there are brought vnto them stuffes of silke, cloth of gold, & cotton cloth, which they weare in time of summer. But out of Russia, Moxel, Bulgaria the greater, & Pascatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kersis (all which are Northerne regions & full of woods) & also out of many other countries of the North, which are subiect vnto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and costly skins of diuers sortes (which I neuer saw in our countries) wherewithal they are clad in winter. And alwaies against winter they make themselues two gownes,

Our falconers carie the left fist. Another strange custome, which I leaue to be scanned by falconers themselues.

gownes, one with the fur inward to their skin, & another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind & snow, which for the most part are made of woolues skins, or Fox skins, or els of Papions. And whē they sit within the house, they haue a finer gowne to weare. The poorer sort make their vpper gowne of dogs or of goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beasts, there meets a great company of them together, & inuironing the place round about, where they are sure to find some game, by litle & litle they approch on al sides, til they haue gotten the wild beasts into the midst, as it were into a circle, & then they discharge their arrowes at them. Also they make theselues breeches of skins. The rich Tartars somtimes fur their gowns with pellūce or silke shag, which is exceeding soft, light, & warme. The poorer sort do line their clothes with cottō cloth which is made of the finest woull they can pick out, & of the courser part of the said wool, they make felt to couer their houses and their chests, and for their bedding also. Of the same wool, being mixed with one third part of horse haire, they make all their cordage. They make also of the said felt couerings for their stooles, and caps to defende their heads from the weather: for all which purposes they spend a great quantity of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attyre of the men.

Great expence of wooll.

Of the fashion which the Tartars vse in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women. Chap. 8.

THe men shaue a plot foure square vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formost corners they shaue, as it were, two seames downe to their temples: they shaue also their temples and the hinder part of their head euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewise they shaue the forepart of their scalp downe to their foreheads, & vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of hayre reaching downe vnto their eye browes: vpon the two hindermost corners of their heads, they haue two lockes also, which they twine and braid into knots and so bind and knit them vnder each eare one. Moreouer their womens garments differ not from their mens, sauing that they are somwhat longer. But on the morowe after one of their women is maried, shee shaues her scalpe from the middest of her head down to her forehead, & weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nuns hood, being open before and girt vnto them vnder the right side. For herein doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: because the Turkes fasten their garments to their bodies on the left side: but the Tartars alwaies on the right side. They haue also an ornament for their heads which they call Botta, being made of the barke of a tree, or of some such other lighter matter as they can find, which by reason of the thicknes & roundnes therof cannot be holden but in both hands together: & it hath a square sharp spire rising frō the top therof, being more then a cubite in length, & fashioned like vnto a pinnacle. The said Botta they couer al ouer with a piece of rich silke: & it is hollow within: & vpon the midst of the sayd spire or square toppe, they put a bunch of quils or of slender canes a cubite long and more: & the sayd bunch, on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacocks feathers, & round about al ẏ length therof, with the feathers of a Malards taile, & with precious stones also. Great ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads binding it strongly with a certain hat or coyfe, which hath an hole in the crowne, fit for the spire to come through it: & vnder the foresaid ornament they couer the haires of their heads, which they gather vp round together frō the hinder part therof to the crowne, & so lap them vp in a knot or bundel within the said Botta, which afterward they bind strongly vnder their throtes. Hereupon when a great company of such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a far off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their launces vpright: for the said Botta appeareth like an helmet with a launce ouer it. Al their women sit on horsebacke bestriding their horses like men: & they bind their hoods or gownes about their wastes with a skie coloured silke skarfe, & with another skarfe they girde it aboue their breasts: & they bind also a piece of white silke like a muffler or maske vnder their eyes, reaching down vnto their breast. These gentlewomen are exceeding fat, & the lesser their noses be, the fairer are they esteemed: they daube ouer their sweet faces with grease too shamefully: and they neuer lie in bed for their trauel of childbirth.

Of

Of the dueties inioined vnto the Tartarian women, and of their labours, and also of their mariages. Chap. 9.

THe duties of women are, to driue carts: to lay their houses vpon carts & to take them downe again: to milke kine: to make butter & Gry-vt: to dresse skins & to sow them, which they vsually sowe with thread made of sinewes, for they diuide sinewes into slender threads, & then twine thē into one long thread. They make sandals & socks & other garments. Howbeit they never wash any apparel: for they say that God is then angry, & that dreadful thunder wil ensue, if washed garmēts be hanged forth to drie: yea, they beat such as wash, & take their garments frō them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thrust all strangers out of their houses, & then wrapping theselues in black felt, they lie hidden therein, til the thunder be ouerpast. They neuer wash their dishes or bowles: yea, when their flesh is sodden, they wash the platter wherein it must be put, with scalding hot broth out of the pot, & then powre the said broth into the pot againe. They make felte also, & couer their houses therewith. The duties of the men are to make bowes & arrowes, stirrops, bridles, and saddles: to build houses & carts, to keepe horses: to milke mares: to churne Cosmos and mares milke, & to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe camels also & lay burthens vpon them. As for sheepe & goates they tend and milke them, aswell the men as the women. With sheeps milke thicked & salted they dresse and tan their hides. When they wil wash their hands or their heads, they fil their mouthes full of water, & spouting it into their hands by little and little, they sprinckle their haire & wash their heades therwith. As touching mariages, your Highnes is to vnderstand, that no man can haue a wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon somtimes their maids are very stale before they be maried, for their parents alwaies keepe thē till they can sel them. They keepe the first and second degrees of consanguinitie inuiolable, as we do: but they haue no regard of the degrees of affinity: for they wil marrie together, or by succession, two sisters. Their widowes marie not at al, for this reason: because they beleeue, that al who haue serued them in this life, shall do them seruice in the life to come also. Whereupon they are perswaded, that euery widow after death shal returne vnto her own husband. And herehence ariseth an abominable & filthy custome among them, namely that the sonne marieth sometimes all his fathers wiues except his own mother: For the court or house of the father or mother falleth by inheritance alwaies to the yonger son. Wherupon he is to prouide for all his fathers wiues, because they are part of his inheritance aswel as his fathers possessions. And then if he will he vseth then for his owne wiues: for he thinks it no iniurie or disparagement vnto himselfe, although they returne vnto his father after death. Therfore whē any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the said damosel makes him a feast: in the meane while she fleeth vnto some of her kinsfolks to hide her selfe. Then saith her father vnto the bridegrome: Loe, my daughter is yours, take her wheresoeuer you can find her. Then he and his friends seek for her till they can find her, and hauing found her hee must take her by force and cary her, as it were, violently vnto his owne house.

Of their execution of iustice and iudgement: and of their deaths and burials. Chap. 10.

COncerning their lawes or their execution of iustice, your Maiesty is to be aduertised, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himself to part them. Yea, the father dare not help his owne sonne. But he that goes by the worst must appeale vnto the court of his lord. And whosoeuer els offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he must go presently without all delay: and he that hath suffered the iniury, carieth him, as it were captiue. They punish no man with sentence of death, vnles hee bee taken in the deede doing, or confesseth the same. But being accūsed by the multitude, they put him vnto extreame torture to make him confesse the trueth. They punish murther with death, and carnall copulation also with any other besides his owne. By his own, I meane his wife

or

or his maid seruant, for he may vse his slaue as he listeth himself. Heinous theft also or felony they punish with death. For a light theft, as namely for stealing of a ram, the party (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if ỹ executioner laies on an 100. strokes, he must haue an 100. staues, namely for such as are beaten vpon sentẽce giuen in the court. Also counterfeit messengers, because they feine themselues to be messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they vse in like maner (of which kind of malefactors your Maiesty shall vnderstand more fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to be witches. When any man dieth, they lament & howle most pitifully for him: & the said mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also whosoeuer is present at the house where any one growen to mans estate lieth dead, he must not enter into the court of Mangu-Can til one whole yere be expired. If it were a child deceased he must not enter into the said court til the next moneth after. Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceased they alwaies leaue one cottage. If any of their nobles (being of the stock of Chingis, who was their first lord & father) deceaseth, his sepulcher is vnknowen. And alwayes about those places where they interre their nobles, there is one house of men to keep the sepulchers. I could not learn that they vse to hide treasures in the graues of their dead. The Comanias build a great toomb ouer their dead, & erect the image of the dead party thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking cup in his hand, before his nauel. They erect also vpon the monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say, litle sharpe houses or pinacles: & in some places I saw mighty towers made of brick, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged vp 16. horse hides, vnto each quarter of the world 4. betweene certain high posts: & they set besides his graue Cosmos for him to drink, & flesh to eat: & yet they sayd that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of sepulchers also towards the East: namely large flowres or pauemẽts made of stone, some roũd & some square, & then 4. long stones pitched vpright, about the said pauement towards the 4. regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lieth in his bed, & causeth a signe to be set vpon his house, to signifie that there lieth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the sayd house: whereupon none at all visit any sicke party but his seruant only. Moreouer, when any one is sicke in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to stand round about the said court, who wil not suffer any person to enter within the precincts thereof. For they feare least euill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of soothsayers, as of their priests.

Of our first entrance among the Tartars, and of their ingratitude. Chap. II.

ANd being come amõgst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) ỹ I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horse back, after they had made vs a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, vnder their black carts. The first question which they demanded was whether we had euer bin with them heretofore, or no? And giuing thẽ answere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals frõ vs. And we gaue them some of our bisket & wine, which we had brought with vs from the towne of Soldaia. And hauing drunke off one flagon of our wine they demanded another, saying, that a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excusing our selues that we had but a litle. Then they asked vs, whence we came, & whither we were bound? I answered them with the words aboue mentioned: that we had heard concerning duke Sartach, that he was become a Christian, & that vnto him our determination was to trauel, hauing your Maiesties letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquisitiue to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I were sent? I answered that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnles I my selfe had bin willing: & that therefore I was come according to mine own wil, & to the will of my superior. I tooke diligent heed neuer to say that I was your Maiesties ambassador. Then they asked what I had in my carts; whether it were gold or siluer, or rich garments to carie vnto Sartach? I answered

swered that Sartach should see what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, & that they had nothing to do to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their captaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed vnto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same prouince one of Baatu his kinsmen called Scacati, vnto whom my lord the Emperor of Constantinople had written letters of request, to suffer me to passe through his territory. With this answere of ours they were satisfied, giuing vs horses & oxen, & two men to conduct vs. Howbeit before they would allow vs the foresayd necessaries for our iourney, they made vs to awayt a long while, begging our bread for their yong brats, wondering at all things which they sawe about our seruants, as their kniues, gloues, purses, & points, and desiring to haue them. I excused my self that we had a long way to trauel, & that we must in no wise so soon depriue our selues of things necessary, to finish so long a iourney. Then they said that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force frō me: howbeit they wil beg that which they see very importunatly & shamelesly. And if a man bestow ought vpon thē, it is but cost lost, for they are thankles wretches. They esteeme thēselues lords & think ỹ nothing should be denied thē by any man. If a man giues them nought, & afterward stands in neede of their seruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their cowes milke to drink after ỹ butter was cherned out of it, being very sower, which they cal Apram. And so we departed from thē. And in very deed it seemed to me ỹ we were escaped out of the hands of diuels. On the morrow we were come vnto the captain. From the time wherin we departed frō Soldaia, till we arriued at the court of Sartach, which was the space of two moneths, we neuer lay in house or tent, but alwaies vnder the starry canopy, & in the open aire, or vnder our carts. Neither yet saw we any village, nor any mention of building where a village had bin, but the graues of the Comanians in great abundance. The same euening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs some Cosmos. After I had drunke thereof I sweat most extreamly for the nouelty and strangenes, because I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithstanding me thought it was very sauory, as indeed it was.

Of the court of Scacatai: and how the Christians drinke no Cosmos. Chap. 12.

ON the morrowe after we met with the cartes of Scacatai laden with houses, and me thought that a mighty citie came to meete me. I wōdered also at the great multitude of huge droues of oxen, & horses, and at the flockes of sheepe. I could see but a fewe men that guided all these matters: wherupon I inquired how many men he had vnder him, & they told me that he had not aboue 500. in all, the one halfe of which number we were come past, as they lay in another lodging. Then the seruant which was our guide told me, that I must present somwhat vnto Scacatay: & so he caused vs to stay, going himselfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was past three of the clocke, and they vnladed their houses here vnto a certain water: And there came vnto vs his interpreter, who being aduertised by vs that wee were neuer there before, demanded some of our victuals, & we yeelded vnto his request. Also he required of vs some garment for a reward, because he was to interpret our sayings vnto his master. Howbeit we excused our selues as well as wee could. Then he asked vs, what we would present vnto his Lord? And we tooke a flagon of wine, & filled a maund with bisket, & a platter with apples & other fruits. But he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment. Notwithstanding we entred so into his presence with feare and bashfulnes. He sate vpon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her nose betweene the eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-nosed: for she had left her selfe no nose at all in that place, hauing annointed the very same place with a black ointment, and her eye browes also: which sight seemed most vgly in our eies. Then I rehearsed vnto him the same wordes, which I had spoken in other places before. For it stoode vs in hand to vse one and the same speech in all places. For we were wel forewarned of this circumstance by some which had been amongst the Tartars, that we should neuer varie in our tale. Then I besought him, that he would vouchsafe to accept that small

A secret rule worthy the noting.

gifte

gifte at our hands, excusing my selfe that I was a Monke, and that it was against our profession to possesse gold, or siluer, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to giue him, howbeit he should receiue some part of our victuals instead of a blessing. Hereupon he caused our present to be receiued, and immediately distributed the same among his men, who were mette together for the same purpose, to drinke and make merrie. I deliuered also vnto him the Emperor of Constantinople his letters (this was eight dayes after the feast of Ascension) who sent them forthwith to Soldaia to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in Greeke, and he had none about him that was skilfull in the Greeke tongue. He asked vs also whether we would drink any Cosmos, that is to say mares milke? (For those that are Christians among them, as namely the Russians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keep their own law very strictly, wil in no case drinke thereof, yea, they accompt themselues no Christians after they haue once drunke of it, & their priests reconcile them vnto the Church as if they had renounced the Christian faith.) I gaue him answere, that we had as yet sufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke failed vs, we must be constrained to drink such as should be giuen vnto vs. He enquired also what was contained in our letters, which your Maiestie sent vnto Sartach? I answered: that they were sealed vp, and that there was nothing conteined in them, but good and friendly wordes. And he asked what wordes wee would deliuer vnto Sartach? I answered: the words of Christian faith. He asked again what these words were? For he was very desirous to heare the. Then I expounded vnto him as well as I could, by mine interpreter, (who had no wit nor any vtterance of speech) the Apostles creed. Which after he had heard, holding his peace, he shooke his head. Then hee assigned vnto vs two men, who shoulde giue attendance vpon our selues, vpon our horses, and vpon our Oxen. And hee caused vs to ride in his companie, till the messenger whome hee had sent for the interpretation of the Emperours letters, was returned. And so wee trauelled in his companie till the morowe after Pentecost.

Howe the Alanians came vnto vs on Pentecost or Whitson euen. Chap. 13.

VPon the euen of Pentecost, there came vnto vs certaine Alanians, who are there called *Acizi, being Christians after the maner of the Grecians, vsing greeke bookes and Grecian priests: howbeit they are not schismatiques as the Grecians are, but without acception of persons, they honour al Christiās. And they brought vnto vs sodden flesh, requesting vs to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company being dead. Then I sayd, because it was the euen of so great and so solemne a feast day, that we would not eate any flesh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the solemnitie of the sayd feast, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Christian religion, except only the name of Christ. They and many other Christians, both Russians, and Hungarians demanded of vs, whether they might be saued or no, because they were constrained to drinke Cosmos, & to eate the dead carkases of such things, as were slaine by the Saracens, and other infidels? Which euen the Greeke & Russian priests themselues also esteeme as things strangled or offered vnto idoles: because they were ignorant of the times of fasting, neither could they haue obserued them albeit they had knowen them. Then instructed I them as well as I could and strengthened them in the faith. As for the flesh which they had brought we reserued it vntill the feast day. For there was nothing to be sold among the Tartars for gold & siluer, but only for cloth and garments, of the which kind of marchandise wee had none at all. When our seruants offered them any coine called Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noses, to try by the smell whether it were copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any foode but cowes milke onely which was very sowre & filthy. There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting vnto vs. For the water was so foule and muddy by reason of their horses, that it was not meete to be drunk. And but for certaine bisket, which was by the goodnes of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly perished.

* Or, Alani.

Cloth is the chiefe marchandise in Tartarie.

Of

Of a Saracen which said that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which seemed to be lepers. Chap. 14.

VPon the day of Pentecost there came vnto vs a certain Saracen, vnto whome, as hee talked with vs, we expounded the Christian faith. Who (hearing of God's benefits exhibited vnto mankind by the incarnation of our Sauior Christ, and the resurrection of the dead, & the iudgement to come, & that in baptisme was a washing away of sinnes) sayd that hee would be baptised. But when we prepared our selues to the baptising of him, he suddenly mounted on horsebacke, saying that he would goe home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durst in no case receiue baptisme, because then he should drinke no more Cosmos. For the Christians of that place affirme that no true Christians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the said liquor he could not liue in that desert. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowen of a certainty vnto your highnes, that they are much estranged from the Christian faith by reason of that opinion which hath bin broached & confirmed among them by the Russians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The same day Scacatay the captaine aforesayd gaue vs one man to conduct vs to Sartach, and two other to guide vs vnto the next lodging, which was distant from that place fiue dayes iourney for oxen to trauell. They gaue vnto vs also a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, & but a little Cosmos, because it is of so great estimation among them. And so taking our iourney directly toward the North, me thought that wee had passed through one of hell gates. The seruants which conducted vs began to play the bold theeues with vs, seeing vs take so little heed vnto our selues. At length hauing lost much by their theeuery, harme taught vs wisdome. And then we came vnto the extremity of that prouince, which is fortified with a ditch from one sea vnto another: without the bounds wherof their lodging was situate. Into the which, so soone as we had entred, al the inhabitants there seemed vnto vs to be infected with leprosie: for certain base fellowes were placed there to receiue tribute of al such as tooke salt out of the salt pits aforesaid. From that place they told vs that we must trauel fifteen daies iourney, before we should find any other people. With them wee dranke Cosmos, and gaue vnto them a basket full of fruites and of bisket. And they gaue vnto vs eight oxen and one goate, to sustaine vs in so great a iourney, and I knowe not how many bladders of milke. And so changing our oxen, we tooke our iourney which we finished in tenne dayes, arriuing at another lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certaine ditches made in the valleys, except two small riuers. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foresaid prouince of Gasaria, we trauailed directly Eastward, hauing a Sea on the South side of vs, and a waste desert on the North, which desert, in some places, reacheth twenty dayes iourney in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor stone therein. And it is most excellent pasture. Here the Comanians, which were called Capthac, were wont to feede their cattell. Howbeit by the Dutch men they are called Valani, and the prouince it selfe Valania. But Isidore calleth all that tract of land stretching from the riuer of Tanais to the lake of Mæotis, and so along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. And the same land continueth in length from Danubius vnto Tanais (which diuideth Asia from Europe) for the space of two moneths iourney, albeit a man should ride poste as fast as the Tartars vse to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the Comanians, called Capthac: yea and beyond Tanais, as farre as the riuer of Edil or Volga: the space betweene the two which riuers is a great and long iourney to bee trauailed in ten dayes. To the North of the same prouince lieth Russia, which is full of wood in all places, and stretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, euen to the riuer of Tanais: and it hath bene wasted all ouer by the Tartars, and as yet is daily wasted by them.

Salt pits.

Ten dayes iourney.

The length of Comania.

Russia.

Of our afflictions which we sustained: and of the Comanians maner of buriall. Chap. 15.

THey preferre the Saracens before the Russians, because they are Christians, and when they

they are able to giue them no more golde nor siluer, they driue them and their children like flockes of sheepe into the wilderues, constraining them to keepe their cattell there. Beyond Russia lieth the countrey of Prussia, which the Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hospitall of Ierusalem haue of late wholly conquered and subdued. And in very deede they might easily winne Russia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars should but once know, that the great Priest, that is to say, the Pope did cause the ensignes of the crosse to bee displaied against them, they would flee all into their desert and solitarie places. We therefore went on towards the East, seeing nothing but heauen and earth, and sometimes the sea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the sepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kinred altogether. So long as we were trauelling through the desert, it went reasonably well with vs. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irkesome and tedious troubles which I susteined, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a present, and our expenses would not extend so farre. For we were euery day eight persons of vs spending our waifaring prouision, for the Tartars seruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We ourselues were fiue in number, and the seruants our guides were three, two to driue our carts, and one to conduct vs vnto Sartach. The flesh which they gaue vs was not sufficient for vs: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we sate vnder our carts in the coole shadowe, by reason of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelesly intrude themselues into our companie, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to see whatsoeuer things we had. Hauing list at any time to ease themselues, the filthy lozels had not the maners to withdrawe themselues farther from vs, then a beane can bee cast. Yea, like vile slouens they would lay their tailes in our presence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieued me to the very heart, that when I would vtter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: you shall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such wordes. And true it was which he saide, For I perceiued afterward, when I began to haue a litle smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, he would say quite another, whatsoeuer came next vnto his witlesse tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might incurre in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolued much rather to holde my peace, and thus we trauelled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a fewe dayes before the feast of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arriued at the banke of the mightie riuer Tanais which diuideth Asia from Europa, euen as the riuer Nilus of Ægypt disioyneth Asia from Africa. At the same place where wee arriued, Baatu and Sartach did cause a certaine cottage to be built, vpon the Easterne banke of the riuer, for a companie of Russians to dwell in to the ende they might transport Ambassadours and merchants in ferrie-boates ouer that part of the riuer. First they ferried vs ouer, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one lyter, and the other wheele into another lyter, hauing bounde both the lyters together, and so they rowe them ouer. In this place our guide played the foole most extreamely. For hee imagining that the said Russians, dwelling in the cottage, should haue prouided vs horses, sent home the beasts which we brought with vs, in another cart, ỳ they might returne vnto their owne masters. And when we demanded to haue some beasts of the, they aunswered, that they had a priuiledge from Baatu, whereby they were bound to none other seruice, but only to ferry ouer goers & commers: and that they receiued great tribute of marchants in regard therof. We staied therfore by the said riuers side three daies. The first day they gaue vnto vs a great fresh turbut: the second day they bestowed rye bread, and a litle flesh vpon vs, which the purueyor of the village had taken vp at euerie house for vs: and the third day dried fishes, which they haue there in great abundance. The saide riuer was euen as broad in that place, as the riuer of Sein is at Paris. And before we came there, we passed ouer many goodly waters, and full of fish: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them; neither do they make any reckoning of any fish, except it be so great, that they may pray vpon the flesh therof, as vpon the flesh of a ram. This riuer is the limite of the East part of Russia, and it springeth

Extreme heate in Sommer.

Tanais.

The breadth of Tanais.

He is much reuerenced.

out

out of the fennes of Mæotis, which fennes stretch vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certain great sea 700. miles about, before it falleth into the sea called Pontus Euxinus. And al the riuers, which we passed ouer, ran with ful stream into those quarters. The foresaid riuer hath great store of wood also growing vpon the West side thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars ascend no farther vnto the North: for at that season of the yeere, about the first of August, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therfore there is another cottage somwhat lower, where passengers are ferried ouer in Winter time. And in this place wee were driuen to great extremitie, by reason that we could get neither horses, nor oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Christians, they sent vs oxen & men; howbeit we our selues were faine to trauel on foote. At this time they were reaping their rye. Wheat prospereth not wel in that soile. They haue the seed of Millium in great abundance. The Russian women attire their heads like vnto our women. They imbroder their safegards or gowns on the outside, from their feet vnto their knees with particoloured or grey stuffe. The Russian men weare caps like vnto the Dutch men. Also they weare vpon their heads certain sharpe, & high-crowned hats made of felt, much like vnto a sugar loafe. Then trauelled we 3. daies together, not finding any people. And when our selues and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far off we should find any Tartars, on the sudden, there came two horses running towards vs, which we tooke with great ioy, and our guide and interpreter mounted vpon their backes, to see, how far off they could descry any people. At length vpon the fourth day of our iourney, hauing found some inhabitants, we reioyced like sea-faring men, which had escaped out of a dangerous tempest, and had newly recouered the hauen. Then hauing taken fresh horses, and oxen, we passed on from lodging to lodging, till at the last, vpon the second of the Kalends of August, we arriued at the habitation of Duke Sartach himselfe.

About the beginning of August, the Tartars returne Southward.

Of the dominion of Sartach, and of his Subiects. Chap. 16.

THe region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly countrey, hauing store of riuers and woods toward the North part thereof. There be mighty huge woods which two sorts of people do inhabite. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without law. They haue neither townes nor cities, but only cottages in ſ woods. Their lord & a great part of themselues were put to the sword in high Germanie. Whereupon they highly commend the braue courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any merchant come vnto them, he must prouide things necessary for him, with whom he is first of all enterteined, all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another mans wife, her husband, vnles he be an eiewitnes therof, regardeth it not: for they are not ielous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of hogs, and great store of hony & waxe, and diuers sorts of rich & costly skins, and plentie of falcons. Next vnto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines cal Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the riuer of Etilia or Volga, which is ſ mightiest riuer that euer I saw. And it issueth from the North part of Bulgaria the greater, & so trending along Southward, disimboqueth into a certain lake cõtaining in circuit the space of 4. moneths trauel, whereof I will speak hereafter. The two foresaid riuers, namely Tanais & Etilia, otherwise called Volga, towards the Northren regions through the which we trauelled, are not distãt asunder aboue x. daies iourney, but Southward they are diuided a great space one from another. For Tanais descẽdeth into the sea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foresaid sea or lake, with the help of many other riuers which fal therinto out of Persia. And we had to the South of vs huge high mountains, vpon the sides wherof, towards the said desert, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Christians, & wage warre against the Tartars. Beyond thẽ, next vnto the sea or lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in subiection vnto the Tartars. Beyond these is Porta ferrea, or the yron gate, nowe called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous nations out of Persia. Concerning the situation whereof, your maiestie shall vnderstand more about the end of this Treatise:

The people of Moxel are Pagans.

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

The circuite of the Caspian sea.

Cergis or Asi.

The Saracs called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbent.

for I trauailed in my returne by the very same place. Betweene the two foresaid riuers, in the regions through the which we passed did the Comanians of olde time inhabite, before they were ouerrun by the Tartars.

Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof. Chap. 17.

ANd we found Sartach lying within three daies iourney of the riuer Etilia: whose Court seemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himselfe had sixe wiues, and his eldest sonne also had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great house, & they haue ech one of them about 200. cartes. Our guide went vnto a certaine Nestorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartachs Court. He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lordes gate. For so they call him, who hath the office of entertaining Ambassadours. In the euening Coiac commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our guide began to enquire what we would present him withal, & was exceedingly offended, when he saw that we had nothing ready to present. We stoode before him, and he sate maiestically, hauing musicke and daunsing in his presence. Then I spake vnto him in the wordes before recited, telling him, for what purpose I was come vnto his lorde, and requesting so much fauour at his hands, as to bring our letters vnto the sight of his Lord. I excused my selfe also, that I was a Monke, not hauing, nor receiuing, nor vsing any golde, or siluer, or any other precious thing, saue onely our bookes, and the vestiments wherein wee serued God: and that this was the cause why I brought no present vnto him, nor vnto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a transporter of things for other men. Then hee answered very courteously, that being a Monke, and so doing, I did well: for so I should obserue my vowe: neither did himselfe stand in neede of ought that we had, but rather was readie to bestow vpon vs such things as we our selues stoode in neede of: and he caused vs to sit downe, and to drinke of his milke. And presently after he requested vs to say our deuotions for him: and we did so. He enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the Franckes? And I saide, the Emperour, if he could inioy his owne dominions in quiet. No (quoth he) but the king of France. For he had heard of your Highnes by lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there also one of the Knights of the temple, who had bene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he sawe there. Then returned wee vnto our lodging. And on the morow we sent him a flagon of Muscadel wine (which had lasted very wel in so long a iourney) and a boxe full of bisket, which was most acceptable vnto him. And he kept our seruants with him for that euening. The next morning he commanded me to come vnto the Court, and to bring the kings letters and my vestimentes, and bookes with me: because his Lorde was desirous to see them. Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and vestiments, and another with bisket, wine, and fruites. Then he caused all our bookes and vestiments to bee laide forth. And there stoode round about vs many Tartars, Christians and Saracens on horseback. At the sight whereof, he demanded whether I would bestow all those things vpon his Lord or no? Which saying made me to tremble, and grieued me full sore. Howbeit, dissembling our griefe as well as we could, we shaped him this answere: Sir, our humble request is, that our Lorde your master would vouchsafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruits, not as a present, because it is too meane, but as a benediction, least we should come with an emptie hand before him. And he shall see the letters of my soueraigne Lord the king, and by them he shall vnderstand for what cause we are come vnto him, and then both our selues, and all that we haue, shall stand to his curtesie: for our vestiments be holy, and it is vnlawfull for any but Priests to touch them. Then he commanded vs to inuest our selues in the saide garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and wee did so. Then I my selfe putting on our most precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cushion, and the Bible which your Maiesty gaue me, and a most beautifull Psalter, which the Queenes Grace bestowed vpon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine associate tooke a missal and a crosse: and the clearke hauing put on his surplesse, tooke a censer in his hand. And so we came vnto the presence of his Lord: and they lifted vp the felt hanging before his doore, that he might behold vs. Then they caused the clearke and the

Coiat the Nestorian.

the interpreter thrise to bow the knee: but of vs they required no such submission. And they diligently admonished vs to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, we touched not the threshold of the house, and requested vs to sing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, singing *Salue Regina*. And within the entrance of the doore, stood a bench with cosmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his wiues were there assembled. Also the Moals or rich Tartars thrusting in with vs pressed vs sore. Then Coiat caried vnto his lord the censer with incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward hee caried the Psalter vnto him, which he looked earnestly vpon, and his wife also that sate beside him. After that he caried the Bible: then Sartach asked if the Gospel were contained therein? Yea (said I) and all the holy scriptures besides. He tooke the crosse also in his hand, and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Christ or no? I said it was. The Nestorians & the Armenians do neuer make the figure of Christ vpo their crosses. Wherefore either they seem not to think wel of his passion, or els they are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about vs, to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterward I deliuered vnto him your Maiesties letters, with the translation therof into the Arabike, & Syriake anguages. For I caused them to be translated at Acon into the character, & dialect of both the saide tongues. And there were certain Armenian priests, which had skil in the Turkish & Arabian languages. The afore-said knight also of the order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkish, & Arabian tongues. Then we departed forth, and put off our vestiments, and there came vnto vs certaine Scribes together with the foresaid Coiat, & caused our letters to be interpreted. Which letters being heard, he caused our bread, wine and fruits to be receiued. And he permitted vs also to carie our vestiments and bookes vnto our owne lodging. This was done vpon the feast of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good consequence.

How they were giuen in charge to goe vnto Baatu the Father of Sartach. Chap. 18.

THe next morning betimes came vnto vs a certaine Priest, who was brother vnto Coiat, requesting to haue our box of Chrisme, because Sartach (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gaue it him. About euentide Coiat sent for vs, saying: My lord your king wrote good words vnto my lord and master Sartach. Howbeit there are certaine matters of difficulty in them concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduise and counsell of his father. And therfore of necessitie you must depart vnto his father, leauing behind you the two carts, which you brought hither yesterday with vestiments and bookes, in my custodie: because my lorde is desirous to take more diligent view thereof. I presently suspecting what mischiefe might ensue by his couetousnes, said vnto him: Sir, we will not onely leaue those with you, but the two other carts also, which we haue in our possession, will we commit vnto your custodie. You shall not (quoth he) leaue those behinde you, but for the other two carts first named, we will satisfie your request. I saide that this could not conueniently be done: but needes we must leaue all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to tarie in the land? I answered: If you throughly vnderstand the letters of my lorde the king, you know that we are euen so determined. Then he replied, that we ought to be patient and lowly: and so we departed from him that euening. On the morrowe after he sent a Nestorian Priest for the carts, and we caused all the foure carts to be deliuered. Then came the foresaid brother of Coiat to meet vs, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court, from the rest, namely, the bookes and vestiments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we should carie those vestiments with vs, which wee ware in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if neede should require: but the said Priest tooke them from vs by violence, saying: thou hast brought them vnto Sartach, and wouldest thou carie them vnto Baatu? And when I would haue rendred a reason, he answered: be not too talkative, but goe your waies. Then I sawe that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no accesse vnto Sartach himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe vs iustice. I was afraide also in regard of the interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I saide vnto him: for his will was good that

we

we should haue giuen away all that we had. There was yet one comfort remaining vnto me: for when I once perceiued their couetous intent, I conueyed from among our bookes the Bible, and the sentences, and certaine other bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit I durst not take away the Psalter of my soueraigne Lady the Queene, because it was too wel known, by reason of the golden pictures therein. And so we returned with the two other carts vnto our lodging. Then came he that was appointed to be our guide vnto the court of Baatu, willing vs to take our iourney in all poste-haste: vnto whom I said, that I would in no case haue the carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto Coiat. Then Coiat commaunded, that we should leaue them and our seruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And so trauelling directly Eastward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the streams whereof when I beheld, I wondered from what regions of the North such huge and mighty waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foresaid Coiat, with many other Scribes of the court said vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a Christian, but a Moal. Because the name of a Christian seemeth vnto them to be the name of some nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeue perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not bee called Christians, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, Moal should be exalted aboue all other names. Neither wil they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

They me come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars will be called Moal.

Howe Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reuerence vnto Christians. Chap. 19.

This history of Presbiter Iohn is the Northren, is abridged at large by Gerardus Mercator in his great mappe. From whence the Turkes first sprang.

AT the same time when the French-men tooke Antioch, a certaine man named Con Can had dominion ouer the Northren regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authority or dignitie, which signifieth a diuiner or soothsayer. All diuiners are called Can amongst them. Whereupon their princes are called Can, because that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by diuination. Wee doe reade also in the historie of Antiochia, that the Turkes sent for aide against the French-men, vnto the kingdome of Con Can. For out of those parts the whole nation of the Turkes first came. The said Con was of the nation of Kara-Catay, Kara signifieth blacke, and Catay is the name of a countrey. So that Kara-Catay signifieth the blacke Catay. This name was giuen to make a difference betweene the foresaid people, and the people of Catay, inhabiting Eastward ouer against the Ocean sea: concerning whom your maiesty shall vnderstand more hereafter. These Catayans dwelt vpon certaine Alpes, by the which I trauailed. And in a certain plaine countrey within those Alpes, there inhabited a Nestorian shepheard, being a mighty gouernour ouer the people called Yayman, which were Christians, following the sect of Nestorius. After the death of Con Can, the said Nestorian exalted himselfe to the kingdome, and they called him King Iohn, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For so the Nestorians which come out of those parts, vse to doe. For they blaze abroade great rumors, and reports vpon iust nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely because these Tartars make more account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deede, themselues are no Christians. So likewise there went foorth a great report concerning the said king Iohn. Howbeit, when I trauailed along by his territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a fewe Nestorians. In his pastures or territories dwelleth Ken-Can, at whose Court Frier Andrew was. And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. This Iohn had a brother, being a mightie man also, and a shepheard like himselfe, called Vut, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara-Catay, being distant from his brother Iohn, the space of three weekes iourney. He was lord ouer a certain village, called Cara Carum, hauing people also for his subiects, named Crit, or Merkit, who were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. But their Lorde abandoning the worship of Christ, followed after idoles, reteining with him Priests of the saide idoles, who all of them are worshippers of deuils and sorcerers. Beyond his pastures some teane or fifteene dayes iourney, were the pastures of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly

An Ocean sea.

Nayman.

Presbiter Iohn.

The place of Ken Kan his abode.

Vut Can, or Can.

The village of Cara Carum.

Crit and Merkit.

Moal in olde time a beggerly people.

gerly nation, without gouernour, and without Lawe, except their soothsayings, and their diui- The plain of the Tartars.
nations, vnto the which detestable studies, all in those partes doe apply their mindes. Neere nto Moal were other poore people called Tartars. The foresaid king John died without issue male, and thereupon his brother Vut was greatly inriched, and caused himselfe to be named Can: and his droues and flockes raunged euen vnto the borders of Moal. About the same time there was one Cyngis, a blacke smith among the people of Moal. This Cyngis stole as Cyngis.
many cattel from Vut Can, as he could possibly get: insomuch that the shepheards of Vut complained vnto their Lord. Then prouided he an armie, and marched vp into the countrey of Moal to seeke for the saide Cyngis. But Cyngis fledde among the Tartars, and hidde himselfe amongest them. And Vut hauing taken some spoils both from Moal, and also from the Tartars, returned home. Then spake Cyngis vnto the Tartars, and vnto the people of Moal, saying: Sirs, because we are destitute of a gouernour and Captaine, you see howe our neighbours do oppresse vs. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then hauing secretly gathered together an armie, he brake in suddenly vpon Vut, and ouercame him, and Vut fledde into Cataya. At the same time was the daughter of Vut taken, which Cyngis married vnto one of his sonnes, by whome she conceiued, & brought forth the great Can, Mango-Can.
which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Then Cyngis sent ỹ Tartars before him in al places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroade: for in all places the people woulde crie out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are nowe, all of them in a maner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals indeuour what they can, to extinguish the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The countrey wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But because Tartaria is the Mancherule.
region, about which they haue obtained their conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great Can.

Of the Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caspian Sea. Chap. 20.

NOw, as concerning Sartach, whether he beleeues in Christ, or no, I knowe not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Yea rather he seemeth vnto mee to deride and skoffe at Christians. He lieth in the way of the Christians, as namely of the Russians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the lesser, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his father Baatu, to carie giftes: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater giftes then they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine Nestorian Priestes, who pray vpon their beades, and sing their deuotions. Also, there is another vnder Baatu called Berta, who feedeth his cattell toward Porta ferrea, or Derbent, where lieth the pas- Or, Berea.
sage of all those Saracens, which come out of Persia, and out of Turkie to goe vnto Baatu, and passing by, they giue rewards vnto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a Saracene, and will not permit swines flesh to be eaten in his dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remoue himselfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the East side of Volga: for hee was vnwilling that the Saracens messengers should passe by the saide Berta, because he sawe it was not for his profite. For the space of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a litle Cosmos. And in our iourney betweene him and his father, wee trauciled in great feare. For certaine Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians being seruants vnto the Tartars (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) assemble themselues twentie or thirtie in a companie, and so secretly in the night conueying themselues from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomesoeuer they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselues in the day time. And hauing tired their horses, they goe in the night vnto a company of other horses feeding in some pasture, and change them for newe, taking with them also one or two horses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was sore afraide, least we should haue met with such companions. In this iourney wee had died for famine, had we not caried some of our bisket with vs. At length we came vnto the

mighty

mighty riuer of Etilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater, then the riuer of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certaine lake or sea, which of late they cal the Hircan sea, according to the name of a certain citie in Persia, standing vpon the shore thereof. Howbeit Isidore calleth it the Caspian sea. For it hath the Caspian mountaines and the land of Persia situate on the South side thereof: and the mountaines of Musihet, that is to say, of the people called Assassini towards the East, which mountaines are conioyned vnto the Caspian mountaines: but on the North side thereof lieth the same desert, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabite. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt
Changlæ. certaine people called Changlæ. And on that side it receiueth the streams of Etilia; which riuer increaseth in Sommer time, like vnto the riuer Nilus in Ægypt. Vpon the West part thereof, it hath the mountaines of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the mountaines of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compassed in on three sides with the moun-
Frier Andrew. taines, but on the North side with plaine grounde. Frier Andrew, in his iourney trauelled round about two sides therof, namely the South and the East sides: and I my selfe about other two, that is to say, the North side in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewise: and the West side in comming home from Baata into Syria. A man may trauel round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which Isidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or guilfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is inuironed on all sides with lande.

Of the court of Baatu: and howe we were interteined by him. Chap. 21.

AL the region extending from the West shore of the foresaid sea, where Alexanders Iron gate, otherwise called the citie of Derbent, is situate, and from the mountaines of Alania, all along by the fennes of Mæotis, whereinto the riuer of Tanais falleth, and so forth, to the
The North Ocean. North Ocean, was wont to be called Albania. Of which countrey Isidore reporteth, that there be dogs of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match bulles, and to master lions. Which is true, as I vnderstand by diuers, who tolde me, that there towardes
The North Ocean. the North Ocean they make their dogges to draw in carts like oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreouer, vpon that part of Etilia where we arriued, there is a new cottage built, wherein they haue placed Tartars and Russians both together, to ferrie ouer, and transport messengers going and comming to and fro the court of Baatu. For Baatu remaineth vpon the farther side towards the East. Neither ascendeth hee in Sommer time more Northward then the foresaide place where we arriued, but was euen then descending to the South. From
He descendeth downe the riuer Volga in a barke. Ianuarie vntill August both he and all other Tartars ascend by the banks of riuers towards cold and Northerly regions, and in August they begin to returne backe againe. We passed downe the streame therefore in a barke, from the foresaid cottage vnto his court. From the same place vnto the villages of Bulgaria the greater, standing toward the North, it is fiue dayes iourney. I wonder what deuill caried the religion of Mahomet thither. For, from Derbent, which is vpon the extreame borders of Persia, it is aboue 30. daies iourney to passe ouerthwart the desert, and so to ascend by the banke of Etilia, into the foresaid countrey of Bulga-
Asmus. ria. All which way there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere vnto that place where Etilia falleth into the sea. Those Bulgarians are most wicked Saracens, more earnestly pro-
The description of Baatu his court. fessing the damnable religion of Mahomet, then any other nation whatsoeuer. Moreouer, when I first beheld the court of Baatu, I was astonied at the sight thereof: for his houses or tents seemed as though they had bene some huge and mighty citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging vp and downe about it for the space of some three or foure leagues. And euen as the people of Israel knew euery man, on which side of the tabernacle to pitch his tent: euen so euery one of them knoweth right well, towards what side of the court he ought to place his house when he takes it from off the cart. Wherupon the court is called in their
Horda signifieth the midst. language Horda, which signifieth, the midst: because the gouernour or chieftaine among them dwels alwaies in the middest of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subiect or inferiour person placeth himselfe, because towards that region the court gates are set open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend theselues as farre as they

will

will, according to the conuenience of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the court. At our arriual we were conducted vnto a Saracen, who prouided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the court: and Baatu had caused a large tent to be erected, because his house or ordinarie tent could not containe so many men and women as were assembled. Our guide admonished vs not to speake, till Baatu had giuen vs commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our mindes briefly. Then Baatu demanded whether your Maiestie had sent Ambassadours vnto him or no? I answered, that your Maiestie had sent messengers to Ken Can: and that you would not haue sent messengers vnto him, or letters vnto Sartach, had not your Highnes bene perswaded that they were become Christians: because you sent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and curtesies sake, in regard that you heard they were conuerted to Christianitie. Then led he vs vnto his pauilion: and wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account in stead of the threshold of the house. There we stoode in our habite bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. For indeed Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini had byn there before my cõming: howbeit, because he was the Popes messenger, he changed his habit that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the very midst of the tent, neither required they of vs to do any reuerence by bowing our knees, as they vse to doe of other messengers. Wee stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might haue rehearsed the Psalme, Miserere mei Deus: and there was great silence kept of all men. Baatu himselfe sate vpon a seate long and broad like vnto a bed, guilt all ouer, with three staires to ascend thereunto, and one of his ladies sate beside him. The men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the saide Lady, and some on the left. Those places on the one side which the women filled not vp (for there were only the wiues of Baatu) were supplied by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the tent stoode a bench furnished with cosmos, and with stately great cuppes of siluer, and golde, beeing richly set with precious stones. Baatu beheld vs earnestly, and we him; and he seemed to me to resemble in personage, Monsieur Iohn de beau mont, whose soule resteth in peace. And hee had a fresh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length he commanded vs to speake. Then our guide gaue vs direction, that wee should bow our knees & speak. Whereupon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he signified that I should kneele vpon both knees: and I did so, being loath to contend about such circumstaunces. And again he commanded me to speak. Then I thinking of praier vnto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wise: Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath giuen you these earthly benefites, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heauenly blessings: because the former without these are but vain and improfitable. And I added further. Be it knowen vnto you of a certainty, that you shal not obtain the ioyes of heauen, vnles you become a Christian: for God saith, Whosoeuer beleeueth & is baptized, shalbe saued: but he that beleeueth not, shalbe condemned. At this word he modestly smiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And my silly interpreter, of whom especially I should haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himself abashed & vtterly dasht out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said vnto him, I came vnto your sonne, because we heard that he was become a Christian: and I brought vnto him letters on the behalfe of my souereigne Lord the king of France: and your sonne sent me hither vnto you. The cause of my comming therefore is best known vnto your selfe. Then he caused me to rise vp. And he enquired your maiesties name, and my name, and the name of mine associate and interpreter, and caused them all to be put down in writing. He demaunded likewise (because he had bene informed, that you were departed out of your owne countreys with an armie) against whom you waged warre? I answered: against the Saracens, who had defiled the house of God at Ierusalem. He asked also, whether your Highnes had euer before that time sent any messengers vnto him, or no? To you sir? (said I) neuer. Then caused he vs to sit downe, and gaue vs of his milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, especially when any man is admitted to drinke Cosmos with him in his own house. And as I sate looking downe vpon the ground, he com-

John de Plano Carpini.

The letters of the French king.

commanded me to lift vp my countenance, being desirous as yet to take more diligent view of vs, or els perhaps for a kinde of superstitious obseruation. For they esteeme it a signe of ill lucke, or a prognostication of euill vnto them, when any man sits in their presence, holding downe his head, as if he were sad: especially when he leanes his cheeke or chinne vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediatly after came our guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our lodging, saide vnto me: Your master the King requesteth that you may remaine in this land, which request Baatu cannot satisfie without the knowledge and consent of Mangu-Can. Wherefore you, and your interpreter must of necessitie goe vnto Mangu-Can. Howbeit your associate, and the other man shall returne vnto the court of Sartach, staying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine interpreter to lament, esteeming himselfe but a dead man. Mine associate also protested, that they should sooner chop off his head, then withdrawe him out of my companie. Moreouer I my selfe saide, that without mine associate I coulde not goe: and that we stood in neede of two seruants at the least, to attend vpon vs, because, if one should chance to fall sicke, we could not be without another. Then returning vnto the court, he told these sayings vnto Baatu. And Baatu commanded saying: let the two Priests and the interpreter goe together, but let the clearke returne vnto Sartach. And comming againe vnto vs, hee tolde vs euen so. And when I would haue spoken for the clearke to haue had him with vs, he saide: No more words: for Baatu hath resolued, that so it shall be, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the court any more. Goset the clearke had remaining of the almes money bestowed vpon him, 26. Yperperas, and no more: 10. whereof he kept for himselfe and for the lad, and 16. he gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted asunder with teares: he returning vnto the court of Sartach, and our selues remaining still in the same place.

Of our iourney towards the Court of Mangu Can. Chap. 22.

VPon Assumption euen our clearke arriued at the court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Nestorian Priestes were adorned with our vestments in the presence of the saide Sartach. Then wee our selues were conducted vnto another hoste, who was appointed to prouide vs houseroome, victualles, and horses. But because wee had not ought to bestowe vpon him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forwarde with Baatu, descending along by the banke of Etilia, for the space of fiue weekes together: Sometimes mine associate was so extremelie hungrie, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a faire or market following the court of Baatu at all times: but it was so farre distant from vs that we could not haue recourse thereunto. For wee were constrained to walke on foote for want of horses. At length certaine Hungarians (who had sometime bene after a sort Cleargie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet sing many songs without booke, and was accompted of other Hungarians as a Priest, and was sent for vnto the funerals of his deceased countrey men. There was another of them also pretily wel instructed in his Grammer: for hee could vnderstand the meaning of any thing that wee spake, but could not answere vs. These Hungarians were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs Cosmos to drinke, yea, and sometimes flesh for to eate also: who, when they requested to haue some bookes of vs, and I had not any to giue them (for indeede we had none but onely a Bible, and a breuiarie) it grieued mee exceedingly. And I saide vnto them: Bring mee some inke and paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remaine here: and they did so. And I copied out for them Horas beatæ Virginis, and Officium defunctorum. Moreouer, vpon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied vs, saluting vs in Latine, and saying: Saluete Domini. Wondering thereat and saluting him againe, I demaunded of him, who had taught him that kinde of salutation? Hee saide that hee was baptized in Hungaria by our Friers, and that of them hee learned it. He saide moreouer, that Baatu had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that hee tolde him the estate of our order. Afterward I sawe Baatu riding with his companie, and all his subiects that were housholders or masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were not fiue hundred persons in all. At length about the ende of

They trauell fiue weekes by the banke of Etilia.

Hungarians.

A Comanian.

of Holy roode, there came a certaine rich Moal vnto vs (whose father was a Millenarie, which is a great office among them) saying: I am the man that must conduct you vnto Mangu-Can, and wee haue thither a iourney of foure moneths long to trauell, and there is such extreame colde in those parts, that stones and trees doe euen riue asunder in regarde thereof. Therefore I would wish you throughly to aduise your selues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whome I answered: I hope by Gods helpe that we shalbe able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then he saide: if you cannot indure it, I wil forsake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not iust dealing for you so to doe: for wee goe not thither vpon anie businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are sent by your lord. Wherfore sithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake vs. Then he saide: all shalbe well. Afterward he caused vs to shewe him all our garments and whatsoeuer hee deemed to be lesse needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind in the east die of our hoste. On the morrow they brought vnto ech of vs a furred gowne, made all of rammes skinnes, with the wool stil vpon them, and breeches of the same, and bootes also of buskins according to their fashion, and shooes made of felt, and hoods also made of skinnes after their maner. The second day after Holy rood, we began to set forward on our iourney, hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually Eastward, till the feast of All Saints. Throughout all that region, and beyonde also did the people of Changle inhabite, who were by parentage descended from the Romanes. Vpon the North side of vs, wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foresaid Caspian sea.

A iourney of 4. moneths from Volga.

The 26. of September. 46. dayes. Or, Kangitan.

Of the riuer of Iagac: and of diuers regions or nations. Chap. 23.

Or, Iaic.

HAuing trauelled twelue dayes iourney from Etilia, wee found a mightie riuer called Iagac: which riuer issuing out of the North, from the land of Pascatir, descedeth into the foresaid sea. The language of Pascatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepheards, not hauing any cities. And their countrey bordereth vpon Bulgaria the greater, on the West frontier thereof. From the Northeast part of the said countrey, there is no citie at all. For Bulgaria the greater is the farthest countrey that way, that hath any citie therein. Out of the forenamed region of Pascatir, proceeded the Hunnes of olde time, who afterwarde were called Hungarians. Next vnto it is Bulgaria the greater. Isidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with swift horses they trauersed the impregnable walles and bounds of Alexander, (which, together with the rocks of Caucasus, serued to restraine those barbarous and blood-thirstie people from inuading the regions of the South) insomuch that they had tribute paied vnto them, as farre as Ægypt. Likewise they wasted all countreis euen vnto France. Whereupon they were more mightie then the Tartars as yet are. And vnto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals ioyned themselues. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came those Bulgarians. Moreouer, they which inhabit beyond Danubius, neere vnto Constantinople, and not farre from Pascatir, are called Ilac, which (sauing the pronũciation) is al one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B) from whom also descended the people which inhabit the land of Assani. For they are both of the called Ilac (both these, & the other) in ỹ languages of the Russians, ỹ Polonians, & the Bohemians. The Sclauonians speake all one language with the Vandals, all which banded themselues with the Hunnes: and now for the most part, they vnite themselues vnto the Tartars: whõ God hath raised vp from the vtmost partes of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith: I will prouoke them to enuy (namely such as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a foolish nation will I anger them. This prophecie is fulfilled, according to the literal sense thereof, vpon all nations which obserue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the land of Pascatir, was told me by certaine Friers prædicants, which trauailed thither before euer the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were subdued vnto their neighbors the Bulgarians being Saracens, whereupon many of them proued Saracens also. Other matters concerning this people, may be known out of Chronicles. For it is manifest, that those prouinces beyond Constantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, & Sclauonia, were of old time prouinces belonging to the Greekes. Also Hungaria

Iaic twelue dayes iourney from Volga. Pascatir.

The Hungarians descended from the Bessidens.

Valachians.

Deut. 32. v. 21. Rom. 10. v. 19.

Cangle an huge plaine countrey.

was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding ouer the land of Cangle, from the feast of Holy roode, vntill the feast of All Saints: trauelling almost euery day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes farther, as we were prouided of poste horses: for some dayes we had change of horses twise or thrise in a day. Sometimes we trauailed two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of 20. or 30. horses we had alwayes the woorst, because wee were strangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the best horses before vs. They prouided mee alwaies of a strong horse, because I was very corpulent & heauy: but whether he ambled a gentle pase or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet durst I complaine, although he trotted full sore. But euery man must be contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horses were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were constrained to beate and whip on our horses, and to lay our garments vpon other emptie horses: yea and sometimes two of vs to ride vpon one horse.

Of the hunger, and thirst, and other miseries, which wee sustained in our iourney. Chap. 24.

OF hunger and thirst, colde and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vsed to giue vs a little drinke, or some sodden Millet to sup off. In the euening they bestowed flesh vpon vs, as namely, a shoulder and breast of rams mutton, and euery man a measured quantitie of broath to drinke. When we had sufficient of the flesh-broath, we were maruellously wel refreshed. And it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke. Euery Saterday I remained fasting vntil night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was constrained, to my great grief and sorow, to eat flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost rawe, and all for want of fewel to seethe it withal: especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneis end: because we could not then conueniently gather together the doung of horses or oxe: for other fewel we found but seldome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places. Likewise vpon the bankes of some riuers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly disdained vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct such base fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know vs somewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I caried a good interpreter with me, I should haue had opportunitie to haue done much good. The foresaid Chingis, who was the first great Can or Emperour of the Tartars, had foure sonnes, of whome proceeded by naturall descent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great possessions: and they are daily multiplied and dispersed ouer that huge and waste desert, which is, in dimensions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto many of their habitations. And they marueiled exceedingly, that we would receiue neither gold, nor siluer, nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that he was 500. yeeres olde. They inquired likewise of our countreis, whether there were abundance of sheep, oxen, & horses or no? Concerning the Ocean sea, they could not coceiue of it, because it was without limits or banks. Vpon the euen of y feast of All Saints, we forsook the way leading towards the East, (because the people were now descended very much South) and we went on our iourney by certaine Alpes, or mountaines directly Southward, for the space of 8. dayes together. In the foresaid desert I saw many asses (which they cal Colan) being rather like vnto mules: these did our guide & his companions chase very eagerly: howbeit, they did but lose their labour: for the beastes were two swift for them. Vpon the 7. day there appeared to the South of vs huge high mountaines, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eight day after the feast of All Saints, we arriued at a certain towne of the Saracens, named Kenchat, the gouernour whereof met our guide at the townes end with ale and cups. For it is their maner at all townes and villages,

Certaine riuers.

Eight dayes iourney southward.

Asses swift of foote.

High mountaines.

Manured grounds.

Kenchat a village of the Saracens.

villages, subiect vnto them, to meet the messengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yere, they went vpon the yce in that countrey. And before the feast of S. Michael, we had frost in the desert. I enquired the name of that prouince: but being now in a strange territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very smal citie in the same prouince. And there descended a great riuer downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would giue it passage, by making diuers chanels and sluces: neither did this riuer exonerate it selfe into any sea, but was swallowed vp by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth: and it caused many fennes or lakes. Also I saw many vines, and dranke of the wine thereof.

The 7. day of November.

A great riuer.

Many lakes.

Vines.

How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men. Chap. 25.

THe day following, we came vnto another cottage neere vnto the mountains. And I enquired what mountains they were, which I vnderstood to be the mountains of Caucasus, which are stretched forth, & continued on both parts to the sea, from the West vnto the East: and on the West part they are conioyned vnto the foresaid Caspian sea, wherinto the riuer of Volga dischargeth his streams. I enquired also of the city of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutchmen seruants vnto one Buri, of whom Frier Andrew made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach & Baatu. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their lord & master Ban was put to death vpon the occasion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile pastures. And vpon a certain day being drunken, he spake on this wise vnto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kinred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or nephew vnto Baatu.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse vpon the banke of Etilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himselfe doeth? Which speeches of his were reported vnto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote vnto his seruants to bring their Lorde bound vnto him. And they did so. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And hee confessed that he had. Howbeit, (because it is the Tartars maner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was drunken at the same time. Howe durst thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkennesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid Dutchmen, I could not vnderstand ought, till I was come vnto the court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had remoued them out of the iurisdiction of Baatu, for the space of a moneths iourney from Talas Eastward, vnto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the saide citie in going forth, as namely, within three dayes iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowen so much. From the foresaide cottage we went directly Eastward, by the mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we trauailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places sang and daunced before our guide, because hee was the messenger of Baatu. For this curtesie they doe affoord eche to other: namely the people of Mangu-Can receiuing the messengers of Baatu, in maner aforesaide: and so likewise the people of Baatu intertaining the messengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithstanding the people of Baatu are more surlie and stoute, and shewe not so much curtesie vnto the subiectes of Mangu-Can, as they doe vnto them. A fewe dayes after, wee entered vpon those Alpes where the Cara Catayans were woont to inhabite. And there wee found a mightie riuer: insomuch that wee were constrained to imbarke our selues, and to saile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee founde a certaine village, named Equius, wherein were Saracens, speaking the Persian language: howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from Persia. The day following, hauing passed ouer the foresaide Alpes which descended from the great mountains Southward, we entred into a most beautiful plaine, hauing high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of vs a certaine Sea or lake, which containeth fifteene dayes iourney in circuite.

A cottage.

The moũtains of Caucasus are extended vnto the Easterne Sea.

The citie of Talas, or Chincitalas.

Frier Andrew.

The village of Bolac.

He entreth into the territories of Mangu Can

Certain Alpes wherein the Cara Catayans inhabited.

A mighty riuer.

Ground tilled.

Equius.

A lake of fifteene dayes iourney in compasse.

All

All the foresayde plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine freshets distilling from the said mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In Summer time wee returned by the North shore of the saide lake, and there were great mountaines on that side also. Vpon the forenamed plaine there were wont to bee great store of villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regarde of the fertile pastures, that the Tartars might feede their cattel there.

Cailac a great citie, and full of merchants.

Wee found one great citie there named Cailac, wherein was a mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene dayes, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to haue accompanied our guide for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of writing.

Contomanni.

But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Nestorians likewise in those parts vsed the very same kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilfull in playing vpon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported vnto me. Here first did I see worshippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it knowen vnto your maiestie, that there be many sects of them in the East countries.

How the Nestorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are ioyned together. Chap. 26.

The people called Iugures idolaters.

THe first sort of these idolaters are called Iugures: whose land bordereth vpon the foresaid land of Organum, within the said mountains Eastward: and in al their cities Nestorians do inhabit together, and they are dispersed likewise towards Persia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of ỹ foresaid city of Cailac had 3. idole-Temples: and I entred into two of them, to beholde their foolish superstitions. In the first of which I found a man hauing a crosse painted with ink vpō his hand, whereupon I supposed him to be a Christian: for he answered like a Christian vnto al questions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the crosse with the image of Iesu Christ therupon? And he answered: We haue no such custome. Whereupon I coniectured that they were indeede Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction they omitted the foresaide ceremonie. For I saw there behind a certaine chest (which was vnto them in steed of an altar, whereupon they set candles and oblations) an image hauing wings like vnto the image of Saint Michael, and other images also, holding their fingers, as if they would blesse some body. That euening I could not find any thing els. For the Saracens doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them speake of their religion. And therfore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning such ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feast of Passeouer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the same day, I tooke vp mine abode neere vnto another idole-Temple. For the citizens of the said citie of Cailac doe curteously inuite, & louingly intertaine all messengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foresaid idole-Temple, I found the Priests of the said idoles there. For alwayes at the Kalends they set open their Temples, and the priests adorne themselues, and offer vp the peoples oblations of bread and fruits. First therefore I will describe vnto you those rites and ceremonies, which are common vnto all their idole-Temples: and then the superstitions of the foresaid Iugures, which be, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They doe all of them worship towards the North, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselues on their knees vpon ỹ earth, holding also their foreheads in their hands. Whereupon the Nestorians of those parts will in no case ioyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray, displaying their hands before their breasts. They extend their Temples in length East and West: and vpon the North side they build a chamber, in maner of a Vestry for themselues to goe forth into. Or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a foure square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North side therof, they take in one chamber in that place where the quire should stand. And within the said chamber they place a chest long and broad like vnto a table: and behinde the saide chest towardes the South stands their principall idole: which I sawe at Caracarum, and it was as bigge as the idole of Saint Christopher.

Frier William was at Caracarum.

Also a certaine Nestorian priest, which had bin in Catay, saide that in that countrey there is an idole of so huge a bignes,

bignes, that it may be seen two daies iourney before a man come at it. And so they place other idoles round about the foresaid principal idole, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure golde: and vpon the saide chest, which is in manner of a table, they set candles and oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwayes opened towards the South, contrary to the custome of the Saracens. They haue also great belles like vnto vs. And that is the cause (as I thinke) why the Christians of the East will in no case vse great belles. Notwithstanding they are common among the Russians, and Græcians of Gasaria.

Of their Temples and idoles: and howe they behaue themselues in worshipping their false gods. Chap. 27.

ALL their Priests had their heads and beards shauen quite ouer: and they are clad in saffron coloured garments: and being once shauen, they lead an vnmaried life from that time forward: and they liue an hundreth or two hundreth of them together in one cloister or couent. Vpon those dayes when they enter into their temples, they place two long foormes therein: and so sitting vpon the sayd foormes like singing men in a quier, namely the one halfe of them directly ouer against the other, they haue certaine books in their hands, which sometimes they lay downe by them vpon the foormes: and their heads are bare so long as they remaine in the temple. And there they reade softly vnto themselues, not vttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongst them, at the time of their superstitious deuotions, and finding them all siting mute in maner aforesayde, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto speach, and yet could not by any means possible. They haue with them also whithersoeuer they goe, a certaine string with an hundreth or two hundreth nutshels thereupon, much like to our bead-roule which we cary about with vs. And they doe alwayes vtter these words: *Ou mam Hactani,* God thou knowest: as one of them expounded it vnto me. And so often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God. Round about their temple they doe alwayes make a faire court, like vnto a churchyard, which they enuiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof they build a great portal, wherein they sit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the said portall they pitch a long pole right vp, exalting it, if they can, aboue all the whole towne besides. And by the same pole all men may knowe, that there stands the temple of their idoles, These rites and ceremonies aforesayd be common vnto all idolaters in those parts. Going vpon a time towardes the foresayd idole-temple, I found certain priests sitting in the outward portal. And those which I sawe, seemed vnto me, by their shauen beards, as if they had bene French men. They wore certaine ornaments vpon their heads made of paper. The priestes of the foresaide Iugures doe vse such attire whithersoeuer they goe. They are alwaies in their saffron coloured iackets, which be very straight being laced or buttened from the bosome right downe, after the French fashion. And they haue a cloake vpon their left shoulder descending before and behind vnder their right arme, like vnto a deacon carying the houssel-boxe in time of lent. Their letters or kind of writing the Tartars did receiue. They begin to write at the top of their paper drawing their lines right downe: and so they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vse certaine papers and characters in their magical practises. Whereupon their temples are full of such short scroules hanged round about them. Also Mangu-Can hath sent letters vnto your Maiestie written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foresayd hand or letter of the Iugures. They burne their dead according to the auncient custome, and lay vp the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sit a while by the foresaid priests, and entred into their temple and seene many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleeued concerning God? And they answered: We beleeue that there is onely one God. And I demaunded farther: Whether do you beleue that he is a spirit, or some bodily substance? They saide: We beleeue that he is a spirite. Then said I: Doe you beleeue that God euer tooke mans nature vpon him? They answered: Noe. And againe I said: Sithence ye beleeue that he is a spirit, to what end doe you make so many bodily images to represent him? Sithence also you beleeue not that

Books.

Papes.

So do the people of China vse to write, drawing their lines perpendicularly downward, & not as we doe from the right hand to the lefte.

that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather vnto the image of a man then of any other creature? Then they answered saying: we frame not those images whereby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst vs, or his sonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, hee causeth the image of the dead party to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replyed: you doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. Noe (said they) but for their memory. Then they demanded of me, as it were in scoffing wise: Where is God? To whom I answered: where is your soule? They said, in our bodies. Then saide I, is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceiued? Euen so God is euery where and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuisible, being vnderstanding and wisedome it selfe. Then being desirous to haue had some more conference with them, by reason, that mine interpreter was weary, and not able to expresse my meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their sect: namely they beleeue that there is but one God: howbeit they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, couering them with fine most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custody of their soothsayers, who are their priests, concerning whom I will giue your Highnesse more at large to vnderstand hereafter. These soothsayers or diuiners do alwaies attend vpon the court of Mangu and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sorte, they haue them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remoue or to take any iourney, the said diuiners goe before them, euen as the cloudie piller went before the children of Israel. And they appoint ground where the tents must be pitched, and first of al they take down their owne houses: & after them the whole court doth the like. Also vpon their festiual daies or kalends they take forth the foresayd images, and place them in order round, or circle wise within the house. Then come the Moals or Tartars, and enter into the same house, bowing themselues before the said images and worship them. Moreouer, it is not lawfull for any stranger to enter into that house. For vpon a certaine time I my selfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Of diuers and sundry nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. Chap. 28.

BVt the foresayd Iugures (who liue among the Christians, and the Saracens) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, haue bene brought vnto this, to beleeue, that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine cities, which afterward were brought in subiection vnto Chingis Can: whereupon he gaue his daughter in mariage vnto their king. Also the citie of Caracorum it selfe is in a manner within their territory: and the whole countrey of king or Presbyter Iohn, & of his brother Vut lyeth neere vnto their dominions: sauing, that they inhabite in certaine pastures Northward, and the sayde Iugures betweene the mountaines towardes the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the Moals receiued letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall scribes: & al the Nestorians almost can skill of their letters. Next vnto them, betweene the foresaid mountaines Eastward, inhabiteth the nation of Tangut, who are a most valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the conclusion of a league hee was set at libertie by them, and afterward subdued them. These people of Tangut haue oxen of great strength, with tailes like vnto horses, and with long shagge haire vpon their backes and bellyes. They haue legges greater then other oxen haue, and they are exceedingly fierce. These oxen drawe the great houses of the Moals: and their hornes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed: insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them. A cowe will not suffer her selfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vnles they whistle or sing vnto her. They haue also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man clothed in red, they run vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of Tebet, men which were wont to eate the carkases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels.

The countrey of Presbyter Iohn.

Tangut.

Strange oxen.

The people of Tebet.

bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left of this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto al other nations. Notwithstanding vnto this day they make fine cups of the skuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their lollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that saw it. The sayd people of Tebet haue great plentie of golde in their land. Whosoeuer therefore wanteth golde, diggeth till he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serue his turne, he layeth vp the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his chest or storehouse, hee is of opinion that God would withholde from him all other gold within the earth. I sawe some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I saw lusty tall men, but browne and swart in colour. The Iugures are of a middle stature like vnto our French men. Amongst the Iugures is the originall and roote of the Turkish, and Comanian languages. Next vnto Tebet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose messengers I saw in the Tartars court. And they had brought more then ten great cartes with them, euery one of which was drawen with sixe oxen. They be little browne men like vnto Spaniards. Also they haue iackets, like vnto the vpper vestment of a deacon, sauing that the sleeues are somewhat streighter. And they haue miters vpon their heads like bishops. But the fore part of their miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or cornered at the toppe: but there hang downe certaine square flappes compacted of a kinde of strawe which is made rough and rugged with extreme heat, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the sunne beames, like vnto a glasse, or an helmet well burnished. And about their temples they haue long bands of the foresayd matter fastened vnto their miters, which houer in the wind, as if two long hornes grewe out of their heads. And when the winde tosseth them vp and downe too much, they tie them ouer the midst of their miter from one temple to another: and so they lie circle wise ouerthwart their heads. Moreouer their principal messenger comming vnto the Tartars court had a table of elephants tooth about him of a cubite in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoeuer hee spake vnto the Emperor himselfe, or vnto any other great personage, hee alwayes beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did he cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the lefte, nor vpon his face, with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his lord, he looketh no where but only vpon his table. Beyond thē (as I vnderstand of a certainty) there are other people called Muc, hauing villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell vnto himselfe. Notwithstanding there are many flockes and droues of cattell in their countrey, & no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them standeth in neede of any beast hee ascendeth vp vnto an hill, and there maketh a shout, and all the cattell which are within hearing of the noyse, come flocking about him, and suffer themselues to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any messenger or stranger commeth into their countrie, they shut him vp into an house, ministring there things necessary vnto him, vntill his businesse be dispatched. For if anie stranger should trauell through that countrie, the cattell would flee away at the very sent of him, and so would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great Cathaya, the inhabitants whereof (as I suppose) were of olde time, called Seres. For from them are brought most excellent stuffes of silke. And this people is called Seres of a certaine towne in the same countrey. I was credible informed, that in the said countrey, there is one towne hauing walles of siluer, and bulwarkes or towers of golde. There be many prouinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet subdued vnto the Tartars. And amongst *

Abundance of golde.

The stature of the people of Tangut, and of the Iugures.

Langa & Solanga.

The people of Solanga resemble Spaniards.

A table of elephants tooth.

The people called Muc.

Great Cathaya.

Somewhat is wanting.

Part of the great Charter granted by king Edward the first to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the sixt yeere of his reigne 1278. for their good seruices done vnto him by sea: wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry the second, king Richard the first, king Iohn, and Henry the third continued vnto them.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gascoigne, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Shirifs, Prouosts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true subiects greeting. You shall knowe that for the faithfull seruice that our Barons of the fiue Ports hitherto to our predecessors kings of England, & vnto vs lately in our armie of Wales haue done, and for their good seruice to vs and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we haue granted & by this our Charter confirmed for vs and our heires, to the same our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So that they shall be free from all toll, and from all custome; that is to say from all lastage, tallage, passage, cariage, riuage, asponsage, and from all wrecke, and from all their sale, carying and recarying through all our realme and dominion, with socke and souke, toll and theme. And that they shall haue Infangthefe, and that they shall be wreckefree, lastagefree, and louecopfree. And that they shall haue Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in the ordinance by vs thereof made perpetually to bee obserued. And also that they are free from all shires and hundreds: so that if any person will plead against them, they shall not aunswere nor pleade otherwise then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great grandfather: And that they shall haue their findelles in the sea and in the land: And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandises as our freemen. And that they haue their honours in our court, and their liberties throughout all the land wheresoeuer they shall come. And that they shall be free for euer of all their lands, which in the time of Lord Henrie the king our father they possessed: that is to say in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of summonces before our Iustices to any maner of pleadings, iourneying in what shire soeuer their lands are. So that they shall not be bound to come before the Iustices aforesaid, except any of the same Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they shall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to say, at Shepeway. And they that haue their liberties and freedomes from hencefoorth, as they and their predecessors haue had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, Edward, William the first, William the second, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king Richard, and king Iohn our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters: as the same Charters which the same our Barons thereof haue, and which we haue seene, doe reasonably testifie. And we forbid that no man vniust[ly] trouble them nor their marchandise vpon our forfeyture of ten pounds. So neuerthelesse, that when the same Barons shall fayle in doing of Iustice or in receiuing of Iustice, our Warden, and the wardens of our heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time shall be, their Ports and liberties may enter for to doe their full Iustice. So also that the sayd Barons and their heires, do vnto vs and to our heirs kings of England by the yeare their full seruice of 57. shippes at their costs by the space of fifteene dayes at our somounce, or at the somounce of our heires. We haue granted also vnto them of our speciall grace that they haue Outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesayd, in the same maner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, haue in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Assises, Iuries, or Recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do trauaile of our right prise, that is to say, of one tunne before the mast, and of another behind the maste. We haue granted furthermore vnto the said Barons for vs and our heires, that they for euer haue this liberty, that is to say, That we or our heires shall not haue the wardship or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes, which they holde within

The fishing at great Yarmouth.

Henry the third.

Edward the confessor.

57. Ships of the Cinque Portes bound to serue the king 15. dayes at their owne costs.

within the liberties and Portes aforesayde, for the which they doe their seruice aforesayd: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardships and marriages in time past. But we our aforesayd confirmation vpon the liberties and freedomes aforesayde, and our grants following to them of our especiall grace, of newe haue caused to be made, sauing alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And sauing vnto vs and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and surely command for vs and our heires that the aforesaid Barons and their heires for euer haue all the aforesaid liberties and freedomes, as the aforesaid Charters do reasonably testifie. And that of our especial grace they haue outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesaid after the manner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons haue in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Assizes, Iuries, or recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they trauaile of our right price or custome, that is to say of one tunne of wine before the maste, and of another tunne behinde the maste. And that likewise for euer they haue the libertie aforesayde: that is to say: That wee and our heires haue not the worships or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayd, for the which their seruice aforesaid, and for which wee and our predecessors the wardships and mariages haue not had in times past, But our aforesayd confirmation of their liberties and freedomes aforesaid and other grants following to them of our especiall grace of new we haue caused to bee made. Sauing alwayes and in all things our regall dignity. And sauing vnto vs and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforesayd. These being witnesses, the reuerend father Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior prouincial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our vncle, Roger of the dead sea, Roger of Clifford, Master Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Master Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of East Riding, Master Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steuen of Pennester, Frances of Bonaua, Iohn of Lenetotes, Iohn of Metingham and others. Giuen by our hand at Westminster the fourteenth day of Iune, in the sixth yeare of our reigne.

The roll of the huge fleete of Edward the third before Calice, extant in the kings wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those dayes may appeare.

Thomas Walsingham writeth y' he had once 1100. strong shippes.

The South fleete.

The Kings	Shippes	25.	Feuersham	Shippes	2.
	Mariners	419.		Mariners	25.
London	Shippes	25.	Sandwich	Ships	22.
	Mariners	662.		Mariners	504.
Aileford	Shippes	2.	Douer	Ships	16.
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	336.
Hoo	Shippes	2.	Wight	Ships	13.
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	220.
Maydstone	Shippes	2.	Winchelsey	Ships	21.
	Mariners	51.		Mariners	596.
Hope	Shippes	2.	Waymouth	Ships	15.
	Mariners	59.		Mariners	263.
New Hithe	Shippes	5.	Lyme	Ships	4.
	Mariners	49.		Mariners	62.
Margat	Shippes	15.	Seton	Ships	2.
	Mariners	160.		Mariners	25.
‖ Motue	Shippes	2.	Sydmouth	Ships	3.
	Mariners	22.		Mariners	62.

‖ Or, Morse.

Exmouth

	Exmouth	Ships	10.	Hamowl-	Ships	7.
		Mariners	193.	hooke	Mariners	117.
	Tegmouth	Ships	7.	Hoke	Ships	11.
		Mariners	120.		Mariners	208.
	Dartmouth	Ships	31.	Southhāp-	Ships	21.
		Mariners	757.	ton	Mariners	576.
	Portsmouth	Ships	5.	Leyming-	Ships	9.
		Mariners	96.	ton	Mariners	159.
	Plimouth	Ships	26.		Ships	4.
		Mariners	603.	Poole	Mariners	94.
	Loo	Ships	20.		Ships	3.
		Mariners	315.	Warham	Mariners	59.
	Yalme	Ships	2.		Ships	1.
		Mariners	47.	Swanzey	Mariners	29.
‖ Or, Foy.	‖ Fowey	Ships	47.		Ships	6.
		Mariners	770.	Ilfercombe	Mariners	79.
	Bristol	Ships	22.	‡ Patricke-	Ships	2.
		Mariners	608.	stowe	Mariners	27.
	Tenmouth	Ships	2.	Polerwan	Ships	1.
		Mariners	25.		Mariners	60.
	Hasting	Ships	5.	Wadworth	Ships	1.
		Mariners	96.		Mariners	14.
	Romney	Ships	4.	Kardife	Ships	1.
		Mariners	65.		Mariners	51.
	Rye	Ships	9.	Bridgwater	Ships	1.
		Mariners	156.		Mariners	15.
	Hithe	Ships	6.	Kaermar-	Ships	1.
		Mariners	122.	then	Mariners	16.
	Shoreham	Ships	20.	Cailleches-	Ships	1.
		Mariners	329.	worth	Mariners	12.
‡ Or, Sofford.	‡ Soford	Ships	5.	Mulbrooke	Ships	1.
		Mariners	80.		Mariners	12.
	Newmouth	Ships	2.	Summe of the South fleete.	Ships	493.
		Mariners	18.		Mariners	9630.

The North fleete.

	Bamburgh	Ships	1.	Barton	Ships	2.
		Mariners	9.		Mariners	34.
	Newcastle	Ships	17.	Swinefleete	Ships	1.
		Mariners	314.		Mariners	11.
	Walrich	Ships	1.	Saltfleet	Ships	2.
		Mariners	12.		Mariners	49.
	Hertilpoole	Ships	5.	Grimesby	Ships	11.
		Mariners	145.		Mariners	171.
	Hull	Ships	16.	Waynefleet	Ships	2.
		Mariners	466.		Mariners	49.
	Yorke	Ships	1.	Wrangle	Ships	1.
		Mariners	9.		Mariners	8.
	Rauenser	Ships	1.	‡ Lenne	Ships	16.
		Mariners	27.		Mariners	382.
‡ Or, Linne.	Woodhouse	Ships	1.	Blackney	Ships	2.
		Mariners	22.		Mariners	38.
Southhith.	Strokhithe	Ships	1.	Scarbo-	Ships	1.
		Mariners	10.	rough	Mariners	19.

Or,

Or, Yarmouth.	Yermouth	Ships	43.	Whitbanes	Ships	1.
		Mariners	1950. or 1075.		Mariners	17.
	Donwich	Ships	6.	Malden	Ships	2.
		Mariners	102.		Mariners	32.
	Orford	Ships	3.	Derwen	Ships	1.
		Mariners	62.		Mariners	15.
	Goford	Ships	13.	Boston	Ships	17.
		Mariners	303.		Mariners	361.
	Herwich	Ships	14.	Swinhum-	Ships	1.
		Mariners	283.	ber	Mariners	32.
	Ipswich	Ships	12.	Barton	Ships	5.
		Mariners	239.		Mariners	91.
	Mersey	Ships	1.	The Summe of the North fleete.	Ships	217.
		Mariners	6.		Mariners	4521.
Now Brickelsey.	Brightlingsey	Ships	5.			
		Mariners	61.			
	Colchester	Ships	5.			
		Mariners	90.			
	The summe totall of all the English fleete			Ships	700.	
				Mariners	14151.	

Estrangers their ships and mariners.

Bayon	Ships	15.	Flanders	Ships	14.
	Mariners	439.		Mariners	133.
Spayne	Ships	7.	Gelderland	Ships	1.
	Mariners	184.		Mariners	24.
Ireland	Ships	1.			
	Mariners	25.			
The summe of all the Estrangers			Ships	38.	
			Mariners	805.	

THe summe of expenses aswell of wages, & prests, as for the expenses of the kings houses, and for other gifts and rewards, shippes and other things necessary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Calice, during the siege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe, from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the said king, vnto the foure and twentieth day of Nouember in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hundreth xxvii. thousand li. ix. s. iiii. d.

A note out of Thomas Walsingham touching the huge Fleete of eleuen hundred well furnished ships wherewith King Edward the third passed ouer vnto Calais in the yeere 1395.

ANno gratiæ 1359. Iohannes Rex Franciæ sub vmbra pacis, & dolose obtulit Regi Angliæ Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliasque terras quas equitauerat & vastarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios suos direxit; quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Vnde motus Rex Angliæ, celeriter se & suos præparauit ad transfretandum, ducens secum principem Walliæ Edwardum suum primogenitum, ducem Henricum Lancastriæ, & ferè proceres omnes, quos comitabantur vel sequebatur pœne mille currus, habuitque apud Sanwicum instructas optime vndecies centum naues, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum fastum Franciam nauigauit, relicto domino Thoma de Woodstock filio suo iuniore admodum paruulo, Anglici regni custode, sub tutela tamen.

The same in English.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1359. Iohn the French king craftily, and vnder pretence of peace,

peace, offered vnto Edward the third king of England, Flanders, Picardie, Gascoigne, and other territories which he had spoyled and wasted: for the ratifying of which agreement, the foresaid king Edward sent his ambassadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainsaied them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being prouoked, speedily prepared himselfe and his forces to crosse the seas, carying with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaster and almost all his Nobles, with a thousand wagons and cartes attending vpon them. And the said king had at Sandwich eleuen hundred ships exceedingly well furnished: with which preparation he passed ouer the seas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie: leauing his yonger sonne Thomas of Woodstocke, being very tender of age, as his vicegerent in the Realme of England; albeit not without a protectour, &c.

The voyage of Nicholas de Lynna a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions situate vnder the North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

The words of Gerardus Mercator, in the foote of his generall Map, vpon the description of the North partes.

QVod ad descriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis, qui quædam ex rebus gestis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxoniensem Mathematicum in eas insulas venisse, ipsisque relictis ad vlteriora arte Magicâ profectū descripsisse omnia, & Astrolabio dimensum esse in hanc subiectam formam ferè, vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues semel ingressæ nullo vento retroagi possent, neque verò vnquam tantum ibi ventum esse, vt molæ frumentariæ circumagendæ sufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrensis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ, sic enim scribit. Non procul ab insulis Hebridibus, Islandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, est maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex condicto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in secreta naturæ penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in Abyssum vorantur. Si verò nauem hâc fortè transire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam statim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis absorbeat. Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppositis mundi partibus Philosophi describunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quàm & Æolicos flatus causaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

The same in English.

TOuching the description of the North partes, I haue taken the same out of the voyage of Iames Cnoyen of Hartzeuan Buske, which alleageth certaine conquests of Arthur king of Britaine: and the most part, and chiefest things among the rest, he learned of a certaine priest in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This priest was descended from them which king Arthur had sent to inhabite these Islands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine English Frier, a Franciscan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into those Islands, who leauing them, and passing further by his Magicall Arte, described all those places that he sawe, and tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) haue set downe in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforesaid Iames Cnoyen. Hee sayd that those foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with so great a force, that the ships which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in those parts so much winde blowing, as might be sufficient to driue a Cerne mill.

There is a notable whirlepoole on the coast of Norway, called

Giraldus Cambrensis (who florished in the yeere 1210, vnder king Iohn) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with these, videlicet:

Not farre from these Islands (namely the Hebrides, Island &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the sea, whereinto all the waues of the sea from farre haue their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe: which, there conueying themselues

selues into the secret receptacles of nature, are swallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomlesse pit, and if it chance that any shippe doe passe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with such a violence of the waues, that eftsoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole deuoureth the same. Malestraude, about the latitude of 68.

The Philosophers describe foure indraughts of this Ocean sea, in the foure opposite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the winde, haue their first originall.

A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master Iohn Dee, touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna.

ANno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in companie with others to the most Northren Islands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee trauailed alone, and purposely described all the Northerne Islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. vsque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that did fiue times passe from England thither, and home again. Inuentio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foresaid Francisan frier tooke his name) to Island, it is not aboue a fortnights sailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and vsuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fishermen of the towne of Blacknie in the said Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary seruice, in respect of their trade to Island. An. 3. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly king of England, by the name of Henry the fourth, An. Dom. 1390. into Prussia and Lettowe, against the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walsingham.

Dominus Henricus Comes de Derbie per idem tempus profectus est in le Pruys, vbi cum adjutorio marescalli dictæ patriæ, & cujusdam Regis vocati Wytot deuicit exercitum Regis de Lettowe, captis quatuor ducibus, & tribus peremptis, & amplius quam trecentis, de valentioribus exercitus supradicti pariter interemptis. Ciuitas quoque vocatur ‖ Will, in cujus castellum Rex de Lettowe nomine Skirgalle confugerat, potenti virtute dicti Comitis maximè atque suorum capta est. Namque qui fuerunt de familia sua primi murum ascenderant, & vexillum ejus super muros, cæteris vel torpentibus vel ignorantibus, posuerunt. Captaque sunt ibi vel occisa quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn inter cæteros ibi perempto, qui aduersarius nostri fuit. Obsessumque fuit castrum dictæ Ciuitatis per quinque hebdomadas: Sed propter infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magistri de Pruys & de Lifland noluerunt diutiùs expectare. Facti sunt Christiani de gente de Lettowe octo. Et magister de Lifland duxit secum in suam patriam tria millia captiuorum. An. Dom. 1390. ‖ Alias Vilna.

The same in English.

ABout the same time L. Henry the Earle of Derbie trauailed into Prussia, where, with the helpe of the Marshall of the same Prouince, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquished the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captiuitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the slaughter of three, besides more then three hundred of the principall common souldiers of the sayd armie which were slaine. The Citie also which is called Wil or Vilna, into the castle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his sauegard, was, by the valour of the sayd Earle especially and of his followers, surprised and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were slouthfull or at least ignorant of their intent, skaling the walles, aduanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common souldiers, and amongst others was slaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our professed enemie. And the castle of the foresaid Citie was besieged for the space of fiue weekes: but by reason of the infirmities and inconueniences wherewith the

the whole armie was annoyed, the great masters of Prussia and of Lifland would not stay any longer. There were conuerted of the nation of Lettowe eight persons vnto the Christian faith. And the master of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey three thousand captiues.

The voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester into Prussia, in the yeere 1391. written by Thomas Walsingham.

‖ Filius natu minimus Edwardi 3.

EOdem tempore dux Glouerniæ Dominus ‖ Thomas de Woodstock, multis mœrentibus, iter apparauit versùs le Pruys: quem non Londinensium gemitus, non communis vulgi mœror retinere poterant, quin proficisci vellet. Nam plebs communis tàm Vrbana quàm rustica metuebant quòd eo absente aliquod nouum detrimentum succresceret, quo præsente nihil tale timebant. Siquidèm in eo spes & solatium totius patriæ reposita videbantur. Ipse verò mòx, vt finis patriæ suæ transijt, illicò aduersa agitatus fortuna, nunc hàc nunc illàc turbinibus procellosis circumfertur: & in tantum destituitur, vt de vita etiam desperaret. Tandem post Daciam, post Norwagiam, post Scoticam barbariem non sine mortis pauore transcursam, peruenit Northumbriam, & ad castellum se contulit de Tinnemutha velùt assylum antiquitùs notum sibi: vbi per aliquot dies recreatus, iter assumpsit versus manerium suum de Plashy, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de ejus euasione, quàm de aduentu suo.

Recitus.

The same in English.

AT the same time the Duke of Glocester Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the yongest sonne of Edward the third) to the great griefe of many, tooke his iourney towards Prussia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could restraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey feared lest in his absence some newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was present. For in him the whole nation seemed to repose their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing skarce passed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune tossed vp and downe with dangerous stormes and tempests, and was brought into such distresse, that he despaired euen of his owne life. At length, hauing not without danger of death, sailed along the coastes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the castle of Tinmouth as vnto a place of refuge knowen of olde vnto him: where, after hee had refreshed himselfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his iourney toward his Mannour of Plashy, bringing great ioy vnto the whole kingdome, aswell in regard of his safetie as of his returne.

The verses of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who liuing in the yeere 1402. (as hee writeth himselfe in his Epistle of Cupide) shewed that the English Knights after the losse of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into Prussia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Christian faith against Infidels and miscreants, and to seeke honour by feats of armes.

The English Knights Prologue.

A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he first began
to riden out, he loued Cheualrie,
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curtesie.
full worthy was he in his lords warre:
and thereto had hee ridden no man farre,
As well in Christendome as in Heathennesse,
and euer had honour for his worthinesse.
At Alisandre hee was, when it was wonne:
full oft time hee had the bourd begon

Long trauaile.

Alexandria.

abouen

abouen all nations in Pruce,
In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce,
no Christen man so oft of his degree:
In Granade at the siege had he bee
At Algezer: and ridden in Belmarye:
At Leyes was hee, and also at Satalye,
when they were wonne: and in the great see
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.
At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,
And foughten for our faith at Tramissen,
in listes thries, and aye slayne his foe:
This ilke worthie Knight had bin also,
sometime with the lord of ‖ Palathye
ayenst another Heathen in Turkie.

Lettowe, Ruce.

Algezer in Granade. Leyas in Armenia. Froyuart. lib. 3. cap. 40. Satalie in the mayne of Asia neere Rhede. Tremisen is in Barbarie.

‖ Or, Pallee Froyuart lib. 3. cap. 40. Turkie.

Written in the lustie moneth of May
in our Palace, where many a million
of louers true haue habitation,
The yeere of grace ioyfull and iocond,
a thousand, foure hundred and second.

The time when Chaucer wrote, is thus mentioned in the end of his letter of Cupide.

The original, proceedings and successe of the Northren domestical and forren trades and traffiques of this Isle of Britain from the time of Nero the Emperour, who deceased in the yeere of our Lord. 70. vnder the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conquest: and from the conquest, vntill this present time, gathered out of the most authenticall histories and records of this nation.

A testimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales of Cornelius Tacitus, prouing London to haue bene a famous Mart Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Christ 70.

AT Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negociatorum & cõmeatu maxime celebre.

The same in English.

BVt Suetonius with wonderfull constancie passed through the middest of his enemies, vnto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a Romane Colonie, yet was it most famous for multitude of Marchants and concourse of people.

A testimonie out of Venerable Beda (which died in the yeere of our Lord 734.) prouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffike and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

Beds Ecclesiastice historie Gentis Anglorum lib. 2. cap. 3.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto Augustinus Britanniarum Archiepiscopus ordinauit duos Episcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Iustum: Mellitum quidem ad prædicandum prouinciæ Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamesi fluuio dirimuntur à Cantia, & ipsi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Ciuitas est, super ripam præfati fluminis posita, & ipsa multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium.

The same in English.

IN the yeere of the incarnation of Christ 604. Augustine Archbishop of Britaine consecrated two Bishops, to wit Mellitus and Iustus. He appoynted Mellitus to preach to the East Saxons, which are diuided from Kent by the riuer of Thames, and border vpon the Easterne sea, whose chiefe and Metropolitane Citie is London, seated vpon the banke of the aforesayd riuer, which is also a Marte Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by sea and by land.

The league betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia concerning safe trade of the English Marchants in all the Emperours Dominion. This Offa died in the yeere of our Lord 795.

Malmsbur. de gestis Regum Anglorum lib. 1. cap. 4.

OFfa interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum parauit: quamuis non facile quod suis artibus conduceret in Caroli animo inuenerit. Discordarunt antea, adeo vt magnis motibus vtrobique concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum commeatus prohiberentur. Est Epistola Albini huius-ce rei index, cuius partem hic apponam.

Nauigatio interdicta.

Nescio quid de nobis venturum sit. Aliquid enim dissentionis diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum & Regem Offam exortum est: ita vt vtrinque nauigatio interdicta negociantibus cesset. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpositis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli fœdus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum subijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri charissimo Offæ Regi Merciorum salutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de salute animarum, de Catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui, non religioni seruientes, sed lucra sectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta soluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in Regno nostro legitime. Et si aliquo loco iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclament ad nos vel nostros iudices, & plenam videbimus iustitiam fieri.

Negociatorum Anglicorum patrocinium.

The same in English.

IN the meane season Offa by often legacies solicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not easily finde king Charles any whit enclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. Their mindes were so alienated before, that, bearing hauty stomacks on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epistle of Albinus is a sufficient testimony of this matter: part whereof I will here put downe.

Traffique prohibited.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of vs. For there is of late, by the instigation of the deuill, some discord and variance sprung vp betweene king Charles and king Offa: insomuch that sailing to and fro is forbidden vnto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some say that we are to be sent, for the obtaining of a peace, into those partes. And againe, after a fewe lines. Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne words, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

Nauigation forbidden.

A league betweene Carol. Mag. and K. Offa.

Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, vnto the reuerend and his most deare brother Offa king of the Mercians sendeth greeting. First we doe render vnto almightie God most humble thankes for the saluation of soules, and the sinceritie of the Catholique faith, which we, to your great commendation, haue found signified in your letters. As touching those pilgrimes, who for the loue of God and their owne soules health, are desirous to resort vnto the Churches of the holy Apostles, let them goe in peace without all disturbance. But if any be found among st them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie customes at places conuenient. It is our pleasure also and commandement, that your marchants shall haue lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any iniust oppression, let them make their supplication vnto vs, or vnto our Iudges, and we will see iustice executed to the full.

Protection of the English Marchants.

An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes, containing among other things the aduancement of Marchants for their thrise crossing the wide seas, set downe by the learned Gentleman Master William Lambert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

IT was sometime in English lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then

then were the wisest of the people worship-worthy, euery one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and vnder-Thein. And if a churle thriued so, that hee had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchin, a Belhouse, and a gate, a seate, and a seuerall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein so thriued, that he serued the king, and on his message rid in his houshold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings iourney fiue hides had, and in the kings seate his Lord serued, and thrise with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his foreoth his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thriue so, that he became an Earle: then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a Marchant so thriued, that he passed thrise ouer the wide seas, of his owne craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a scholar so prospered thorow learning that he degree had, and serued Christ, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace so much worthie, as thereunto belonged: vnlesse he forfalted so, that he the vse of his degree vse ne might.

A testimonie of certaine priuiledges obtained for the English and Danish Marchants of Conradus the Emperour and Iohn the Bishop of Rome by Canutus the King of England in his iourney to Rome, extracted out of a letter of his written vnto the Cleargie of England.

William of Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 9. de gestis Regum Anglorum.

SIt vobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilum in ipsa solemnitate Pascali, Romæ cum Domino Papa Ioanne, & imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vsque ad istum proximum Mare: qui omnes me & honorifice susceperc, & magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis varijs & muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in vasis aureis & argenteis, quam in pallijs & vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis concederetur lex æquior, & pax securior in via Romã adeundi, & ne tot clausuris per viam arcerentur, & propter iniustum teloneũ fatigarentur. Annuitque postulatis Imperator, & Rodulphus Rex, qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, vt homines mei tam Mercatores, quàm alij orandi gratia viatores, absque omni anguria clausurarum & teloncariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant.

The same in English.

YOu are to vnderstand, that at the feast of Easter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope Iohn and Conradus the Emperour assembled at Rome, namely all the princes of the nations from mount Garganus vnto the West Ocean sea. Who all of them honourably interteined me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but especially the Emperour bestowed diuers costly presents and rewards vpon mee, both in vessels of golde and siluer, and also in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himselfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there present, concerning the necessities of all my subiects both Englishmen and Danes; that a more fauourable law & secure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted vnto them, and that they might not bee hindered by so many stops & impediments in their iourney, and wearied by reason of iniust exactions. And the Emperour condescended vnto my request, and king Rodulphus also, who hath greatest authoritie ouer the foresaid stops and streights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my subiects, as well Marchants, as others who trauailed for deuotions sake, should without all hinderance and restraint of the foresaid stops and customers, goe vnto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in safetie.

Garganus a mountaine of Apulia in Italie.

The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburiensis, which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.

HAud longe a Rofa quasi viginti quinque milliarijs est Londonia Ciuitas nobilis, opima ciuium diuitijs, constipata negociatorum ex omni terra, & maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs.

Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pont. Anglorum lib. 2.

commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in Anglia caritas victualium pro sterili prouentu messium sit, ibi necessaria distrahantur & emantur minore, quàm alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel ementium dispendio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis finibus Tamesis fluuius famosus, qui citra vrbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo fusus, vltra plus 70. nomen profert.

The same in English.

NOt farre from Rochester, about the distance of fiue and twenty miles, standeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, and being frequented with the traffique of Marchants resorting thither out of all nations, and especially out of Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in England, by reason of the scarcitie of corne, things necessary may there be prouided and bought with lesse gaine vnto the sellers, and with lesse hinderance and losse vnto the buyers, then in any other place of the Realme. Outlandish wares are conueighed into the same Citie by the famous riuer of Thames: which riuer springing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the selfe same name 70. miles beneath it.

Germanie.

The aforesaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Bristowe in his fourth booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, after this maner.

IN eadem valle est vicus celeberrimus Bristow nomine, in quo est nauium portus ab Hibernia & Norwegia & cæteris transmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne scilicet genitalibus diuitijs tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The same in English.

IN the same valley stands the famous Towne of Bristow, with an Hauen belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and foren countreys: namely that a region so fortunate and blessed with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon should not bee destitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands.

Norway.

The league betweene Henry the second and Fredericke Barbarossa Emperour of Germanie, wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157. recorded in the first Booke and seuenteenth Chapter of Radeuicus Canonicus Frisingensis, being an appendix to Otto Frisingensis.

IBidem tunc affuere etiam Henrici Regis Angliæ missi, varia & preciosa donaria multo lepore verborum adornata præstantes. Inter quæ papilionem vnum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perspeximus. Cuius si quantitatem requiris, non nisi machinis & instrumentorum genere & adminiculo leuari poterat: si qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipsum putem aliquando ab aliquo huiusce apparatu superatum iri. Literas quoque mellito sermone plenas pariter direxerat, quarum hic tenor fuit. Præcordiali amico suo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori inuictissimo, Henricus Rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauensis, salutem, & veræ dilectionis concordiam. Excellentiæ vestræ quantas possumus referimus grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nuncijs vestris visitare, salutare literis, muneribus præuenire, & quod his charius amplectimur, pacis & amoris inuicem dignatus estis fœdera inchoare. Exultauimus, & quodammodo animum nobis crescere, & in maius sensimus euehi dum vestra promissio, in qua nobis spem dedistis, in disponendis Regni nostri negocijs, alacriores nos reddidit, & promptiores. Exultauimus inquam, & tota mente magnificentiæ vestræ assurreximus, id vobis in sincero cordis affectu respondentes, quod quicquid ad honorem vestrum spectare nouerimus, pro posse nostro effectui mancipare parati sumus. Regnum nostrum, & quicquid vbique nostræ subijcitur ditioni vobis exponimus & vestræ committimus potestati, vt ad vestrum nutum omnia dispo-
Commercia inter Germanos & Anglos. nantur, & in omnibus vestri fiat voluntas imperij. Sit igitur inter nos & populos nostros dilectionis & pacis vnitas indiuisa, commercia tuta: Ita tamen vt vobis, qui dignitate præminetis,

minetis, imperandi cedat authoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obsequendi. Et sicut vestræ Serenitatis memoriam vestrorum excitat in nobis munerum largitio, sic vos nostri quoque reminisci præoptamus, mittentes quæ pulchriora penes nos erant, & vobis magis placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quo dantur accipite. De manu beati Iacobi, super qua nobis scripsistis, in ore magistri Hereberti & Guilielmi Clerici nostri verbu posuimus. Teste Thoma Cancellario apud Northanton.

The same in English.

THere were present also the same time, the messengers of Henry king of England presenting diuers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of speech. Amongst the which we saw a pauilion, most large in quantity, & most excellent in quality. For if you desire to know the quantitie therof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of instruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was neuer any furniture of the same kinde, that surpassed the same either in stuffe or workemanship. The said king directed his letters also, full of sugred speeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloued friend Frederick by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes most inuincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wisheth health and concord of sincere amitie. We doe render vnto your highnes (most renowmed and peereleese Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue so graciously vouchsafed by your messengers to visite vs, in your letters to salute vs, with your gifts to preuent vs, and (which wee doe more highly esteeme of then all the rest) to beginne a league of peace and friendship betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner sensibly felt our selues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encrease, whilest your promise, whereby you put vs in good comfort, did make vs more cheerefull and resolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I say) & in our secret cogitations did humble obeisance vnto your Maiestie, giuing you at this time to vnderstand frō the sincere & vnfained affection of our heart, that whatsoeuer we shal know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power most ready to put in practise. Our kingdome, and whatsoeuer is vnder our iurisdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the same vnto your highnesse, that all matters may be disposed according to your direction, and that your pleasure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our selues and our subiects, an indiuisible vnitie of friendship and peace, and safe trade of Marchandize: yet so, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee ascribed, and diligence in obeying shall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in remembrance of your Maiestie, euen so in like maner sending vnto your Highnesse the most rare things in our custodie, and which we thought should be most acceptable vnto you, wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee vnmindefull of vs. Haue respect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

Concerning the hand of S. Iames, about which you wrote vnto vs, we haue sent you word by M. Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

A generall safe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by king Iohn in the ‖ first yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the Tower, Anno 1. Regis Ioannis. ‖ 1199.

IOannes Dei gratia &c. Maiori & Communitati Londinensi salutem. Sciatis voluntatem esse nostram, quod omnes Mercatores de quacunq; fuerint terra saluum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus suis in Angliam. Volumus etiam quod eandem habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis vnde fuerunt egressi. Et ideo vobis præcipimus, quod hoc faciatis denunciari in Balliua vestra, & firmiter teneri; permittentes eos ire & redire sine impedimento per debitas & rectas & solitas consuetudines in Balliua vestra Teste Galfredo filio Petri comite Essexiæ apud Kinefard 5. die Aprilis. Solitæ mercatorum consuetudines.

In

In eadem forma scribitur vicecomiti Sudsex, Maiori & communitati Ciuitatis Winton, Balliuo de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti Norffolciæ & Suffolciæ, Vicecomiti dorset & Sommerset, Baronibus de quinque portubus, Vicecomiti de Southampton sire, Vicecomiti de Herteford & Essex, Vicecomiti Cornubiæ & Deuon.

The same in English.

IOhn by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communaltie of London, greeting. You are to vnderstand, that it is our pleasure, that all Marchants of what nation soeuer, shall haue safe conduct to passe and repasse with their Marchandize into England. It is our will also, that they be vouchsafed the same fauour in England, which is granted vnto the English Marchants in those places from whence they come. And therefore we giue you in charge, that you cause this to be published, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmely to be obserued, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient customes vsed in your said Bailiwicke. Witnesse Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Essex at Kinefard the 5. day of April.

The ancient customes of Marchants.

The same forme of writing was sent to the sherife of Sudsex, to the Maior and communaltie of the Citie of Winchester, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the sherife of Dorset and Sommerset, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the sherife of Southampton-shire, the sherife of Hertford and Essex, the sherife of Cornewal and Deuon.

Literæ regis Henrici tertij ad Haquinum Regem Norwegiæ de pacis fœdere & intercursu mercandisandi ‖ Anno 1. Henrici 3.

‖ 1216.

HEnricus Dei gratia &c. Haquino eadem gratia Regi Norwegiæ salutem. Immensas nobilitati vestræ referimus gratiarum actiones de his quæ per literas vestras & prudentem virum Abbatem de Lisa, nobis significastis, volentes & desiderantes fœdus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiscum inire, & nobiscum confœderari. Bene autem placet & placebit nobis quod terræ nostræ cõmunes sint, & Mercatores & homines qui sunt de potestate vestra libere & sine impedimento terram nostram adire possint, & homines & Mercatores nostri similiter terrã vestram. Dum tamen literas vestras patentes super hoc nobis destinetis, & nos vobis nostras transmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra vestra quàm nostra eant, veniant, & recedant per terras nostras. Et si quid vestræ sedcrit voluntati, quod facere valeamus, id securè nobis significetis. Detinuimus autem adhuc Abbatem prædictum, vt de naui vestra & rebus in ea contenti› pro posse nostro restitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de statu nostro & Regni nostri vos certificare curabimus, & quàm citius &c. Teste me ipso apud Lamhithe decimo die Octobris.

Eodem modo scribitur S. Duci Norwegiæ ibidem & eodem die.

The letters of King Henry the third vnto Haquinus King of Norway concerning a treatie of peace and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c.

HEnry by the grace of God, &c. vnto Haquinus by the same grace King of Norway, sendeth greeting. Wee render vnto your highnesse vnspeakeable thanks for those things which by your letters, and by your discreete subiect the Abbat of Lisa, you haue signified vnto vs, and also for that you are right willing and desirous to begin and to conclude betweene vs both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter shalbe well contented, that both our lands be common, to the ende that the Marchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment resort vnto our land, and our people and Marchants may likewise haue recourse vnto your territories. Pronided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you send vnto vs your letters patents, and wee will send ours also vnto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might stand you in any stead, you may boldly signifie the

the same vnto vs. Wee haue as yet deteined the foresaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cause restitution to be made for your ship, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne estate, and of the estate of our kingdome so soone, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Lamhith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the same forme and to the same effect was there and then sent vnto S. Duke of Norway.

Mandatum pro Coga Regis Norwegiæ Anno 13. Henrici 3.

MAndatum est omnibus Balliuis portuum in quos ventura est Coga de Norwegia, in qua venerint in Angliam milites Regis Norwegiæ & Mercatores Saxoniæ, quod cum prædictam Cogam in portus suos venire contigerit, saluò permittant ipsam Cogam in portubus suis morari, quamdiu necesse habuerit, & libere sine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint. Teste Rege.

The same in English.

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.

WEe will and commaund all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his souldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) shall touch, that, when the foresaid Cog shall chance to arrine at any of their Hauens, they doe permit the said Cog safely to remaine in their said Hauens so long as neede shall require, and without impediment also freely to depart thence, whensoeuer the gouernours of the sayd ship shall thinke it expedient. Witnesse the King.

Carta pro Mercatoribus de Colonia anno 20. Henrici 3. Confirmata per Regem Edwardum primum 8. Iulij Anno Regni 18. prout extat in rotulo cartarum de Anno 18. Regis Edwardi primi.

REx Archiepiscopis &c. salutem. Sciatis nos quietos clamasse pro nobis & hæredibus nostris dilectos nostros, Ciues de Colonia, & mercandisam suam de illis duobus solidis, † quos solebant dare de Gildhalla sua London, & de omnibus alijs consuetudinibus & demandis, quæ pertinent ad nos in London, & per totam terram nostram; & quod liberè possunt ire ad feras, per totam terram nostram & emere & vendere in villa London & alibi, salua libertate Ciuitatis nostræ London. Quare volumus & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quod prædicti ciues de Colonia prænominatas libertates & liberas consuetudines habeant per totam terram nostram Angliæ sicut prædictum est. His testibus, venerabili patre Waltero Caerleolensi Episcopo, Willielmo de Ferarijs, Gilberto Basset, Waltero de Bello campo, Hugone Dispenser, Waltero Marescallo, Galfrido Dispenser, Bartholomæo Pech, Bartholomæo de Saukeuill, & alijs. Data per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Cicistrensis Episcopi, Cancellarij nostri apud Dauintre Octauo die Nouembris, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo.

† Antiqua consuetudo Gildhallæ Colonien-sium Londini.

The same in English.

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants of Colen in the twentieth yeere of Henry the third, confirmed by King Edward the first, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King Edward the first.

THe King vnto Archbishops &c. greeting. Be it knowen vnto you, that wee haue quite claimed, and for vs and our heires released our welbeloued the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of those two shillings which they were wont to pay out of their Gildhall at London, and from all other customes and demaunds, which perteine vnto vs, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions: and that they may safely resort vnto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and sell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmely command for vs and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enioy the liberties and free priuiledges aboue-mentioned, throughout our whole

The ancient custome of the Colonen Gildhall in London.

pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis mercatorijs possunt mercari duntaxat in grosso tam cum indigenis seu incolis eiusdem regni & potestatis nostræ prædictæ, quàm cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel priuatis. Ita tamen quod merces, quæ vulgariter mercerìæ vocantur, ac species, minutatim vendi possint, prout antea fieri consueuit. Et quod omnes prædicti mercatores mercandisas suas, quas ipsos ad prædictum regnum & potestatem nostram adducere, seu infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram emere, vel aliàs acquirere contigerit, possint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & potestatem nostram prædictam, quàm extra ducere vel portare facere, præterquam ad terras manifestorum & notoriorum hostium regni nostri, soluendo consuetudines quas debebunt: vinis duntaxat exceptis, quæ de eodem regno seu potestate nostra, postquam infra idem regnum seu potestatem nostram ducta fuerint, sine voluntate & licentia speciali non liceat eis educere quoquo modo.

Exceptio contra notorios regni hostes.

2. Item quod prædicti mercatores in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis prædictis pro voluntate sua hospitari valeant, & morari cum bonis suis ad gratiam ipsorum, quorum sunt hospitia siue domus.

3. Item quod quilibet contractus per ipsos mercatores cum quibuscunque personis vndecunque fuerint super quocunque genere mercandisæ initus, firmus sit & stabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu possit recedere, vel resilire, postquam denarius Dei inter principales personas cõtrahentes datus fuerit & receptus. Et si forsan super cõtractu eiusmodi contentio oriatur, fiat inde probatio aut inquisitio secundũ vsus & consuetudines feriarũ & villarũ, vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit & iniri.

4. Item promittimus præfatis mercatoribus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam prisam vel arrestationem, seu dilationem occasione prisæ de cætero de mercimonijs, mercandisis seu alijs bonis suis per nos vel alium seu alios pro aliqua necessitate vel casu contra voluntatem ipsorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, nisi statim soluto precio pro quo ipsi mercatores alijs eiusmodi mercimonia vendere possint, vel eis aliter satisfacto, ita quod reputent se contentos: Et quod super mercimonia, mercandisas, seu bona ipsorum per nos vel ministros nostros nulla appreciatio aut estimatio imponetur.

5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui & ministri feriarum, ciuitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iustitiam faciant de die in diem sine dilatione secundum legem mercatoriam, de vniuersis & singulis quæ per eandem legem poterunt terminari. Et si forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuorum vel ministrorum prædictorum, vnde ijdem mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis incommoda sustinuerint vel sustineant, licet mercator versus partem in principali recuperauerit damna sua, nihilominus balliuus vel minister alius versus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem istam concedimus in fauorem mercatorum prædictorum pro eorum iustitia maturanda.

Lex mercatoria.

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, saluo casu criminis pro quo infligenda est pœna mortis, vbi mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitauerit, cuiuscunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nundinis, ciuitatibus, siue Burgis, vbi fuerit sufficiens copia mercatorum prædictarum terrarum, & inquisitio fieri debeat, sit medietas inquisitionis de eijsdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi placitum illud esse contigerit. Et si de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inueniatur sufficiens, ponentur in inquisitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & residij sint de alijs bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & statuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria & feria regni nostri prædicti & alibi infra potestatem nostram pondus nostrum in certo loco ponatur, & ante ponderationem statera in præsentia emptoris & venditoris vacua videatur, & quod brachia sint æqualia; & ex tunc ponderatur ponderet in æquali. Et cum stateram posuerit in æquali statim amoueat manus suas, ita quod remaneat in æquali: quodque per totum regnum & potestatem nostram sit vnum pondus & vna mensura: & signo standardi nostri signentur: Et

quod

quod quilibet possit habere stateram vnius quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & antecessores nostros concessam illud non fuerit, siue contra villarum & feriarum consuetudinem hactenus obseruatam.

Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & discretus Londini residens assignetur iustitiarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant specialiter placitare, & debita sua recuperare celeriter, si Vicecomites & Maiores eis non fecerint de die in diem celeris iustitiæ complementum: Et inde fiat Commissio extra Cartam præsentem concessa mercatoribus antedictis: scilicet de his quæ sunt inter mercatores & mercatores secundum legem mercatoriam deducenda. 8. Lex mercatoria quæ?

Item ordinamus & statuimus, & ordinationem illam statutumque pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum volumus firmiter obseruari, quod pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel hæredes nostri de cætero concedemus, præfati mercatores supradictas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro prædictis autem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus obtinendis, & prisis nostris remittendis ijdem supradicti mercatores vniuersi & singuli pro se & omnibus alijs de partibus suis nobis concorditer & vnanimiter concesserunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adducent vel adduci facient infra regnum & potestatem nostram, & vnde marinarijs fretum soluere tenebuntur, soluent nobis & hæredibus nostris nomine Custumæ dues solidos vltra antiquas custumas debitas & in denarijs solui consuetas nobis, aut alias infra quadraginta dies, postquam extra naues ad terram posita fuerint dicta vina. Item de quolibet sacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij nomine ipsorum ement & è regno educêt, aut emi & educi facient, soluent quadraginta denarios de incremẽto vltra custumam antiquam dimidiæ marcæ, quæ prius fuerat persoluta. Et pro la ta coriorum extra regnum & potestatem nostram vehendorum dimidiam marcam supra id quod ex antiqua custuma ante soluebatur. Et similiter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum & potestatem nostram ducendis quadraginta denarios vltra certum illud, quod de antiqua custuma fuerat prius datum. Item duos solidos de quolibet scarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermista. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno alio sine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet æris quintalla. 9. Antiquæ Custumæ.

Cumque de præfatis mercatoribus nonnulli eorum alias exercere soleant mercandi-as, vt de Auerio ponderis, & de alijs rebus subtilibus, sient de pannis Tarsensibus, de serico, & cindallis, de seta & alijs diuersis mercibus, & de equis etiam & alijs animalibus, blado & alijs rebus & mercandisis multimodis, quæ ad certam custumam facile poni non poterunt, i dem mercatores concesserunt dare nobis & hæredibus nostris de qualibet libra argenti estimationis seu valoris rerum & mercandisarum huiusmodi, quocunque nomine censeantur, tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandisarum ipsarum in regnum & potestatem nostram prædictam infra viginti dies postquam huiusmodi res & mercandisæ in regnum & potestatem nostram adductæ & etiam ibidem exoneratæ seu venditæ fuerint. Et similiter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in educ'one quarumcunque rerum & mercandisarum huiusmodi emptarum in regno & potestate nostris prædictis vltra custumas nobis aut alijs ante datas. Et super valore & estimatione rerum & mercandisarum huiusmodi de quibus tres denarij de qualibet libra argenti sicut prædicitur sunt soluendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut socijs suis ostendere poterunt: Et si literas non habeant stetur in hac parte prædictorum mercatorum, si præsentes fuerint, vel valetorum suorum in eorundem mercatorum absentia, iuramentis. 10.

Liceat insuper socijs de societate prædictorum mercatorum infra regnum & potestatem nostram prædictas, lanas vendere alijs suis socijs, & similiter emere ab ijsdem absque custuma soluenda. Ita tamen quod dictæ lanæ ad tales manus non deueniant, quod de custuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et præterea est sciendum, quod postquam supradicti mercatores semel in vno loco infra regnum & potestatem nostram custumam nobis concessam superius pro mercandisis suis in forma soluerint supradicta, & suum habeant inde warantum, siue huiusmodi mercandisæ infra regnum & potestatem nostram remaneant, siue exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, quæ de regno & potestate nostris prædictis sine voluntate & licentia nostra sicut prædictũ est, nullatenus educantur:) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac hæredibus nostris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, prisa, vel præstatio, aut aliquod onus super personas mercatorũ prædictorum, 11.

predictorum, mercandisas seu bona eorundem aliquatenus imponatur contra formam expressam superius & concessam. His testibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primate, Waltero Couentriæ & Lichfildiæ episcopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolniense, Humfredo de Bohum comite Herfordiense & Essexiæ & Constabulo magno Angliæ, Aomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Lespensor, Waltero de Bello campo, Senescallo hospitij nostri, Roberto de Burijs, & alijs. Datum per manum nostrũ apud Winchesore, primo die Februarij, anno regni nostri xxxj.

The aforesaid generall Charter in English.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, gouernours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people sendeth greeting. Wee haue speciall care for the good estate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countries following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Nauarre, Lombardie, Florence, Prouence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholosa, Caturlune, Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine countreis and places by what name soeuer they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the sayd marchants may liue in quiet and full securitie vnder our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts desires may bee more readily inclined to our seruice and the seruice of our kingdome, wee fauourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller asring of their estate, haue thought good to graunt to the sayd marchants for vs and our heires for euer these priuiledges vnder written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

1. First, that all marchants of the sayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where else into our dominion with their marchandises whatsoeuer safely and securely vnder our defence and protection without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the sayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great as well with the naturall subiects and inhabitantes of our aforesayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, straungers, or priuate persons. Yet so, that marchandises which are commonly called mercerie wares, and spices, may be sold by the small, as heretofore hath bin accustomed. And that all the aforesaid marchants may cary or cause to be caried whither they will, aswell within our realme or dominion, as out of the same; sauing vnto the countreis of the manifest and knowne enemies of our kingdome, those marchandises which they shall bring into our foresayd realme and dominion, or buy, or otherwise purchase in our sayd realme and dominion, paying such customes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it shall not be any wayes lawfull for them to cary out of our sayd realme and dominion without our speciall fauour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

An exception for trafficking with ye knowen enemies of the kingdome.

2. Item that the aforesayd marchants may at their pleasure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforesaid, with the good liking of those which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that euery bargaine made by the said marchants with any maner of persons, of what places soeuer they be, for any kind of marchãdise whatsoeuer, shalbe firme & stable, so that none of both the marchants shall shrinke or giue backe from that bargaine, after that the earnest penie be once giuen and taken betweene the principall bargayners. And if peraduenture any strife arise about the same bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof shall be made according to the vses and customes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the said bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promise the aforesaid marchants granting for euer for vs and our heires, that from hence foorth we will not in any wise make nor cause to be made any stay or arrest, or any delay by reason of arrest of their wares, marchandises or other goods, by our selues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident against the will of the sayd marchants, without present payment of such a price as the marchants would haue sold those marchandises for to other men, or without making of them other satisfaction, so that they shall hold themselues

selues well contented: and that no price or valuation shalbe set vpon their wares, marchandises, & goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes shall doe speedie iustice from day to day without delay according to the lawe of Marchants, to the aforesayd marchants when they shall complaine before them, touching all and singuler causes, which may be determined by the same law. And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforesayd, whereby the sayd marchants or any of them haue sustained, or do sustaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recouer his losses against the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer shall be punished to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this punishment in fauour of the aforesayd marchants in regard of the hastening of their iustice. 5. Where is this law now become?

Item, that in al maner of pleas, sauing in case where punishmēt of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is impleaded, or sueth another, of what condition soeuer hee bee which is sued, whether stranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where sufficient numbers of marchants of the foresayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Iurie be of the sayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place where the suite shall fall out to bee: and if sufficient number of marchants of the sayd countries cannot bee found, those which shall be found fit in that place shall be put vpon the Iurie, and the rest shall be chosen of good and fit men of the places where such suit shall chance to be. 6.

Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in euery market towne and fayre of our realme aforesayd and elsewhere within our dominion our weight shall bee set in some certaine place; and that before the weighing the balance shall bee seene emptie in the presence of the buyer and of the seller, and that the skales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath set the balances euen, let him straightway remooue his hands, so that the balance way remayne euen: And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weight and one measure, and that they be marked with the marke of our standard. And that euery man may haue a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and vnder, where the same hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by vs and our predecessors, or contrary to the custome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene obserued. 7.

Item we will and we grant that some certaine faythfull and discreete man resident in London be appointed to doe Iustice to the aforesayd marchants, before whome they may haue their sutes decided, and may speedilie recouer their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior should not from day to day giue them speedy iustice. And hereof let a Commission be made: which we grant vnto the aforesaid marchants besides this present Charter: to wit of such things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants. 8.

Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and statute shall firmely bee obserued for euer for vs and our heires, that the aforesayd marchants shal not loose the aforesayd liberties nor any of them, for any libertie whatsoeuer, which wee or our heires hereafter shall grant. And for the obtayning of the aforesayd liberties and free customes, and for remission of our arresting of their goods, the aforesayd marchants all and euery of them for themselues and all other of their parties with one accorde and one consent haue granted vnto vs, that of euery tunne of wine, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they shall bee bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, besides the olde customes which are due and were woont to bee payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a custome two shillings in money, either out of hande, or else within fortie dayes after the sayd wines shall bee brought on land out of the shippes. Item for euery sacke of wooll, which the sayd marchants or others in their name shall buy and carie out of the realme, or cause to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence aboue the old custome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a last of hides to bee caryed out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde custome. And likewise for three hundreth Felles with the 9.

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woolle on them to bee transported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, aboue that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde custome: Also two shillings vpon euery scarlate and euery cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelue pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine. Item twelue pence vpon euerie quintall of copper.

And whereas sundrie of the aforesayd marchants are woont to exercise other marchandises, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as sarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and silke, and diuers other marchandises, and to sell horses and other beastes, corne, and sundrie other things and marchandises, which cannot easily bee reduced vnto a certaine custome: the sayd marchants haue granted to giue vnto vs, and to our heires of euery pound of siluer of the estemation and value of these kinde of goods and marchandises, by what name soeuer they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of these goods into our realme and dominion aforesaid, within twentie dayes after these goods and marchandises shall be brought into our realme and dominion, and shall be there vnladen and solde. And likewise three pence vpon euery pound of siluer in the carying out of any such goods and marchandises which are bought in our realme and dominion aforesayd aboue the customes beforetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and estimation of these goods and marchandises, whereof three pence of euery pound of siluer, as is aforesayd, is to be payd, credite shalbe giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to shewe from their masters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this behalfe, we will stand to the othe of the foresayd marchants if they bee present, or in their absence to the othes of their seruants.

Moreouer, it shall be lawfull for such as be of the company of the aforesayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforesayd, to sell woolles to other of their company, and likewise to buy of them without paying of custome. Yet so, that the said wools come not to such hands, that wee be defrauded of the custome due vnto vs. And furthermore it is to be vnderstood, that after that the aforesaid marchants haue once payed in one place within our realme and dominion, the custome aboue granted vnto vs in forme aforesayd for their marchandises, & haue their warrant therof, whether these marchandises remayne within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in no wise shalbe caried forth of our realme and dominion aforesayd, without our fauour & licence as is aforesayd) we will and we grant for vs and our heires, that no execution, attachment, or loane, or any other burthen be layd vpon the persons of the aforesayd marchants, vpon their marchandises or goods in any case, contrary to the forme before mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witnesses of these presents are these, Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter bishop of Conëtrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Essex, high Constable of England, Adomare of Valentia, Geofrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenser, Walter Beauchampe Seneschall of our house, Robert of Bures, and others. Giuen by our owne hand at Windesore the first day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

De mercatoribus Angliæ in Norwegia arestatis, & eorum mercimonijs dearrestandis literæ Edwardi secundi anno sexto regni sui, Haquino regi Norwegiæ.

MAgnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo Edwardus eade Dei gratia rex Angliæ, Dom. Hiberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ salutē cū dilectione sincera. Miramur nō modicū & in intimis conturbamur de grauaminibus & oppressionibus quæ subditis nostris infra regnum vestrum causa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus solito absque causa rationabili, sicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper siquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynflecte, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum socij mercatores nostri nobis conquerendo monstrarunt, quod cum ipsi quosdam homines & seruientes suos cum tribus nauibus suis ad partes regni vestri, ad negotiandum ibidem transmitsissent: & naues illæ in portu villæ vestræ de Tonnesbergh hac lece & alijs bonis diuersis vsque ad magnam summam oneratæ fuissent: Et licet nautis nauiū

Villa de Tonnesbergh.

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prædictarum hominibusque & seruientibus prædictis à regno vestro liberè cum nauibus & bonis prædictis ad partes Angliæ redeundi vestras fieri feceritis de conductu, postmodum tamen antequā naues illæ propter venti contrarietatē portum prædictum exire potuerunt, quidam balliui vestri naues prædictas cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc existentibus in eisdem, occasione mortis cuiusdam militis nuper balliui vestri in Vikia per malefactores & piratas, dum naues prædictæ in portu suprædicto sicut præmittitur remanserunt supra mare vt dicitur interfecti, de mandato vestro vt dicebant arrestarunt, & diu sub aresto huiusmodi detinebant, quousque videlicet homines & marinarij prædicti de quadraginta libri- sterlingorū certo die statuto ad opus vestrum pro qualibet naui prædictarum soluendis inuiti & coacti securitatem inuenissent: Et similiter de eisdem nauibus cum hominibus prædictis infra portum prædictum citra festū natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistæ proximo futuro ad standum tunc ibidem de personis & nauibus suis vestræ gratiæ seu voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obsides vlterius liberassent: quod ipsis valde graue censetur, & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem & æquitatem, omnemq; iustitiam fore dinoscitur, atque legem, quòd delinquentium culpæ seu demerita in personis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conscij vel participes, seu de huiusmodi delinquentium societate non fuerunt, aliqualiter vlciscantur, vestram amicitiam affectuose requirimus & rogamus, quatenus præmissa diligenti meditatione zelo iustitiæ ponderantes, obsides prædictos iubere velitis ab hostagiamento huiusmodi liberari, dictamq; securitatem relaxari penitus & resolui. Scientes pro certo, quod si malefactores prædicti, qui dictum militem vestrum, vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum seu potestatem nostram poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iustitiam & iudicium secundum legem & consuetudinem eiusdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim possumus his diebus æquanimiter tolerare, quod naues prædictæ seu aliæ de regno nostro, quæ semper promptæ ad nostrum seruitium esse debent, extra idem regnum ad partes remotas se diuertant sine nostra licentia speciali. Quid autem ad hanc nostram instantiam faciendum decreueritis in præmissis, nobis si placeat rescribatis per præsentium portatorem. Datæ apud Windesore decimo sexto die Aprilis.

The same in English.

The letters of Edward the second vnto Haquinus king of Norway, concerning the English marchants arrested in Norway, and their goods to be freed from arrest.

TO the mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his most deare friend, Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We maruell not a little, and are much disquieted in our cogitations, considering the greeuances and oppressions, which (as wee haue beene informed by pitifull complaints) are at this present, more then in times past, without any reasonable cause inflicted vpon our subiects, which doe vsually resort vnto your kingdome for traffiques sake. For of late one William the sonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the sonne of Alan of the same towne, and Guido the sonne of Mathew, and their associates our marchants, in complayning wise declared vnto vs: that hauing sent certaine of their factors and seruants, with three shippes into your dominions, there to exercise traffique, and the sayd ships being laden in the hauen of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities, to a great value: and also the said mariners, men, and seruants of the foresayd shippes, being licenced by vertue of the safe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome vnto the parts of England with their ships and goods aforesayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your hauen by reason of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes vpon occasion of the slaughter of a knight being himselfe also of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactors and Pirates vpon the sea, whilest the sayd shippes remained in the hauen aforesayd, did at your commandement (as they say) arrest, and for a long season also deteined vnder that arrest, the foresaid ships, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely vntill such time, as the men and mariners aforesaide (beeing driuen perforce, and constrained thereunto) should lay in sufficient securitie for

The towne of Tonesbergh.

for the payment of fortie pounds sterling, vpon a certain day appointed, vnto your vse, for euery of the foresaide ships: and also vntill they had moreouer deliuered three pledges, for the bringing of the saide ships and men backe againe into the foresaid hauen, before the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn the Baptist next ensuing, then and there to stand vnto your fauour and curtesie, as touching the said persons, and those ships of theirs: which dealing, the parties themselues take very grieuously, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a strange and vnwonted course. And because it is most vndoubtedly contrary to all reason, equitie, iustice, and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders should in any sort be punished in such persons, or in their goods, as neither haue bene accessory nor partakers in the crime, nor haue had any society with the saide offenders: we doe heartily intreat and request your Highnes, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of iustice, you would of your loue and friendship, command the foresaid pledges to be set at libertie, and the said securitie vtterly to bee released and acquited. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foresaide malefactors, who (as it is reported) slewe your Knight aforesaide, shall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we will cause iustice and iudgement to bee executed vpon them, according to the Lawe and custome of our sayde Realme. For we cannot in these times conueniently and well indure, that the ships aforesaide, or any other ships of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readinesse for our seruice) should without speciall licence, depart out of our saide kingdome, vnto forreine dominions. Nowe, what you shall think good at this our request to performe in the premisses, may it please you by the bearer of these presents to returne an answere vnto vs. Geuen at Windsore the 16. of April.

Another Letter of Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

MAgnifico Principi Dom. Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, salutem cum dilectione sincera. Querelam dilectorum Mercatorum nostrorum Thomæ de Swyn de Waynfleete, & Simonis filij Alani de eadem recepimus, continentem, Quod cùm ipsi nuper quosdam seruientes suos infrà regnum vestrum pro suis ibidem exercendis mercimonijs transmisissent, Thesaurarius vester bona & mercimonia prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis ad valenciam quadraginta librarum, quæ seruientes prædicti in villa de Northberne in sua custodia habuerunt, die Sancti Michaelis vltimò præterita fecit absque causa rationabili arestari, & ea adhuc taliter arestata detinet iniustè, in ipsorum Thomæ & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifestam. Et quia eisdem mercatoribus nostris subuenire volumus, quatenus suadente iustitia poterimus in hac parte, vestram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis, vel ipsorum atturnatorum super restitutione bonorum & mercimoniorum prædictorum impendere velitis eisdem celeris iustitiæ complementum: Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis iustitiæ super arestatione prædicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus nostris prædictis de allo remedio prouidere. Nobis autem quid ad hanc nostram instantiam duxeritis faciendum, rescribere velitis per præsentium portitorem. Datæ vt suprà.

Northberne villa.

The same in English.

TO the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbeloued Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the sonne of Alanus of the same towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the saide parties sent certaine of their seruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treasurer vpon the feast of S. Michael last past, without any iust or reasonable occasion, caused the goods and merchandise of the foresaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their said seruants had vnder their custodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arrested, and as yet also iniuriously detaineth the

the same vnder the same arrest, to the great damage and impouerishing of the sayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our desire is to succour these our marchants so far foorth as we can, Iustice requiring no lesse in this behalfe, we doe right earnestly request you, that hauing heardethe complaint and supplication of the foresayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Attorneyes, you woulde of your loue and friendship, vouchsafe them speedie administration of Iustice, about the restitution of their goods and marchandise aforesaide: least that for want of the exhibiting of Iustice about the foresaid arrest, we be constrained to prouide some other remedie for our marchants aforesaid. Our request is, that you would by the bearer of these presents, returne an answere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our instant motion. Giuen as aboue.

A third letter of King Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

MAgnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, salutem cum dilectione sinceram. Pro mercatoribus nostris Lennæ, & partium vicinarum, quos Ballliuus & Officiarij vestri ciuitatis vestræ Bergen dudum ceperunt, & stricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi vt iam intelleximus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris perierunt, vt ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem præcipere curaretis, vestræ serenitati Regiæ nostras nuper transmisimus literas speciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere nostris mercatoribus sicut prius, nobis per literas vestras quas audiuimus & intelleximus diligenter, inter cætera rescripsistis, quod quidam mercatores de regno vestro de iniurijs, violentijs & arrestationibus, quibus in regno nostro his diebus, sunt, vt asserunt, contra iustitiam aggrauati, multipliciter conqueruntur, adiiciendo in vestris literis memoratis, quod quidam iniquitatis filij in villa Lennæ, ad piscandum vt dicebant halecia venientes, quendam militem Ballilum vestrum, in Vikia vnà cum decem alijs subditis vestris, in vestris & regni vestri negotijs existentibus crudeliter occiderunt. Super quibus mens nostra grauatur quàmplurimum & turbatur, præsertim quum nunquam nostræ fuerit voluntatis, quod iniuriæ, violentiæ, seu arrestationes aliquæ mercatoribus, vel alijs de regno vestro per aliquos de regno & potestate nostris fierent indebitè vel iniustè: nec adhuc intelligere possumus, quod mercatoribus vestris per aliquem vel aliquos de subditis nostris hùc vsque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod si nobis per inquisitiones legitimas constare poterit huiusmodi grauamina subditis vestris infra regnum nostrum illata fuisse, nos sufficientes emendas, & satisfactiones debitas super illis, celeri-que iustitiæ complementum fieri faciemus. Et insuper si malefactores prædicti, qui præfatum militem, & alios secum existentes, vt præmittitur, occiderunt, de regno, seu potestate nostra sint, vel infrà idem regnum vel potestatem poterunt inuenirí, de ipsis iudicium & iustitiam fieri præcipiemus, secundùm Leges & consuetudines regni nostri. Et quia inter nos & vos, nostrosque & vestros subditos hinc inde foueri desideramus mutuam concordiam & amorem: ita quod mercatores nostri & vestri mercandisas suas in nostris & vestris regnis & dominijs liberè, & absque impedimento valeant exercere, prout temporibus progenitorum nostrorum fieri consuetit, & ex dictarum literarum vestrarum serie collegimus euidenter vos promptos esse similiter, & paratos ad omnia & singula, quæ pro vobis & vestris subditis super discordijs, contentionibus, aut grauaminibus inter nostros & vestros subditos qualitercunque suscitatis pro bono pacis & iustitiæ fuerint æquanimiter facienda: Nos consimilia pro nobis & nostris, quantum ad nos & ad ipsos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoscitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi vtriusque regnorum nostrorum, quatenus ius & ratio dictitauerint, promittimus nos facturos: Vestram amicitiam requirentes obnixius & rogantes, quatenus mercatores nostros prædictos, qui adhuc superstites relinquuntur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta felonia committi dicebatur, intercluses tenebat custodia carceralis, iubere velitis nostri contemplatione, zeloque iustitiæ ab huiusmodi custodia liberari, bona ab ipsis capta eis prout iustum fuerit restitui faciendo. Et vt deliberatio mercatorum nostrorum prædictorum, & bonorum suorum eò facilius concedatur, placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alij mercatores nostri de Lenne, quibusdam mercatoribus de regno vestro occasione

Antiquitas commercij inter Anglium & Norwegiam.

ciusdem grauaminis ipsis mercatoribus vestris, ad sectam Tidemanni Lippe infrà regnum nostrum, vt dicebatur, illati, centum libras sterlingorum persoluerunt, sicut in quodam scripto indentato inter Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quosdam alios mercatores vestros ex parte vna, & præfatum Galfridum, & quosdam alios de regno nostro similiter ex altera confecto, vidimus contineri. Si qui verò de subditis vestris de aliquibus subditis nostris, de aliqua iniuria ipsis facta querelas in curia nostra deponere voluerint, & prosequi cum effectu, ipsorum subditorum vestrorum petitiones admitti, & eis super querelis huiusmodi plenam & celerem iustitia fieri faciemus. Ita quod ijdem subditi vestri exinde reputare debebunt merito se contentos. Et interim de excessibus & grauaminibus subditis vestris infrà regnum nostrum qualitercunque illatis inquiri faciemus cum diligentia veritatem. Vestræ igitur voluntatis beneplacitum in præmissis nobis rescribere velitis per præsentium portitorem. Datæ apud Westminster tertio die Aprilis.

The same in English.

TO the mightie Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We sent of late vnto your royall maiestie our special letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coast adioyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to close prison, many of whome, as we vnderstand, are, for want of due nourishment, and by reason of the extremitie & loathsomnesse of the prison, quite perished) that you would cause them and their goods to bee released. Howbeit, you retaining as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we haue diligently heard, and throughly vnderstood, haue, amongst other matters, returned this answere vnto vs: that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make sundrie complaints of iniuries, violences and arrests, whereby they haue lately (as themselues anouch) contrary to justice bene aggrieued and oppressed in our dominions: adding moreouer in your sayde letters, that certaine sonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they saide, to fish for herrings, cruelly murthered a certaine Knight, who was in times past your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your subiects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In consideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and aboue measure grieued and troubled, especially sithence it was neuer any part of our intent, that any iniuries, violences, or arrests should vniustly be inflicted vpon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet haue any intelligence, that any such hard measure hath bene offered vnto any of your marchants, by any one or moe of our subiects: giuing you for a certaintie to vnderstand, that if vpon lawfull inquisition we shalbe aduertised of any such grieuances, which haue bene offered vnto your subiects within our realme, we will cause speedie iustice to be administred, and sufficient recompence, and due satisfaction to be made in regarde thereof. And moreouer, if the saide malefactors, which, as it is aforesaid, slewe the forenamed Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining vnto our kingdome and dominion, or may at any time be found within our saide kingdome or dominion, we will command iustice and iudgement to be executed vpon them, according to the lawes and customes of our realme. And forasmuch as our desire is, that mutuall concord and amitie should be maintained and cherished between your and our subiects on both parts: so that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accustomed: Whereas also we euidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like sort readie and willing to put all things in practise, which are by you and your subiects (for the taking away of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoeuer occasioned, and spring vp betweene your and our subiects) louingly to be performed: we also doe promise for our selues, and our subiects, so much as in vs and them lieth, for his sake who is knowen to be the author of peace, and for the benefite & tranquilitie of both our Realmes (as iustice and reason shall moue vs) to doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your loue

The antiquity of traffique betweene England and Norway.

loue and friendship, hauing regard of vs, and consideration of iustice, you would commaund that our foresaide marchants, who as yet remaine aliue, and who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut vp in close prison, be deliuered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which haue beene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iustice, restored to them again. And that the deliuerie of our foresaide marchants and goods, may be the more easily yeelded vnto, may it please you with diligent obseruation to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenue, vpon occasion of the greuiances offered vnto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnto the same your marchants an hundreth pound sterling: euen as in a certain Indenture made betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and some other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foresaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee sawe conteined. Moreouer, if any of your subiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to prosecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our subiects, or of any iniury done vnto them, we will cause the petitions of those your subiects to be admitted, and also full and speedie iustice to be administred, vpon any such like complaints of theirs. Insomuch, that those your subiects shal thinke themselues right well and sufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane space we will cause diligent inquisition of the trueth to be made, of all excesses and grieuances howsoeuer offered vnto your subiects within our dominions. May it please you therfore, by the bearer of these presents, to returne an answere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe in the premisses. Giuen at Westminster, the third day of April.

De Stapula tenenda in certo loco ordinatio, Anno 13. Edwardi secundi.

REx collectoribus custumæ lanarum & pellium lanutarum in portu London salutem. Cùm nos vicesimo die Maij anno regni nostri sexto attendentes damna & grauamina, quæ mercatoribus de regno nostro diuersimodè euenerunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & potestatem nostram ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diuersa loca infrà terras Brabantiæ, Flandriæ, & de Artoys eorum libito voluntatis transtulerint: & volentes etiam huiusmodi damnis & grauaminibus quatenus bono modo possemus prouidere, de consilio nostro ordinauerimus, quod mercatores indigenæ & alienigenæ lanas & pelles huiusmodi infrà regnum & potestatem prædictam ementes, & ad terras prædictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas & pelles ad certam stapulam infrà aliquam earundem terrarum, per Maiorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno nostro ordinandam assignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint mutandum, & non ad alia loca in terris illis ducant, seu duci faciant vllo modo: & inter cætera concesserimus mercatoribus de regno nostro supradicto pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd ipsi Maior & consilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibuscunque mercatoribus indigenis seu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas pecuniæ summas pro delictis illis imponant, & quod illæ huiusmodi summæ de bonis & mercimoniis mercatorum sic delinquentium, vbicunque ea infrà regnum & potestatem prædictam inueniri contigerit, per ministros nostros ad opus nostrum leuentur: prout in Charta nostra inde confecta plenius continetur: quam quidem Chartam per singulos comitatus regni nostri super costeras maris fecimus publicari, & firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigenæ seu alienigenæ contra tenorem Chartæ prædictæ sub pœnis contentis in eadem venerint vllo modo: Ac postmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quamplures mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ, lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & potestatem prædictas ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quàm ad Stapulam iuxta concessionem nostram prædictam per Maiorem & communitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno nostro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam & assignatam transtulerint in nostri contemptum, & contra Chartam ordinationis, publicationis & inhibitionis prædictarum assignauerimus quosdam fidèles nostros in diuersis partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis & pellibus lanutis ad dictas terras alibi quàm ad Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emendæ inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus nostrum

Maior & Communitas stapulæ.

Charta anno regni sexto confecta.

trum leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quasi omnes mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ huiusmodi mercimonia in dicto regno nostro exercentes sunt culpabiles de præmissis: & quod plures inde indictati, ac alij timentes inde indictari, lanas suas ac pelles lanutas sub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, & extra regnum nostrum transmitti quibusdam alienigenis, sic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forsitan non reuersuris, vt sic forisfacturas prædictas effugiant, & nos de emenda ad nos sic pertinente illudant: quæ si permitterentur sic transire in nostri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiusmodi fraudibus obuiare, & nostris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus præcauere, vobis præcipimus firmiter iniungentes, quod à singulis mercatoribus lanas seu pelles lanutas per portum prædictum ad partes exteras ducere volentibus corporale sacramentum ad sancta Dei Euangelia recipiatis, quod ipsi lanas seu pelles lanutas sub nomine ipsius, cuius propriæ sunt, & non alterius aduocabunt. & tunc recepta ab illo cuius lanæ & pelles huiusmodi erunt, vel nomine suo sufficiente securitate pro qua respondere volueritis, de respondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per ipsum ductis seu missis ad aliquam dictarum terrarum Flandriæ & Brabantiæ, & de Artovs contra formam Chartæ, proclamationis, & inhibitionis supradictarum, si ipsum super hoc contingat, lanas & pelles illas lanutas extra portum prædictum, recepta prius custuma debita de eisdem, ad partes exteras transire permittatis. Teste Rege apud Douceram decimo octauo die Iunij, per ipsum Regem & Consilium.

Et postmodum per breue de priuato sigillo eodem modo mandatum est collectoribus custumæ prædictæ in portubus subscriptis: Videlicet,

In portu villæ Southhampton.
In portu villæ Weymouth.
In portu villæ Sancti Botolphi.
In portu villæ de Kingtone super Hull.
In portu villæ de nouo Castro.
In portu villæ de magna Iernemutha.
In portu villæ de Lenne.
In portu villæ de Gypwico.

The same in English.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

THe King vnto his Collectors of custome, for wooll and woollen fels, in his port of London, greeting. Whereas we vpon the 20. of May, in the sixt yeere of our reigne, considering the damages and grieuances that haue diuersly happened vnto the marchants of our realme, vpon occasion that the marchants both of our owne, & of other countreis, buying vp wooll and woollen fels within our kingdome and dominions, haue, for the better sale thereof, at their pleasure conueyed themselues, and trasported the said wooll & fels into sundry places within the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys; and being desirous also, to our power, to prouide a remedie against such damages and inconueniences, haue ordained by our counsel, that all marchants, both homeborne and aliens, buying vp such wools and fels, within our kingdome and dominion aforesaid, and being desirous to transport them into the foresaid prouinces, there to bee solde, may carrie the saide wools and fels, or cause them to be caried to some certaine staple, within any of the saide Prouinces, by the Maior and Communaltie of the said marchants of our realme, to be appointed and assigned, and when they shall thinke it expedient, to be changed and remoued, and not vnto any other place within the saide Prouinces whatsoeuer: and whereas also, amongst other things, we haue granted vnto the marchants of our foresaid realme, for vs and our heires, that the Maior and Councel of the saide marchants for the time being, may impose vpon all marchants, home-borne or aliens whatsoeuer, that shall transgresse the foresaid ordination, and shall thereof lawfully be conuicted, certaine summes of money to be paid for their offences, and that such summes must by our ministers and officers, to our vse, be leuied out of the goods and wares of the marchants so offending, wheresoeuer

wheresoeuer they shall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions aforesaid, as in our Charter made for the same purpose, it is more plainly expressed, (which Charter we haue caused to be published vpon the Sea-coasts, throughout all the countreys of our realme, and a strong prohibition to be proclaimed, that no marchants, neither home-borne, nor stran- gers, may in any wise transgresse the tenour of the foresaide Charter, vnder the penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing giuen vs to vnderstand, that diuers marchants both home-borne, and aliens, bought vp such woollen and woollen felles within our saide Realme and dominions, and conueyed themselues with the saide wools and felles for the sale thereof, vnto other places within the foresaide Prouinces, besides the saide Staple, which was, according to our graunt aforesaide, appointed and ordained by the Maior and communaltie of the said marchants of our Realme, in some one of those Prouinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter of the ordination, publication, and inhibition aforesaide, wee assigned certaine of our faithfull subiects, in diuers parts of our Realme, to make inquisition for such wools and woollen felles, as were conueyed vnto any other place of the saide Prouinces, then vnto the Staple, so that by these meanes, the penalties due vnto vs might bee leuied vnto our vse; and hauing intelligence also, that in a maner all marchants both home-borne, and strangers bartering such wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the premisses, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to bee indicted, doe cause their wools and woollen felles to bee auouched vnder the names of persons not culpable, and to be sent ouer vnto certaine strangers being also culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more into our realme, that they may so escape the foresaid forfeitures, and defraud vs of the penaltie, appertaining of right vnto vs, (which abuses, if they were suffered so to goe vnpunished woulde redound vnto our extreame hinderance:) and beeing likewise desirous to withstand such deceitefull dealing, and so farre forth as wee can, to preuent our owne losses, we firmely command, and streightly charge you, that you doe receiue of euery particular marchant, desirous to conney any wools, or woollen fels out of the foresaid port, into any forrein dominions, a corporal oath vpon Gods holy Euangelists: that they shall auouch all those wools and woollen fels vnder his name vnto whom they doe properly belong, & vnder the name of none other: and then taking sufficient security from the owner of those wools and fels, or in his name, in regard whereof you wil vndertake to warrantize, and make good vnto vs those penalties and forfaitures which shal vnto vs appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fels conueied or sent by any of the foresaid merchants vnto any of the said prouinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Artoys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and inhibition aboue mentioned (if they shal chance to be conuinced hereof) that first, our due custome being receiued, you doe permit the said wools and woollen fels to passe out of the foresaid port into forrein countries. Witnes the king at Douer the 18. day of Iune. By the king himselfe and his Councell.

A Charter made in the 21st yeere of his reigne.

And afterwarde by a Writte vnder the Kings priuie Seale there was a like commandement giuen vnto the Collectors of the custome aforesayde in the portes vnderwritten.

That is to say:

In the port of the Towne of
- Weymouth.
- Southhampton.
- Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boston.
- Kingtone vpon Hull.
- Newcastle.
- Iernemouth magna, or Yermouth.
- Lenne.
- Gypwick or Ipswich.

A Cata-

A Catalogue of the great Masters of the Order of the Dutch knights, commonly called the Hospitalaries of Ierusalem: and what great exploites euery of the saide Masters hath atchieued, either in conquering the land of Prussia, or in taming and subduing the Infidels, or els in keeping them vnder their obedience and subiection, taken out of Munster.

THe order of the Dutch knights had their first original at Ierusalem in the yere of our Lorde 1190. within the Hospitall of the blessed Virgine: and the first Master of the saide order was called Henrie of Walpot, vnder whome many good things, and much wealth and riches were throughout all Germanie and Italie procured vnto the order: and the saide Hospitall was remoued from Ierusalem vnto Ptolemais, otherwise called Acon, and the foresaid Order grew and mightily increased, whereof I will hereafter discourse more at large in my Treatise of Syria. Henrie of Walpot deceased in the yeere of Christ 1200. The 2. Master was Otto of Kerpen, and he continued Master of the Order for the space of sixe yeeres. The 3. was Hermannus Bart a godly and deuout person, who deceased in the yeere 1210. being interred at Acon, as his predecessors were. The 4. was Hermannus de Saltza, who thirtie yeeres together gouerned the saide Order, and managed the first expedition of warre against the infidels of Prussia, and ordained another Master also in Prussia to bee his Deputie in the same region. In the yeere 1239. the knights of the sword, who trauelled into Liuonia to conuert the inhabitants thereof vnto Christ, seeing they were not of sufficient force to performe that enterprise, and that their enemies increased on all sides, they vnited themselues vnto the famous Order of the Dutch knights in Prussia, that their worthie attempt might bee defended and promoted by the aide and assistance of the saide Dutch knights. At the very same time the ensigne of the crosse was exalted throughout all Germanie against the Prussians, and a great armie of souldiers was gathered together, the Burgraue of Meidenburg being generall of the armie, who combining themselues vnto the Dutch knights, ioyned battell with the Infidels, and slew about fiue hundred Gentiles, who beforetime had made horrible inuasions and inroades into the dominions of Christians, wasting all with fire and sword, but especially the land of Colm, and Lubonia, which were the Prouinces of Conradus Duke of Massouia. Nowe, the foresaide knights hauing made so huge a slaughter, built the castle of Reden, be seene Pomerania and the land of Colm, and so by degrees they gotte footing in the lande, and daylie erected more castles, as namely, Crutzburg, Wissenburg, Resil, Bartenstein, Brunsburg, and Heilsburg, and furnished them all with garrisons. The fift Master of the Order was Conradus Landgrauius, the brother of Lodouick, which was husband vnto Ladie Elizabeth. This Conradus, by his fathers inheritance, gat great riches and possessions vnto the Order, and caused Ladie Elizabeth to be interred at Marpurg, within the religious house of his saide Order. Vnder the gouernment of this Master, Acon in the lande of Palestina was subdued vnto the Saracens. Moreouer, in the yeere 1264. there was another great armie of Souldiers prepared against Prussia, by the Princes of Germanie. For Octacer, alias Odoacer king of Bohemia, Otto Marques of Brandeburg, the Duke of Austria, the Marques of Morauia, the Bishops of Colen and of Olmutz came marching on with great strength of their Nobles and common souldiers, and inuading the lande of Prussia in the Winter season, they constrained the inhabitants thereof to receiue the Christian faith, and to become obedient vnto the knights. After which exploite, by the aduise and assistance of king Odoacer, there was a castle built vpon a certaine hill of Samogitia, which immediately after grewe to be a great citie, being at this day the seate of the Prince of Prussia: and it was called by Odoacer Kunigsburg, that is to say, Kings Mount, or Mount royall, being finished in the yeere 1255. Out of this fort the knights did bridle and restraine the furie of the Infidels on all sides, and compelled them to obedience. The sixt Master was called Boppo ab Osterna, vnder whom the citie of Kunigsberg was built. At the very same instant the knights beeing occupied about the warre of Curland, the Prussians conspiring together, and abandoning the Christian faith, in furious maner armed themselues against the Christians, defaced and burnt down Churches, slew Priests, and to the vtmost of their abilitie, banished all faithfull people.

Knidori fratres.

The first warmound against the Prussian Infidels, anno dom. 1239.

The Prussians abandon Christianitie.

people. The report of which misdemeanour being published throughout all Germanie, an huge armie was leuied and sent for the defence and succour of the knights, which marching into the land of Natan, made many slaughters, & through the inconstancie of fortune sometimes woonne, and sometimes lost the victorie. Also the Infidels besieged these three castles, namely, Barstenstein, Crutzberg and Kunigsberg, and brought extreame famine vpon the Christians contained within the saide fortes. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262. the Earle of Iuliers, with other Princes and great chiualrie came downe, and giuing charge vpon the Prussians, put three thousand of them to the edge of the swerde. Afterward the Prussians banding themselues together, were determined to spoile the castle of Kunigsberg, but their confederacie being disclosed, they had the repulse. And when the knightes had prepailed against them, they laide in pledges, and yet for all that were not afraid to breake their fidelitie. For vpon a certaine time, after they had giuen diuers pledges, they slewe two noble knights of the Order, and so by that meanes incensed the principall of the saide order, insomuch that they caused two paire of gallons to be set vp besides the castle, & thirtie of the Prussians pledges to be hanged therupon. Which seueritie so vexed and prouoked the Prussians, that in reuenge of the said iniury, they renewed bloody and cruel warres, slew many Christians, yea, and put 40. knights with the master of the Order, and the Marshal, vnto the edge of the sword. There was at the same instant in Pomerania a Duke called Suandepolcus, professing the Christian faith, but being ioyned in league with the Prussians, he indeuoured for many yeeres, not onely to expell the knights, but all Christians whatsoeuer out of the lande of Prussia, in which warre the foresaide knights of the Order suffered many abuses. For they lost almost all their castles, and a great number of themselues also were slaine. This Suandepolcus put in practise many lewde attempts against religion. For albeit he was baptized, he did more mischiefe then the very Infidels themselues, vntill such time as the knights being assisted by the Princes of Germanie, brought the saide Duke and the Prussians also into such straights, that (maugre their heads) they were constrained to sue for peace. Afterward Swandepolcus lying at the point of death, admonished his sonnes that they should not doe any iniurie vnto the knights of the order, affirming that himselfe neuer prospered so long as he vrged warre against them. Howbeit his sonnes for a certaine time obserued not their fathers counsel, vntill at length one of them named Warteslaus, was created one of the Order, and the other called Samborus bestowed by legacie his goods and possessions vpon the saide Order, receiuing maintenance and exhibition from the saide Order, during the terme of his life. It fortuned also vnder the gouernment of the foresayde Master Boppo, that one Syr Martine a Golin beeing accompanied with another knight, went into the countrey to see howe the Prussians were imployed. And meeting with three Prussians, they slew two, and the thirde they reserued to guide them the directest way. But this guide betrayed them into their enemies handes. Which when they perceiued, they slewe the Traytour. Then fiue Prussian horsemen came riding and tooke them, deliuering them bounde to the custodie of two. And the other three pursued the horses of the two, which broke loose in the time of the fraye. And they tarying somewhat long, the other two woulde haue beheaded the two Knightes in the meane season. And as one of them was striking with his drawen sworde, at the necke of Sir Martine, hee saide vnto them: Sirs, you doe vnwisely in that you take not off my garment before it bee defiled with blood. They therefore loosing the cordes wherewith hee was bounde, to take off his garment, set his armes more at libertie. Which Syr Martine well perceiuing reached his keeper such a boxe, that his sworde fell to the grounde. Which bee with all speede taking vp, slewe both the keepers and vnbounde his fellowe Knight. Moreouer, seeing the other three Prussians comming furiously vpon them, with stoute courragious hearts they made towarde the saide Prussians, and slew them, and so escaped the danger of death. The seuenth great Master was Hanno de Sangershusen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand two hundreth seuentie fiue. The eight was Hartmannus ab Heldringen who deceased in the yeere 1282. The ninth was Burckardus a Schuenden beeing afterwarde made knight of the order of Saint Johns. The tenth was Conradus a Feuchtuang: vnder this man the Citie of Acon in Palestina was sacked by the Soldan, and

A memorable stratagem.

manie

manie people were slayne. The Templars which were therein returned home out of Fraunce, where they had great reuenewes. The Knightes of Saint Iohn, who also had an Hospitall at Acon, changed their place, and went into the Isle of Cyprus, and from thence departing vnto Rhodes, they subdued that Islande vnto themselues. Nowe the Dutch Knights abounded with wealth and possessions throughout all Germanie, beeing Lordes of a good part of Prussia, Liuonia, and Curland, whose chiefe house was then at Marpurg, til such time as it was remooued vnto Marieburg, a Towne of Prussia. The eleuenth great Master was Godfrey Earle of Hohenloe. Vnder this man the knights sustained a great ouerthrowe in Liuonia: 1000. but hauing strengthned their armie, they slewe neere vnto Rye foure thousande of their enemies. The twelfth Master was Sifridus a Feuchtuuang. Vnder this man, the principall house of the Order was translated from Marpurg to Marieburg, which in the beginning was established at Acon, and from thence was remooued vnto Venice, and from Venice vnto Martpurg. This Sifridus deceased in the yeere 1341. The thirteenth Master was called Charles Beffart of Triers. This man built a fort vpon the riuer of Mimmel, and it was named Christmimmel. The foureteenth was Warnerus ab Orsele, whome a certaine knight of the Order slewe with his sworde. The 15. was Ludolphus Duke of Brunswick, who built the Towne of Ylgenburg, and deceased 1352. The sixteenth was Theodoricus Earle of Aldenborg, and hee built the Towne of Bartenstein. The seuenteenth was Ludolphus surnamed King. The eighteenth was Henrie a Tusimer. The nineteenth Winricus a Knoppenrodt. In this mans time the knights took the king of the Lithuanians named Kinstut captiue, and kept him prisoner in Marieburg halfe a yeere, but by the helpe of a seruaunt, hauing broken out of the Castle, hee escaped away by night. But fearing that hee was layde waite for in all places, hee left his horse, and went on foote through vnknowen pathes. In the day time hee hidde himselfe in secrete places, and in the night hee continued his iourney vntill hee came vnto Massouia. But all the Knightes ioye was turned into sorrowe, after they had lost so great an enemie. The twentieth grand Master was Conradus Zolner of Rotenstein. The one and This man sent an embassage to Richard the Second. twentieth Conradus Walenrod. The two and twentieth Conradus a Iungingen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand foure hundreth and seuen. The three and twentieth Vlricus a Iungingen. This man dyed in battell in the yeere one thousand foure hundreth and tenne: which battell was fought against Vladislaus Father of Casimire. Both partes had leuied mightie and huge forces: vnto the Polonians the Lithuanians and the Tartars had ioyned themselues, ouer whome one Vitoldus was captaine: the Dutch Knights had taken vp Souldiers out of all Germanie. And when eache armie had encamped themselues one within twentie furlongs of another, (hoping for victorie and impatient of delay) the great Master of the Prussians sent an Herault to denounce warre vnto the King, and immediately (alarme beeing giuen) it is reported that there were in both armies fourtie thousand horsemen in a readinesse. Vladislaus commaunded the Lithuanians and the Tartars to giue the first onsette, and placed the Polonians in the rereward of the battell: on the contrarie side, the Prussians regarded least of all to reserue any strong troupes behinde, which might rescue such as were wearie, and renewe the fight, if neede shoulde require, but set forwarde the flower and chiualrie of all his Souldiers in the verie forefront of the battell. The charge beeing giuen certaine vnarmed Tartars & Lithuanians were slaine handsmooth: howbeit the multitude pressed on, neither durst the fearefull Polonians turne their backes, and so a cruell battell was fought vpon the heapes of dead carkases. The combate continued a long time, terrible slaughters were committed, and the Lithuanians and Tartars were slaine like sheepe. But when newe and fresh enemies continually issued foorth, the Dutch knights being wearied, began to fight more faintly. Which Vladislaus no sooner perceiued, but in all haste hee sends forwarde his mightie and well armed bande of Polonians, who suddenly breaking in renewed the skirmish. The Dutch were not able to withstand the furie of the fresh troupes (great oddes there is betweene the wearied Souldier and him that comes in a fresh) insomuch that the knights with their people were constrained to flee. The master of the Order seeing his souldiers giue way vnto the enemie, gathered a companie together, and withstoode him in the face, howbeit himselfe was slaine for his labour, the flight of his people proued greater and more dishonourable, neither

neither did the Dutch cease to flee, so long as the Polonian continued the chase. There fell on the Knights partie manie thousands of men, and the Polonians gotte not the victorie without great spoile and damage. This battell was foughten in regard of the bounds of regions in the yeere 1410. All Prussia following the happie successe of the Polonian king (except Marieburg onely) yeelded themselues vnto him being Conquerour. Howbeit the Emperour Sigismund taking vp the quarell, peace was ordained betweene the knights and Polonia, and a league concluded, certaine summes of money also were paide vnto the Polonian. Prussia was restored vnto the knights, neither was the saide order disturbed in the possession of their lands vntill the time of Friderick. The 24. Master was Henrie Earle of Plaen. This man being deposed by the Chapter, was 3. yeres holden prisoner at Dantzik. The 25. Master was Michael Kuchenmeister, that is, maister of the Cookes of Sternberg. The 26. was Paulus a Russdorff. The 27. Conradus ab Ellerichshausen. This man, after diuers and sundry conflicts betweene the Dutch knights, and the king of Polonia, concluded a perpetuall league with the saide king. Howbeit the citizens of Dantzig secretely going about to obteyne their freedome, that the foresaide Order might haue no dominion ouer them, made sute vnto the Polonian king to be their Protector. This Conradus died in the yeere 1450. The 28. was Lewis ab Ellerichshausen. Vnder this man there arose a dangerous sedition in Prussia betweene the chiefe cities and the knights of the Order. The citizens demanded libertie, complaining that they were oppressed with diuers molestations. Whereupon they primily made sute vnto Casimir then king of Polonia. The Master of the Order seeing what would come to passe began to expostulate with the king, that he kept not the peace which had bene concluded betweene them to last for euer. Also Frederick the Emperour commaunded the Prussians to returne vnto the obedience of the knights, who by the dint of their swordes had released that prouince out of the hands of Infidels, and had bought it with the shedding of much blood. Notwithstanding the popular sort persisting stil in their stubborne determination, proceeded at length to open warre. The cities adhearing vnto the king vsurped diuers Castles belonging to the Master, tooke certain Commanders and knights, yea, and some they slewe also. Fiftie and fiue townes conspired together in that rebellion: but thinking their estate and strength not sure enough against their own gouernors without forrein aide, they chose king Casimir to be their lord. Hereupon the Polonian king marched into Prussia with a great armie, taking possession of such cities as yeelded themselues vnto him, and proceeding forward against Marieburg, besieged the castle and the towne. In the meane season the Master hauing hired an armie of Germane souldiers, suddenly surprised the king at vnawares in his tents, and slewe about 300. Polonians, tooke prisoners 136. noblemen, spoiled their tents, tooke away their horses, victuals, and armour, insomuch that the king himselfe hardly escaped vpon one horse. These things came to passe in the yeere 1455. The Master hauing thus obtained the victorie, sent his armie into the countrey, and recouered the castles and cities which he had lost, to the nuber of 80. putting many of his enemies also vnto the sword. Moreouer, he recouered Kunigsberg being one of the foure principall cities, which are by name Thorne, Elburg, Kunigsberg, and Gdanum, that is to say, Dantzig. And when the warre was longer protracted then the Master could well beare, and a whole yeres wages was vnpaid vnto his captains, those captaines which were in the garison of Marieburg conspired against the Master, and for a great summe of money betrayed the castle of Marieburg vnto the king. Which practise beeing knowen, the Master fled to Kunigsberg, and newe warre was begunne, and great spoile and desolation was wrought on both sides: vntill at length, after composition made, the king retayned Pomerella, and all the castles and townes therein, together with Marieburg and Elburg: and the master inioyed Samaitia, Kunigsberg, &c. This composition was concluded in the yeere 1476. The 29. Master was Henrie Reuss, first being deputie, and afterwarde Master of Prussia. The 30. was Henrie a Richtenberg, who deceased in the yeere 1477. The 31. called Martine Truchses died in the yeere 1489. The 32. John a Tieffen died in the yeere 1500. The 33. being Duke of Saxonie, and marques of Misn, deceased in the yeere 1510. This man began to call in question, whether the foresaid composition concluded betweene the king of Polonia, and the Order, were to bee

The great master ouercommeth the king of Polonia.

The king by treason ouerthroweth the Master.

obscene dor no? especially sithence it conteined certaine articles against equitie and reason. Wherupon he appealed vnto the Bishop of Rome, vnto the Emperor, vnto the princes and electors of Germany, and preuailed with them so farre forth, that there was a day of hearing appointed at Posna in Polonia. And the Legates of both parts meeting heard complaints and excuses, & dispatched no other businesse. In the meane time Prince Frederick deceased in the tenth yeere of his gouernment. The 34. Master was Albertus marques of Brandenburg, whom the King of Polonia did so grieuously molest with war, and oppressed all Prussia with such extreme rigour, that the Prince of the countrey was constrained to make a league of foure yeeres with him, and to yeeld vnto such conditions, as turned to the vtter ouerthrowe of the whole Order. And amongst other conditions are these which follow. Sithence that the originall of all discorde betweene Polonia and the order doeth from hence arise, for that hitherto in Prussia, no lawfull heyre and successor hath borne rule and authority, but diuers and sundry haue had the gouernment therof, by whose meanes the nations haue bene prouoked one against another, much Christian blood hath bin shed, the lands and inhabitants grieuously spoiled, and many widowes and Orphans made: the Popes, Emperors, and Princes being often sollicited for the establishing of that perpetual league, which Casimir hath heretofore concluded &c. Sithence also that the truce which hath bene agreed vpon of both parties is in short time to be expired, and that it is to bee feared, that bloody warres will then be renewed, and that all things will proue worse and worse, vnlesse some lawfull composition be made, and some good and wholesome deuise be put in practise, as well for the benefit of the King and of his posteritie, as for the commoditie of the whole common weale of Prussia, especially considering that Albertus the Marques refuseth not to submitte himselfe to the Councell of the King, &c.

The Oration or speech of the Ambassadours sent from Conradus de Zolner Master generall of the land of Prussia, vnto Richard the second, King of England, and France, &c.

The messengers which are sent from the Master generall of the land of Prussia, doe propound and declare the affaires and negotiations vnderwritten.

The ancient assistance of the kings of England against infidels.

WHereas it is apparant, that diuers and sundrie times heeretofore, your famous progenitours and predecessours the kings of England haue alwaies bene gratious promoters and speciall friends vnto the generall Masters of the land of Prussia, and of the whole order: whereas also they haue vouchsafed, by their Barons, Knights, and other their nobles of the kingdome of England, vnto the Masters and order aforesaide, sundry and manifolde fauourable assistances in the conquest of the Infidels (in whose steppes your excellent Maiestie insisting, haue, in these your dayes shewed your selfe in like sort right graciously affected vnto the Master generall which nowe is, and vnto his famous Predecessour) in due consideration of the premisses, and in regard also of diuers other affaires, which are at this present to be propounded vnto your Highnes, the foresaid Master general which now is hath caused vs his messengers to be sent with letters of credence vnto your Maiestie: humbly praying, and earnestly beseeching your roial clemency, that in times to come, the said Master general, his successors, & our whole Order may of your bounty most graciously obtaine the same fauour, beneuolēce, and stedfast amity & friendship, which hath bin continued from the times of your foresaid predecessors: in regard wherof we do offer the said Master of ours, and our whole company, vnto your highnes, as your perpetual and deuote friends. Notwithstanding (most souereigne Prince) certaine other things we haue to propound vnto your Grace, in the name & behalfe of our saide Master and Order, by way of complaint, namely, that at certaine times past, and especially within the space of x. yeres last expired, his subiects and marchants haue sustained sundry damages and ablations of their goods, by diuers subiects and inhabitants of your realme of England, and that very often, both by sea and land: the which, for the behalf, and by the appointment of the Master general aforesaid, & of his predecessor, are put downe in registers, and recorded in the writings of his cities in the land of Prussia. Of which

which parties damnified, some haue obtained letters frō the Master general that now is, & also from his predecessor, vnto your renoumed grandfather K. Edward of famous memory, and sundry times vnto your highnes also, to haue restitution made for their goods taken from them: whereby they haue nothing at al preuailed, but heaping losse vpon losse haue misspent their time & their charges: both because they were not permitted to propound & exhibit their complaints & letters before your maiesty, and also for diuers other impediments. Certain of them also considering how others of their countriemen had laboured in vain, & fearing the like successe, haue troubled the Master general very often with grieuous and sundry complaints, craning & humbly beseeching at his hands, that he would vouchsafe graciously to prouide for thē as his faithful & loial subiects, as touching the restitution of their losses: especially seeing ỹ so much wealth of the English marchants was euery yeere to be found in Prussia, as being arrested, they might obtaine some reasonable satisfaction for their losses. Which thing the Master general aforesaid & his predecessor also haue deferred vnto this present (albeit to ỹ great losse of their subiects) therby hauing meere & principal respect vnto those special curtesies and fauours which your excellent Maiesty & your worthy progenitors haue right gratiously vouchsafed vpon our Masters and Order: neither yet for the iniuries aforesaid, was there euer any maner of offence, or molestation offered vnto any of your subiects noble or ignoble whatsoeuer. Moreouer, in the name & behalfe of our foresaid Ma. general we do propound vnto your excellency by way of cōplaint, that in the yere last past, 6. dayes after ỹ feast of the Ascension, certain persons of your realm of England, with their ships & captains comming vnto the port of Flanders, named Swen, & finding there, amongst sundry other, 6. ships of Prussia resident, which had there arriued w diuers goods & marchandises: and being informed that they were of Prussia, & their friends, they caused them & their ships to remain next vnto their owne ships, protesting vnto them, that they should in no sort be molested or damnified by thēselues or by any other of their company, & that they would faithfully defend them, as if they were their own people, frō ỹ hands of their aduersaries: & for their farther security & trust, they deliuered some of their own men & their standerds into our mens ships: howbeit a while after being stirred vp, & bent far otherwise, they took out of ỹ foresaid ships al kind of armors, wherwith they were to gard & defēd themselues frō pirats, & they deteined the masters of those ships, not suffring them to return vnto their own ships & cōpanies, one also of ỹ said ships (hauing taken al the goods out of her) they cōsumed with fire. And within 3. daies after they came with one accord vnto ỹ abouenamed ships, and tooke away from them all goods and marchandises which they could find, and all the armour and weapons of the said ships, the chestes also of the marchants, of the ship-masters, & of other persons they brake opē, taking out money, iewels, garments, & diuers other commodities: and so they inflicted vpō them irrecouerable losses and vnkind grieuances. And departing out of the foresaid hauen, they caried 2. of the Prussian ship-masters with thē, as their captiues vnto an hauen of England called Sandwich. Who, being afterward released, were compelled to sweare, that they should not declare ỹ iniuries offred vnto them, either before your roiall maiesty, or your hon. Councell, or your chācelor: neither were they permitted to come on shore. And being offred such hard measure, when they made pitiful mones & complaints vnto your foresaide subiects, amongst other matters they spake on this wise vnto them: Do you complain of iniuries & losses offered vnto you? Loe, in your own cōutrey of Prussia there are English marchants, & goods sufficient, go your waies home therfore, & recouer your losses, taking two for one: and in this maner they were left, & so departed. Afterward returning vnto ỹ land of Prussia, they & their friends repaired vnto the Mast. general, iointly and w one consent making their complaint vnto him of the losses which had bin inflicted vpon thē by your subiects. And prostrating thēselues at his feet, they all and euery of them made their humble sutes, ỹ he would haue compassion on them, as vpon his poore subiects, regarding thē selues, their wiues, & children, and pitying their distres, and penury, and that he would graciously procure some redresse for them. And when he offred his letters vnto them, wishing them to prosecute their cause before your highnes, they answered that they were no way able to defray the expenses,

Edward the 3.

penses, and that others, who were in like sort damnified, had laboured that way altogether in vain & to no purpose: beseeching him again and again, that he would by another kind of means, namely by arresting of your marchants and their goods, procure the restitution of their losses. At length the Master general being moued by so many and so great complaints, and by the molestation of his subiects, caused (albeeit full sore against his will) a cermine portion of English marchants goods to be laid hold on, and to be arrested, in his cities of Elburg & Dantzik, and to be bestowed in sure places, vntil such time as he might conueniently by his messengers propound and exhibit all and singular the premisses vnto your highnes. And forasmuch as the foresaid Master general and our Order do know no iust occasion, wherby they haue deserued your maiesties indignation, but are firmely and most vndoubtedly perswaded, to finde all curtesie, fauour, and friendship at your Highnesse, according to your wonted clemencie: the said Master generall therefore maketh no doubt, that al the aboue written damages & molestations, being in such sort, against God and iustice, offred vnto his subiects by yours, be altogether vnknown vnto your magnificence, & committed against your mind: wherfore presently vpon the foresaid arrest of your marchants goods, he dispatched his messengers vnto your roial maiesty. Wherof one deceased by the way, namely in the territory of Holland: & the other remained sick in those parts for a long season: & so that ambassage took none effect. Wherfore the said master general was desirous to send vs now ỹ second time also vnto your Highnes. We do make our humble sute therfore, in the name & behalf of our Master and Order aforesaid, vnto your kingly supremacy, that, hauing God and iustice before your eies, and also the dutifull and obsequious demeanor of the said master, and order towards you, you would vouchsafe to extend your gracious clemency, for the redresse of the premisses: wherby the foresaid losses may be restored and repaied vnto our subiects. All which notwithstanding, that it would please you of your wisedome & prouidence to procure so absolute a remedy, by meanes whereof, in time to come, such dealings and inconueniences may be auoided on both parts, & finally that your marchants may quietly be possessed of their goods arrested in Prussia, and our marchants may be admitted vnto the possession of their commodities attached in England, to conuert & apply them vnto such vses, as to themselues shal seem most conuenient. Howbeit (most gracious prince and lord) we are to sollicite your Highnesse, not onely about the articles to be propounded concerning the losses aforesaide, but more principally, for certain sinister reports and superstitious slanders, wherwith certaine of your subiects, not seeking for peace, haue falsly informed your maiesty, & your most honorable & discreete Councel: affirming that at the time of ỹ aforesaid arrest your marchants were barbarously intreated, that they were cast into lothsom prisons, drenched in myre and water vp to ỹ neck, restrained from al conference and company of men, and also that their meat was thrown vnto them, as a bone to a dog, with many other enormities, which they haue most slanderously deuised concerning the master general aforesaid, and his people, and haue published them in these dominions: vpon the occasion of which falshoods certain marchants of our parts, and of other regions of Alemain (who, of your special beneuolence, were indued with certaine priuileges and fauours in your citie of London, and in other places) were, as malefactors, apprehended and caried to prison, vntil such time as the trueth was more apparant. Whereupon, the foresaide master generall propoundeth his humble sute vnto your maiestie, that such enemies of trueth and concord, your Maiesty woulde vouchsafe in such sort to chastise, that they may be an example vnto others presuming to doe the like.

The arresting of the English goods and marchants.

Moreouer, (high and mighty Prince and lord) it was reported vnto our Master general, that his former Legats required of your maiesty safe conduct freely to come into your highnesse Realme. Which when hee heard, he was exceedingly offended therat, sithence vndoubtedly they did not this at his commaundement or direction. We therefore humbly beseech your Grace, as touching this ouersight, to holde the Master generall excused, because there is no need of safeconduct, between so speciall friends.

Furthermore, sundry damages and complaints of the foresaid general Master, and his subiects are briefly exhibited, and put downe in the billes following. Also, all and singular damnified

damnified persons, besides other proofes, were compelled to verifie their losses by their formall othes, taken vpon the holy Bible.

Lastly, we doe make our humble suite and petition vnto the prouidence and discretion of your Highnes, and of your honorable Councell, that concerning the premisses, and all other matters propounded, or to be propounded vnto your Maiesty, we may obtaine a speedy answere, and an effectuall end. For it would redound vnto our great charges and losse to make any long delayes.

An agreement made by the Ambassadors of England and Prussia, confirmed by king Richard the second.

RIchard by the grace of God, king of England, and France, and lorde of Ireland, To all, vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. We haue seene and considered the composition, ordination, concord, and treatie, betweene our welbeloued clearke, master Nicholas Stocket, licentiat in both lawes, Walter Sibel, and Thomas Graa, citizens of our cities of London & York, our messengers and ambassadors on the one part: and the honourable and religious personages, Conradus de Walrode, great commander, Sifridus Walpode de Bassenheim, chiefe hospitalary commander in Elburg, and Vlricus Hachenberg Treasurer, the messengers and ambassadors of the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothenstein, master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of Saint Mary at Ierusalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed vpon in these words. In the name of the supreame and indiuisible Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, Amen. Forasmuch as the author of peace will haue peacemakers to be the sons of blessednes, and the execrable enemie of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Christians: therefore for the perpetuall memorie of the thing, be it knowen vnto all men who shall see or heare the tenour of these presents: that there being matter of dissension and discord bred betweene the most renowmed prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his subiects on the one part: and the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothinstein, Master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospitall of S. Marie at Ierusalem, and his land of Prussia, and his subiects also, on the other part: the foresaid lord and generall master, vpon mature counsell and deliberation had, sent his honourable ambassadours towards England vnto the forenamed most soueraigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint vnto him of violence and iniuries offered (as it is sayd) by the English vnto the Prussians: in consideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arrested in the land of Prussia. Whose complaint the foresayd most gracious prince did courteously and friendly admit, receiue, and accept, and after many speeches vttered in this treaty, louingly dismissed them vnto their owne countrey againe, promising by his letters vnto the foresayd reuerend Master generall, that hee would dispatch his ambassadours vnto the land of Prussia. Whereupon, in the yeere 1388. he sent the hono: and reuerend personages Master Nicholas Stocket licentiate of both 1388. lawes, Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with sufficient authority and full commandement, to handle, discusse, and finally to determine the foresaid busines, and with letters of credence vnto the right reuerend lord and master generall aforesayd. Which ambassadours, together with Iohn Beuis of London their informer, and the letters aforesaid, and their ambassage, the said right reuerend lord and Master generall, at his castle of Marienburgh, the 28. of Iuly, in the yeare aforesaid, reuerently and honourably receiued and enterteined: and in his minde esteemed them worthy to treate and decide the causes aforesayd: and so vnto the sayd ambassadours he ioyned in commission on his behalfe, three of his owne counsellers, namely the honourable and religious personages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de Bassenheim chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus Hachenberger treasurer, being all of the order aforesaid. Which ambassadors so entreating about the premisses, and sundry conferences and consultations hauing passed between them, friendly and with one consent, concluded an agreement and concord in manner following: That is to say:

First,

1. First, that all arrestments, reprisals, and impignorations of whatsoeuer goods and marchandises in England and Prussia, made before the date of these presents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and released, without all fraud and dissimulation: insomuch that the damages, charges and expenses occasioned on both parts by reason of the foresayd goods arrested, are in no case hereafter to be required or chalenged by any man: but the demaunds of any man whatsoeuer propounded in this regard, are and ought to be altogether frustrate and voide, and all actions which may or shall be commenced by occasion of the sayd goods arrested, are to be extinct and of none effect.

2. Moreouer, it is secondly concluded and agreed, that all and singuler Prussians pretending themselues to be iniuried by the English at the Porte of Swen, or elsewhere, howsoeuer, and whensoeuer, before the date of these presents, hauing receiued the letters of the foresaide right reuerende lord and Master generall, and of the cities of their abode, are to repayre towards England, vnto the sayd hon: embassadours, who are to assist them, and to propeund and exhibite their complaintes, vnto the forenamed lord and king. The most gracious prince is bounde to doe his indeuor, that the parties damnified may haue restitution of their goods made vnto them, or at least complete iustice and iudgement without delay. Also in like maner all English men affirming themselues to haue bene endamaged by Prussians, wheresoeuer, howsoeuer, and whensoeuer, are to haue recourse vnto the often forenamed right reuerend lorde the Master generall, with the letters of their king and of the cities of their aboad, propounding their complaints and causes vnto him. Who likewise is bound to doe his indeuour that the sayd losses and damages may be restored, or at the least that speedie iudgement may be, without all delayes, executed. This caueat being premised in each clause, that it may and shall be freely granted and permitted vnto euery man that will ciuilly make his suite and complaint, to doe it either by himselfe, or by his procurator or procurators.

3. Also thirdly it is agreed, that whosoeuer of Prussia is determined criminally to propound his criminal complaints in England: namely that his brother or kinseman hath beene slaine, wounded, or maimed, by English men, the same partie is to repayre vnto the citie of London in England, and vnto the sayd ambassadors, bringing with him the letters of the sayd right reuerend lord the master generall, and of the cities of their abode: which ambassadors are to haue free and full authority, according to the complaints of the men of Prussia, and the answers of the English men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliation or honest recompence betweene such parties: which reconciliation the sayd parties reconciled are bound vndoubtedly & without delay to obserue. But if there be any English man found, who shall rashly contradict or contemne the composition of the foresayd ambassadors: then the sayd ambassadours are to bring the forenamed Prussian plaintifes before the presence of the kings Maiestie: and also to make supplication on the behalfe of such plaintifes, that complete iustice and iudgment may without delayes bee administred, according as those suites are commenced. Moreouer whatsoeuer English man, against whom anie one of Prussia would enter his action, shall absent himselfe at the terme, the sayd ambassadours are to summon and ascite the foresayd English man to appeare at the terme next insuing, that the plaintifes of Prussia may in no wise seeme to depart or to returne home, without iudgement or the assistance of lawe. Nowe if the sayd English man being summoned shall be found stubborne or disobedient, the forenamed ambassadours are to make their appeale and supplication in manner aforesayd. And in like sorte in all respects shall the English plaintifes be dealt withall in Prussia, namely in the citie of Dantzik, where the deputies of the sayd citie and of the citie of Elburg shal take vnto themselues two other head boroughs, one of Dantzik, and the other of Elburg: which foure commissioners are to haue in al respects, the very like authority of deciding, discussing, and determining all criminall complaints propounded criminally, by English men against any Prussian or Prussians, by friendly reconciliation, or honest recompense, if it be possible. But if it cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Prussian shall not yeeld obedience vnto any such order or composition, but shal-

be found to contradict and to contemne the same: from thenceforth the said foure deputies and headboroughs are to make their appeale and supplication vnto the Master generall of the land aforesayd, that vnto the sayd English plaintifes speedy iudgement and complete iustice may be administred. But if it shall so fall out that any of the principall offenders shall decease, or already are deceased in either of the sayd countries, that then it shall bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to prosecute his right against the goods or heires of the party deceased. Also, for the executing of the premisses the termes vnder written are appointed: namely the first, from the Sunday whereupon Quasi modo geniti is to be sung next ensuing, vntill the seuenth day following: The second vpon the feast of the holy Trinitie next to come, and for seuen dayes following: The third vpon the eight day after Saint Iohn Baptist next to come, & for seuen daies following: The fourth, last, and peremptory terme shall be vpon the feast of S. Michael next to come, and vpon seuen dayes next following. And from thenceforth all causes which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether voide and extinct. And if peraduenture any one of the foresayd ambassadours, shall in the meane season dye, then the other two shall haue authoritie to chuse a third vnto them. And if after the date of these presents any cause great or small doth rise or spring forth, it must bee decided in England and in Prussia, as it hath beene accustomed in times past and from ancient times.

An ancient custome.

4. The priuiledges of the English marchats in Prussia.

Also, it is farther concluded and agreed vpon, that all lawfull marchants of England whosoeuer shall haue free licence and authority, with all kindes of shippes, goods, and marchandises, to resorte vnto euery port of the land of Prussia, and also to transport all such goods and marchandises vp farther vnto any other place in the sayde land of Prussia, and there with all kindes of persons freely to bargaine and make sale, as heretofore it hath from auncient times bene accustomed. Which priuiledge is granted in all things and by all circumstances vnto the Prussians in England. And if after the date of these presents, betweene the sayd kingdome of England, and land of Prussia any dissension or discorde (which God forefend) should arise: then the foresayd soueraigne prince and king of England, and the sayd right reuerend lord the Master generall are mutually by their letters and messengers to giue certificate and intimation one vnto another, concerning the matter and cause of such dissension and discord: which intimation, on the behalfe of the foresaid soueraigne prince & king of England, shall be deliuered in the forenamed castle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the sayd right reuerend lord the Master generall, such intimation shall be giuen in the citie of London aforesayd, vnto the Maior of the said city: that then such a denuntiation or intimation being made, the marchants of England and the subiects of the land of Prussia may, within the space of one yeere next following, freely and safely returne home with al their goods & marchandises: if at the least, in the mean while, some composition, & friendly league betweene the two foresayd countreis be not in some sorte concluded. And that all the premisses may more firmely and faithfully be put in due practise and execution on both partes, for the strong and inuiolable keeping of peace and tranquillity: and also for the full confirmation and strengthening of all the sayde premisses, the three foresayd honourable and religious personages being by the said right reuerēd lord the Master general appointed as cōmissioners to deale in the aboue written ordination and composition, haue caused their seales vnto these presents to be put: and the sayd ordination also, and letter in the same tenour word for word, and in all points euen as it is inserted into these presents, they haue mutually receiued frō the abouenamed three ambassadours of the right soueraigne king of England vnder their seales. Giuen at the castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforesayd, vpon the twentieth day of the moneth of August. And we therefore doe accept, approue, ratifie, and by the tenour of these presents doe confirme, the composition, ordination, concorde, and treaty aforesayd. In testimony whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selues a Westminster the 22. of October, in the thirteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the king and his counsell.

Lincolne.

The

The letters of Conradus de Iungingen, Master generall of Prussia, written vnto Richard the second, king of England, in the yeere 1398. for the renouncing of a league and composition concluded betweene England and Prussia, in regard of manifold iniuries offered vnto the Prussians.

OVr humble commendations, with our earnest prayers vnto God for your Maiestie, premised. Most renowmed prince and mighty lord, it is not (we hope) out of your Maiesties remembrance, how our famous predecessour going immediately before vs sent certaine letters of his vnto your highnesse, effectually contayning sundry complaints of grieuances, iniuries and losses, wherewith the marchants of his lande and Order being woont in times past to visite your kingdome with their goods and marchandises, haue bene contrary to their liberties and priuiledges annoyed with manifold iniuries and wrongs. Especially sithens they haue beene molested in your realme, being contrary to the friendly composition made and celebrated by the hono: personages, master Nicholas Stocket, Thomas Graa and Walter Sibil, in the yeare 1388, with the assistance of their coarbiters on our part, and contrary to God and all iustice, oppressed with manifold damages, losses, and grieuances: as in certaine articles exhibited vnto our predecessors aforesayd it doeth more manifestly appeare. In consideration whereof being vehemently moued by the damnified parties, he humbly besought your highnesse by his messengers and letters, for complement and execution of iustice. About the which affayres your Maiestie returned your letters of answere vnto our sayd predecessor, signifying that the sayd businesse of articles concerned al the communalty of your realme, and that your highnesse purposed, after consultation had in your parliament, to send a more deliberate answere concerning the premisses, vnto our predecessour aforesayd. Howbeit he being by death translated out of this present world, and our selues by the prouidence of God succeeding in his roome, and also long time expecting an effectuall answere from your highnesse, are not yet informed as we looked for: albeit the complaints of iniuries and losses offered vnto our subiects doe continually increase. But from henceforth to prouide a remedie and a caueat for the time to come, the sayd complaynt doeth vpon great reasons moone and inuite me. Sithens therefore in regard of the sayd composition, neither you nor your subiects may be iudged in the empire: and sithens plaine reason requireth that the one be not inriched by the others losse: as vndoubtedly our subiects should sustaine great damage by the composition aforesayd, by vertue whereof your subiects doe enioy all commodities in our lande, and contrariwise our subiects in your realme haue suffered, & as yet sundrie wayes do suffer manifold discommodities, losses and iniuries. Wherefore (most soueraigne prince and mighty lord) being reasonably mooued vpon the causes aforesayd, we doe, by the aduise of our counsellers, reuoke and repeale the sayd composition concluded as is aboue written, together with the effect thereof, purely and simply renouncing the same by these presents: refusing hereafter to haue either our selues or our subiects in any respect to stand bound by the vertue of the sayd composition: but from henceforth, and for the times heretofore also, bee it altogether voide and of none effect.

Prouided notwithstanding, that from the time of the notice of this denunciation giuen vnto the hono: Maior of your citie of London, for the space of a yeare next ensuing, it shall be lawfull for all marchants of your kingdome whatsoeuer, with their goods and marchandises to returne home, according to the forme in the foresayd composition expressed: conditionaly that our subiects may euen so in all respects be permitted to depart, with the safety of their goods and liues out of your dominions: this present renuntiation, reuocation, and retractation of the order and composition aforesayd, notwithstanding. Howbeit in any other affayres whatsoeuer, deuoutly to submit our selues vnto your highnesse pleasure and command, both our selues, and our whole order are right willing and desirous: and also to benefite and promote your subiects we wil indeuour to the vtmost of our ability. Giuen in our castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our Lord 1398. and vpon the 22. day of February.

Frater Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital at Ierusalem.

A briefe

A briefe relation of William Esturmy, and Iohn Kington concerning their ambassages into Prussia, and the Hans-townes.

INprimis, that in the moneth of Iuly, and in the yeare of our Lord 1403, and the fift yeare of the reigne of our souereigne Lord the king that nowe is, there came into England the ambassadours of the mighty lord Fr: Conradus de Iungingen, being then Master general of Prussia, with his letters directed vnto our foresayd soueraigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompense for certaine iniuries vniustly offered by English men vnto the subiects of the sayd Master generall, written in 20. articles, which amounted vnto the summe of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c. 1403.

Item, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our Lord aboue written, and in the fift yere of the reigne of our soueraigne lord the king, between the reuerend father in God, Henrie then bishop of Lincolne lord chancelor, and William lord de Roos high treasurer of England, on the one party and the sayd ambassadours on the other party, it was (according to their petition) amongst other things ordayned: namely that the liege people of our soueraigne lord the king should freely be permitted, vntill the feast of Easter then next after ensuing to remaine in the land of Prussia, and from thence with their goods & marchandises to returne vnto their own homes and also, that the subiects of the sayd Master generall in the kingdome of England should haue licence and liberty to doe the like. Prouided alwayes, that after the time aboue limitted, neither the English marchants in the land of Prussia, nor the Prussian marchats in the realme of England should vse any traffique of marchandise at all, vnlesse in the meane space it were otherwise agreed and concluded by the sayd king and the sayd Master general.

Item, immediately after our sayd soueraigne lord the king sent his letters by Iohn Browne marchant of Lin vnto the foresayd Master generall, for to haue mutuall conuersation and intercourse of dealing to continue some certain space, betweene the marchants of England and of Prussia: promising in the same letters, that he would in the meane season send vnto the foresayd Master his ambassadors to intreat about the pretended iniuries aforesaid: which letters the foresayd Master, for diuers causes, refused to yeelde vnto, as in his letters sent vnto our lord the king, bearing date the 16. day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare of our lord 1404. more plainely appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the Master aforesaid, which are next aboue mentioned, our sayd king, according to his promise, sent William Esturmy knight, M. Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London, from his court of parliament holden at Couentrie, very slightly informed, as his ambassadours into Prussia.

Item, before the arriuall of the sayd ambassadours in Prussia, all intercourse of traffique betweene the English and the Prussians, in the realme of England, and in the land of Prussia was altogether restrained and prohibited: and in the same land it was ordayned and put in practise, that in whatsoeuer porte of the land of Prussia any English marchant had arriued with his goods, he was not permitted to conueigh the sayd goods, out of that porte, vnto any other place of the land of Prussia, either by water, or by lande, vnder the payne of the forfeiting of the same: but was enioyned to sell them in the very same porte, vnto the Prussians onely and to none other, to the great preiudice of our English marchants.

Item, that after the arriuall of the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, it was ordayned, that from the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our lord 1405. all English marchants whatsoeuer should haue free liberty to arriue with all kindes of their marchandise in whatsoeuer port of the land of Prussia, and to make sale of them in the said land, as hath heretofore from auncient times bene accustomed. Also sundry other commodious priuiledges vnto the realme of England were then ordayned and established: as in the indentures made for this purpose it doth more manifestly appeare. 1405.

Item, the said English ambassadours being arriued in the land of Prussia, demanded of the said Master generall, a reformation and amends, for the damages and iniuries offered by the

Prussians vnto the liege people of our soueraigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which losses amounted vnto the summe of 4535. nobles.

Item, the said Master generall, besides the articles exhibited vnto our soueraigne lord the king (as it is aboue mentioned) deliuered vnto the sayd ambassadours diuers other articles of certaine iniuries offered (as he sayth) vniustly by English men, vnto his subiects, which amounted vnto the summe of 5100. nobles.

Item, it was afterward concluded, that vpon the first of May next then insuing, namely in
1406. the yeere of our Lord 1406, or within the space of one yeare immediatly following there should bee made a conuenient, iust, and reasonable satisfaction, for all molestations vniustly offered on both partes, as well on the behalfe of our soueraigne lord the king, as of the foresayd Master general. Which satisfaction not being performed, the Prussians with their goods & marchandises, within three moneths after the end of the sayd yere next following, were without molestation or impediment, enioined to depart out of the realme of England with their ships and goods, and the English men likewise, out of the territories and dominions of the said Master general, & both of them, without any further admonition, to abstaine & separate themselues, from both the countreis aforesayd. For the performance of which premisses, the ambassadors on both parts being sufficiently instructed, were appointed to meete the first day of May, at the towne of Dordract in Holland.

Item, that the sayd William Esturmy and Iohn Kington in their returne homewards from Prussia towards England passed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in such sorte with the Burgomasters of them, that there were sent messengers and agents, in the behalfe of the common society of the Hans marchants, vnto the towne of Dordract, to conferre with the ambassadors of England, about the redressing of iniuries attempted on both parts: where diuers agreements were set downe betweene the sayd ambassadors, and messengers, as in the indentures made for the same purpose it doth more manifestly appeare.

Item, that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordract, vpon the first of May, was by the letters of the foresayd ambassadors, proroged vnto the first of August then next ensuing, and afterward by vertue of the kings letters vnto the first day of March next following: and there was another day of prorogation also.

Item, that after the prorogations aforesayd, the ambassadors of England, and the messengers & commissioners of Prussia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland, the 28. day of August, in the yere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty between the concerning the summe 25934. nobles and an halfe, demanded on the behalfe of the sayd Master generall for amends and recompense in consideration of wrongs offered vnto himselfe and vnto his subiects of Prussia, as is aforesayd. Also the sayd Master and his Prussians, besides the summe not yet declared in the articles, which is very small, are to rest contented and satisfied with the summe of 8957. nobles, in lieu of al the damages aforesaid: no times of paiment being then assigned or limited, but afterward to be reasonably limited and assigned, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king. Insomuch, that our said soueraigne lord the king is to write his ful intention & determination concerning this matter, in his letters to be deliuered the 16. day of March, vnto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans residing at Bruges. Otherwise, that from thenceforth all league of friendship shall bee dissolued betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia.

Also it is farther to be noted, that in the appointment of the summe next before written to be disbursed out of England, this condition was added in writing, namely, that if by lawful testimonies it may sufficiently and effectually be procued, concerning the chiefe articles aboue-written, or any part of them, that satisfaction was made vnto any of those parties, to whom it was due: or that the goods, of and for the which complaint was made on the behalfe of Prussia, in the sayd articles, did or doe pertayne vnto others, or that any other iust, true, or reasonable cause may lawfully be proued & alledged, why the foresaid sums or any of them ought not to be payed: that the in the summes contained in the articles abouementioned, so much only must be cut off, or stopped, as shalbe found, either to haue bene payd a-read, or to appertaine vnto others, or by any true, iust, and reasonable cause alleaged, not to be due.

Neither

Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the summe due vnto the Prussians, that not our lord the king, but others (which will in time be nominated) are, by all equity and iustice, to be compelled to make satisfaction.

Also, at the day and place aboue mentioned it was appointed and agreed vpon, that our lord the king and his liege subiects, for the said 4535. nobles demanded of the English in consideration of recompense to be made for iniuries offered vnto the Prussians, are to discharge & pay the summe of 764. nobles, which are not as yet disbursed: but they haue reserued a petition to them, vnto whom the sayd summe is due, or if they please, there shalbe made satisfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item, that in the last assembly of the sayd ambassadors of England and messengers of Prussia, holden at Hage, made as is aforesayd, for the behalfe of England, there were exhibited anew certaine articles of iniuries against the Prussians. The value of which losses amounted vnto the summe of 1825. nobles and three shillings.

Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Prussians the summe of 1355. nobles, eight shillings and sixe pence.

Item, forasmuch as diuers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and also at the last conuention holden at Hage, were so obscure, that in regard of their obscurity, there could no resolute answere bee made vnto them: and other of the sayd articles exhibited, for want of sufficient proofes, could not clearely be determined vpon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obscure articles giuen vp by any of the foresayd parties whatsoeuer, ought before the end of Easter then next ensuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being: and other articles euidently exhibited, but not sufficiently proued, to be proued, vnder paine of perpetuall exclusion. Which being done accordingly, complete iustice shall be administred on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleuenth article, for the behalfe of the Prussians, first exhibited, which conteined losses amounting vnto the summe of 2445. nobles: as touching the first article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Prussia, conteining losses which amounted to the summe of 900. nobles: after many things alleadged on both parts, relation thereof shall be made in the audience of the king and of the Master generall: so that they shall set downe, ordaine, and determine such an ende and conclusion of those matters, as shall seeme most expedient vnto them.

Now concerning the Liuonians who are subiect vnto the great Master of Prussia.

IN primis, that the Master of Prussia demaunded of the sayd English ambassadours, at their being in Prussia, on the behalfe of them of Liuonia, who are the sayd Master his liege people, to haue restitution of their losses, vniustly (as he sayth) offered vnto them by the English, namely, for the robbing and rifling of three ships. The value of which ships and of the goods contained in them, according to the computation of the Liuonian marchants, doeth amount vnto the summe of 8037. pound, 12. shillings 7. pence.

These ships were taken by the English 3d. of July 1404.

Howbeit afterward the trueth being inquired by the sayd ambassadors of England, the losse of the Liuonians exceedeth not the summe of 7498. pound, 13. shillings, 10. pence halfepeny farthing.

Item, forasmuch as in the sayd ships, on the behalfe of the sayd Master, and of certaine cities of the Hans, there are alleadged aboue 250. men very barbarously to be drowned, of whome some were noble, and others honourable personages, and the rest common marchants & mariners, there was demaunded, in the first dyet or conuention holden at Dordract, a recompense at the handes of the sayd English ambassadors: albeit this complaint was exhibited in the very latter end of al the negotiations, in forme of a scedule, the tenor whereof is in writing at this present, & beginneth in maner following: Cum vita hominum &c. Howbeit in the last conuention holden at Hage, as is aforesaid, it was concluded betweene the ambassadours of England, and the messengers and commissioners of the land of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans; that our sayd soueraigne lord the king, should, of his great pietie, vouch-

safe effectually to deuise some conuenient and wholesome remedie for the soules of such persons as were drowned.

Item, that our sayd soueraigne lord the king will signifie in writing his full purpose & intention as touching this matter, vnto the aldermen of the Hans marchants residing at Bruges, vpon the sixtenth day of March next following. Otherwise, that from henceforth all amity and friendship, betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia shall be dissolued.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that a great part of the sayd goods, for the which they of Liuonia doe demaund restitution, namely waxe and furres, redounded vnto the vse and commoditie of our soueraigne lord the king. And also our said soueraigne lord the king gaue commandement by his letters, that some of the sayd goods should be deliuered vnto others. And a great part of them is as yet reserued in the towne of Newcastle. One Benteld also hath the best of the sayd three ships in possession. Also it is reported and thought to be true, that certaine Furriers of London, which will be detected in the end, haue had a great part of the sayd goods, namely of the Furres.

Now as concerning the cities of the Hans.

Hamburgh. INprimis the Hamburgers exhibited nine articles, wherein they demaunded restitution for certaine damages offered, as they sayd, by the English men, the value of which losses amounted vnto the summe of 9117. nobles, 20. pence. For the which, after due examination, there was promised restitution to the summe of 416. nobles, 5. shillings. Besides the two articles propounded against the of Scardeburg, the summe wherof was 231. pounds, 15.s. 8.d. cõcerning the which there was sentence giuen in England by the cõmissioners of our lord the king, the execution wherof was promised vnto the said Hamburgers by the ambassadors of England: leaue and licence being reserued vnto the sayd Hamburgers, of declaring or explaning certaine obscure articles by them exhibited, which declaration was to be made at the feast of Easter then next to come, or within one yeare next ensuing the said feast, vnto the chancelor of England for the time being, and of proouing the sayd articles and others also, which haue not as yet sufficiently bene proued. Which being done they are to haue full complement and execution of iustice.

Also by the Hamburgers there are demaunded 445. nobles from certaine of the inhabitants of Linne in England. Which summe, if it shalbe prooued to be due vnto any English men, the Hamburgers are to rest contented with those goods, which they haue already in their possessions.

Breme. Item, they of Breme propounded sixe articles, wherein the summe conteined amounteth vnto 4414. nobles. And there was no satisfaction promised vnto them. But the same libertie and licence was reserued vnto them, in like maner as before vnto the Hamburgers.

Stralesound. Item, they of Stralessund propounded 23. articles, wherof the summe amounted vnto 7415. nobles, 20. d. for the which there was promised satisfaction of 253. nobles, 3. q. Also here is a cauеat to be obserued: that they of Stralessund had of English mens goods a great summe particularly to be declared, which will peraduenture suffice for a recompense. And some of their articles are concerning iniuries offered before 20. 22. 23. 24. yeres past. Also their articles are so obscure that they will neuer, or very hardly be able to declare or proue them. Howbeit there is reserued the very same liberty vnto them, that was before vnto the Hamburgers.

Lubec. Item, they of Lubec propounded 23. articles, the summe whereof extended vnto 8690. nobles and an halfe: whereupon it was agreed, that they should haue paied vnto them 580. nobles. There was reserued the same libertie vnto them, which was vnto the men of Stralessund.

Gripeswold. Item, they of Gripeswold exhibited 5. articles, the summe whereof amounted vnto 2092. nobles and an halfe. For the which there was promised satisfaction of 153. nobles and an half. And the said men of Gripeswold haue of the goods of English men in possession, to the

the value of 22015. nobles, 18. s, as it is reported by them of Linne. And the same libertie is reserued vnto them that was vnto the Hamburgers.

Item, they of Campen propounded ten articles, the summe whereof extended vnto 1405. nobles. There is no satisfaction promised vnto them: but the same liberty is reserued vnto them, which was vnto the other aboue mentioned. Campen.

Item, the ambassadors of England demanded of the citizens of Rostok & Wismer, for damages & iniuries by them committed against the subiects of the foresayd soueregne king 32407. nobles, 2. s. 10. d. And albeit euery of the foresayd cities sent one of their burgomasters vnto the towne of Hage in Holland, to treat with the English ambassadours, it was in the end found out, that they had not any authority of negociating or concluding ought at al. And therfore they made their faithfull promises, that euery of the said cities should send vnto our soueraigne Lord the king one or two procurator or procurators sufficiently instructed to treat & conclude with our said soueregne lord the king about the damages and iniuries aforesaid at the feast of the natiuitie of Saint John the Baptist.

Compositions and ordinances concluded between the messengers of Frater Conradus de Iungingen master generall of Prussia: and the chancelor and treasurer of the realme of England 1403.

IN the yere of our Lord 1403, vpon the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, the right honorable Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treasurer of England, & the ambassadors of Prussia, John Godek of Dantzik, & Henry Monck of Elbing, masters of the same cities haue at Westminster treated in maner of composition about the articles vnderwritten: between the most soueregne lord the king of England, and the right reuerend & honorable Conradus de Iungingen Master general of Prussia, as concerning the iniuries offered vnto the people of Prussia and Liuonia vpon the sea by the English.

First, that all ships with their appurtenances, & the commodities of the mariners, according vnto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the English, which are actually vndiuided & whole, are incontinently & with al speed to bee restored. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the said defect is to be accounted, & with other losses of goods to be restored, at the terme of the restitution to be made and deliuered.

Item, that all ships, damages, and goods (as they are conteined in our bill of accusation) which are not now immediately restored, are to be restored and payd in the land of Prussia, between this and the terme appointed, with full execution and complement of iustice.

Item, concerning the persons throwen ouer boord or slaine in the sea: it shall remayne to bee determined at the will and pleasure of the most mighty prince the king of England, and of the right reuerend the Master of Prussia.

Item, betwene this and the terme appointed for the restoring of the goods taken away, & vntill there be due payment & restitution of the said goods performed, the marchants of England and of Prussia are in no wise to exercise any traffique of marchandise at all in the foresaid lands.

Memorandum, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord 1403. 1403. and in the fift yere of the reigne of the most mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of England and France &c. betweene the reuerend father Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treasurer of England, both of them counsellers vnto the sayd soueraigne king on the one party, and the right worshipfull John Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, sent as messengers by the right reuerend and religious personage, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was, at the request and instancie of the sayd messengers, appoynted, and mutually agreed vpon, that all the liege people and subiects of the sayd soueraigne lord and king shall haue free licence and liberty vntill the feast of Easter next ensuing, safely to trauel vnto the land of Prussia aforesayd, there to remaine, and thence, with their ships, marchandises, & other their goods whatsoeuer, to returne vnto

vnto their owne home: which on the other side, all the subiects of the sayd Master general may, within the terme prefixed, likewise doe, in the foresaid realme of England. Prouided alwaies, that after the time aboue limited, neither the sayd marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Prussia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exercise any traffique at al: vnles it be otherwise ordained by some composition, betweene the foresaid king of England, & the said Master general in the meane time concluded. In witnesse wherof, one part of this present Indenture is to remaine in the custodie of the foresaid messengers. Giuen in the Chapter-house of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere aboue written.

The letters of the chancelor and treasurer of England, vnto Frater Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of Prussia 1403.

RIght reuerend and mighty lord, your honorable messengers Iohn Godeke, and Henry Moncke, the bearers hereof comming of late before the presence of our most souereigne lord the king of England and of France, and being welcomed by our said lord with a cheare-full and fauourable countenance, they presented certaine letters on your behalfe vnto the kings Maiestie, with that reuerence which beseemed them: expounding vnto his highnes, sundry piracies & molestations offered of late vpon the sea, by his liege people & subiects vnto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which hitherto (by Gods grace) haue bene maintained and continued on both parts. In consideration of which piracies and molestations, your messengers demanded full restitution and recompense to be made, either vnto the damnified parties, or vnto their procurators. We therefore at that time, especially being in the presence of our soueraigne (who with his puissant army tooke his progresse towards the remote part of Wales being subiect vnto his dominion, to see iustice executed vpon his people of those parts, who very rashly haue presumed to rebell against him their souereigne, contrary to their allegeance) right well perceiued that it was his hignesse intention, that euery one should haue due iustice faithfully administred vnto him, especially your subiects, and that with all fauour, whom he hath alwayes in times past right graciously intreated, as if they had bene his owne liege subiects and natiue countrey men, whome also hee purposeth hereafter friendly to protect: insomuch that betweene him and his subiects on the one party, and betweene you and yours on the other party, great abundance and perfection of mutuall amity may increase. And therefore we offered vnto your foresayd messengers, after they had particularly declared vnto vs such piracies and wrongs, to sende the kings letters vnto them of whom complaint was made, firmely inioyning them, vnder grieuous penalties, that without delay they restore or cause to bee restored vnto the parties damnified, or vnto their procuratours, all ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, by them taken or violently stolne from your subiects. And that your said messengers may partly attaine their desire, we haue commaunded certaine ‡ ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, found in certaine hauens, to be deliuered vnto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are perhaps perished or wanting by infortunate dissipation or destruction, and for the which the said messengers of yours demand satisfaction to be made vnto them within a certain time by vs limited: may it please your honor to vnderstand, that in the absence of our sayd souereigne lord the king, being as yet farre distant from vs, wee can in no wise limit or set downe any such terme of time. Notwithstanding, at the prosperous returne of our soueraigne, we are determined to commune with him about this matter. Of whose answere so soone as we be certified, we purpose to signifie his intention vnto you by our letters. Sithens also (right reuerend and mighty lord) your sayd messengers are contented, for the present, to accept of our offer aforesayde, as indeede by all reason they ought thereat to rest content, especially whereas by this meanes they shall the more speedily attaine vnto the effect of their purposes (to the shorte and wished execution and performance of which offer, we will, by Gods helpe, endeuour, to the vtmost of our ability) may it be your will and pleasure, that as in the kingdome of England, your marchants and subiects are courteously intreated: euen so the marchants

‡ Namely the ship of Edgard Scof at Calais. The ship of Tidman Dordewant and Tidman Warowen, at Orwel and Zepiswich.

chants and liege people of our soueraigne lord the king and of his kingdomes peaceably frequenting your parts, either in regard of traffique or of any other iust occasion, may there in like manner friendly bee vsed, and with your marchants and subiects suffered to communicate, and to haue intercourse of traffique, inioying the commodities of the ancient league. By this also the feruent zeale and affection which you beare vnto the royall crowne of England shall vndoubtedly appeare: albeit betweene the famous houses of England and of Prussia, the bandes of vnfained loue and friendship haue bin successively confirmed and kept inuiolable in times past. And thus (right reuerend and mighty lord) wishing vnto you increase of honour and prosperity, wee take our leaues. Written at London the fift of October, in the yeare of our lord 1403. Note well. 1403.

By the chancelor, the treasurer, and other lords of the honourable counsell of the king of England and France, being personally present at London.

The letters of king Henry the 4. vnto Conradus de Iungingen the master generall of Prussia, for mutual conuersation and intercourse of traffique to continue betweene the marchants of England and of Prussia, for a certaine terme of time.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England & France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty personage of sacred religion, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Master generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare and welbeloued friend, greeting, and continuall increase of our auncient and sincere amity. By the grieuous complaints of our liege subiects concerning traffique, as it were circularwise too & fro both our dominions, we haue often bene aduertised that in regard of diuers iniuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in marchandise were woont peaceably to vse mutual conuersation together, whereupon very many commodities are knowen to haue proceeded) haue, by occasion of pirates, rouing vp and downe the sea, sometimes heretofore sustayned: both the sayd marchants of our & of your dominions do abstaine themselues frō their wonted mutual cōuersation & traffique, as they haue likewise carefully abstained at sometimes heretofore, and especially from that time, wherein at the instant request of your messengers, being of late before our presence, the free accesse of our marchants vnto your territories and dominions, & of your marchants vnto our realmes hath bene forbidden. Sithens therefore (our most deare friend) such iniuries (if any) as haue bene attempted against your subiects, were neuer committed by our will and consent, as we thinke that your selfe on the other side haue done the like: sithens also, so much as in vs lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full iustice with fauour vnto any of your people being desirous to make complaint, so that accordingly iustice may equally be done vnto our marchants by you & your subiects, which marchants haue in like sort bene iniuried, wishing with all our heart, that the ancient friendship & loue, which hath continued a long time between our realme and your territories and dominions, may perseuere in time to come, and that sweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Christians, may according to the good pleasure of the author of peace, be nourished & mayntained: we do most heartily require the sayd friendship, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf consent & ordain (euen as, if you shall so do, we for our part wil consent likewise) that from this present vntil the feast of Easter next insuing (al molestatiōs & iniuries which may be offred ceasing on both parts) our subiects by your territories & dominions, & your subiects by our realms, may peaceably & securely trauel, & that according to their wonted maner, they may friendly cōuerse & exercise mutual traffick together: because we are determined to send vnto you & your counsel in the mean time some of our ambassadors, friendly to intreat about the fore-said preteded iniuries, so far forth as they shal cōcerne our subiects. At whose arriual we stand in good hope that by the due administration of iustice on both parts, such order (by Gods assistance) shalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquillity may be established between vs in times to come. Also our desire is in particular, that

The ancient friendship betweene England and Prussia.

that our marchants & liege subiects may haue more free passage granted them vnto the parts of Sconia, for the prouiding of herrings and of other fishes there, that they may there remayne, and from thence also may more securely returne vnto their owne home: and we beseech you in consideration of our owne selues, that you would haue our marchants and liege subiects especially recommended vnto you, safely protecting them (if need shall require) vnder the shadow of your defence: euen as you would haue vs to deale in the like case with your own subiects. Moreouer, whatsoeuer you shall thinke good to put in practise in this behalfe, may it please you of your friendship, by our faythfull subiect Iohn Browne the bearer hereof to giue vs to vnderstand. In the sonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall prosperity and felicity according to your owne hearts desire. Giuen vnder our priuie seale, at our palace of Westminster, the fift day of Iune, and in the fift yere of our reigne.

Postscriptum.

Right reuerend and our most deare friend: albeit our welbeloued Arnold de Dassele the procurator of your foresaid messengers, being desirous at this time to make his final returne vnto your parts, by reason of the affayres, for which he hath remained in our realme of England, cannot as yet obtaine his wished expedition: notwithstanding you of your sincere affection ought not to maruel or any whit to be grieued thereat: because troubles of wars arising, which in some sort concerned our selues, and especially in regard of the continuall assaults of the French men & Britons against vs and our kingdome, for the offence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege subiects (especially they, of whom your subiects damnified haue made their complaints) haue armed themselues to combate vpon the sea: we could not graut vnto the foresayd Arnold such and so speedy an expedition, as he earnestly desired to haue. Vnto the which Arnold your procurator we haue offered in as short time as may be, to administer complete iustice with fauour, to ỹ end that for this cause he might dispose himselfe to remaine in our realme of England: & yet notwithstanding wee would do the very same euen in the absence of the sayd procurator. Giuen as aboue.

To the most renowmed prince and mighty Lord, Henrie king of England &c. our gracious Lord.

OVr humble recommendations, with our most instant and continuall prayers for you being graciously by your Maiestie taken in good part &c. Most soueraigne king, mighty prince, gratious lord, and vnto vs most vnfayndly beloued, we receiued of late your gracious letters by your Maiesties liege subiect Iohn Brown, the contents wherof seemed to be these following: first that of long time heretofore, there haue bene between the marchants of your realm & of our lands, not only quiet & peaceable accesse one vnto another, but also mutual participation, & common traffique of their wares, being right cõmodious & availeable for them both: howbeit, that now the foresaid profitable conuersation, by reason of certain notorious robberies, committed vpon the sea by pyrates against both parts, & the wonted accesse also of your subiects vnto our dominions, were altogether forbidden. Moreouer, you call to remembrance the ancient amity & friendship betweene both our lands, with the inualuable commodity of sweet amiable peace, which are by al faithful Christians, to the vttmost of their endeuour to be imbraced. Wherupon you of your exceeding clemency, do offer your Maiesties ful consent, that the foresaid prohibition being released vntil the feast of Easter next ensuing, the said marchants of your dominions may in our territories, and our marchants likewise may in your realms (al molestations ceasing) exercise their wonted traffique: especially sithens in the mean season your royall wisdome hath determined to direct vnto vs your hono: ambassadors in friendly sort to treat and parle with vs as touching the pretended iniuries, so far forth as they may concerne your subiects. Adding moreouer in particular that when your people shall repayre vnto the parts of Sconia to fish for herrings, hauing consideration & regard vnto your maiestie, we would haue them especially recommended vnto our protection &c. Most soueraigne lord & king, & gracious prince,

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wee doe with vnfained and hearty affection embrace the oracles of your maiesties most courteous & acceptable offer: wherein you haue vsed most diligent & effectuall perswasions, that cõplement of iustice should be done vnto the parties iniuried, & that peace & friendship should take place, making no doubt of your own royall person, nor of our selues or of any appertayning vnto vs, but that our inclinations and desires in this regarde are all one and the same: neither would we lightly transgresse the limits of your perswasions without some iust, weighty, & reasonable cause, forasmuch as the matters perswaded are in very deede most happy preseruatiues of a common weale, yea & of nature it selfe. Moreouer whereas your highnes hath farther requested vs, that the prohibition of your subiects accesse vnto our dominions might, vntill the feast of Easter next ensuing, be released: we answere (vnder correction of your maiesties more deliberate counsell) that it is farre more expedient for both parts to haue the sayd prohibition continued then released, vntil such time as satisfaction be performed on both sides vnto the parties endamaged, not in words only, but actually & really in deeds, or by some course of law or friendly composition. For there is no equall nor indifferent kinde of consort or trade betweene the impouerished party and him that is inriched, betweene the partie which hath obtayned iustice and him that hath obtayned none betweene the offender and the party offended: because they are not mooued with like affections. For the remẽbrance of iniuries easily stirreth vp inconsiderate motions of anger. Also, such a kind of temperature or permixtion, as it were, by way of contrariety breedeth more bitternes then sweetnes, more hate then loue: whereupon more grieuous complaints aswel vnto your highnes as vnto our selues, might be occasioned. The lord knoweth, that euen now we are too much wearied and disquieted with the importunate and instant complaints of our subiects, insomuch that wee cannot at this present by any conuenient meanes release or dissolue the sayd prohibition, before wee be sufficiently informed by your maiesties ambassadors, of the satisfaction of our endamaged subiects. Furthermore, whereas your maiesties request, concerning your subiects that shal come vnto the parts of Scõnia, is that we would defend them vnder our protection: be it knowen vnto your highnes, that for diuers considerations vs reasonably mouing, being prouoked by the queene of Denmarke and her people, being also vrged thereunto full sore against our wils, for the repelling and auoiding of iniuries, we haue sent forth our armie against them. Howbeit for a certaine time a truce is concluded on both parts, so that our people are actually returned home. Farre be it from vs also, that our subiects being occupied in warres, should in any sort willingly molest or reproch any strangers, of what landes or nations soeuer, not being our professed enemies. For this should be to oppresse the innocent in stead of the guilty, to condemne the iust for the vniust: then which nothing can be more cruel, nor a reuenge of greater impietie. In very deede (most gracious prince and lorde) we are moued with right hearty sympathy and compassion for any inconuenience which might happen in your regiment: wishing from the bottome of our hearts, that all affayres may right prosperously and happily succeede, about the royall person and regiment of your most excellent Maiestie, and that continually. The like whereof wee hope from you: most humbly commending our selues, and our whole Order vnto your highnes. Giuen at our castle of Marienburgh, the 16. day, the moneth of July, in the yere of our Lord 1404.

Margaret queen of Denmarke.

An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth and Conradus de Iungingen Master generall of the land of Prussia.

THis Indenture made between Sir William Esturmy knight, John Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London the ambassadors, commissioners, & messengers of the most mighty prince and lord, our soueraigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lorde of Ireland, for the repayring, reformation, and amends of whatsoeuer damages, grieuances, excesses, violences, and iniuries in any sort vniustly attempted, done, or offered, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king and his liege people and subiects, vnto the great and mighty lord Conradus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Ierusalem, or his subiects: and for the requiring, de-

manding, and receiuing of such like reparations, reformations & amends, by the foresayd lord the Master generall, for the behalfe of himselfe or any of his subiects whatsoeuer, from & in the name of our soueraign lord the king & his subiects, vnto the sayd Master general, into his land of Prussia, by our soueraigne lord the king, & appointed as ambassadors on the one party: And betweene the hono: Lords and religious personages Conradus de Lichtenstein great commander, Warnherus de Tetuingen chiefe hospitalary & commader in Elbing, & Arnold de Hacken treasurer, the procurators & commissioners of the great & mighty lord the Master general, being in like & equal sort and in all respects, as the ambassadours of England are, authorized on the contrary side by the authoritie and power of the sayd Master general on the other part, witnesseth: That diuers treaties & conferences being holden between the said ambassadors, messengers, & procurators or comissioners of & concerning the reparations, reformations & amends of certaine damages, grieuances, excesses, violences & iniuries offered and attempted, as wel by the Prussians against the English as by the English against the Prussians, and of other actes vniustly committed on both parts: in conclusion, after the sayd treatise, the foresayd ambassadours, procurators and commissioners by vertue of the authority committed vnto them appoynted, and with one consent agreed vnto the articles vnder written.

Inprimis, that for the consideration of mutuall loue and woonted friendship, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and also that the articles vnder written may more prosperously be brought vnto a wished effect, between our said soueraign lord the king & his liege people & subiects, & the subiects, people, & inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foresayd lord the Master generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of England whatsoeuer, shall haue free licence and libertie to arriue with their shippes, goods and marchandises whatsoeuer, at any porte of the land of Prussia, and also the sayd goods and marchandises farther vnto any place of the sayd land of Prussia to transport, and there with any person or persons freely to contract and bargaine, euen as heretofore, and from auncient times it hath bene accustomed. Which liberty in all respects is granted vnto the Prussians in England.

Item it is farther agreed betweene the sayd ambassadours, procurators, and commissioners,
1403. that whereas of late, namely in the yeare of our lord 1403, the sayd Master general by his discreet subiects Iohn Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambassadors & messengers, for this purpose hath caused certain articles, (namely 20, in number) containing in them matters of damages, molestations, violences, and iniuries committed and offered against the said Master generall & his subiects, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king his subiects & liege people, to be exhibited, giuen vp and deliuered vnto our lord the king aforesaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the sayd 20, articles, by the aforesaid ambassadors, commissioners, and procurators, as in the acts & pleas had and made before the sayd ambassadors, commissioners and procurators, and in the records made and written of and about the examination of such articles, it is more at large contayned (vnto the which the sayd ambassadors, commissioners, and messengers doe here in this place referre themselues) of the which articles also some are receiued by the commissioners aforesayd, and others are proroged vnto a certaine time vnder written, euen as in the foresayd registers it is more fully contayned and put downe in writing.

As touching certaine other articles also exhibited a newe vnto the sayd English ambassadors, in the land of Prussia being 16 in number (whereof one is admitted, & the rest are proroged vntil a terme vnder written) the same course is to be taken and obserued, which was before appoynted and agreed vpon, about the articles deliuered and exhibited vnto our foresayd soueraigne lorde the king, as is aforesayd.

Moreouer, as touching the articles exhibited by the English ambassadours in the name and behalfe of their sayd soueraigne lord the king of England, vnto the procuratours and commissioners of the foresayd lord the Master generall (of the which some are declared already, and the declaration of the rest is proroged vntill a certayne terme vndernamed, euen as in the registers made of and vpon the examination of the sayd articles, it is more manifestly

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prouided) the same course is to be taken, which must be obserued about the articles of the sayd lord the Master generall, exhibited, as well vnto the foresayd soueraigne prince in England, as vnto his ambassadors in the land of Prussia, euen as about the sayd articles it is before concluded.

The complaints of the Liuonians.

And whereas on the behalfe of the citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp, and of other townes in the land of Liuonia, many and great complaints haue bene by way of articles exhibited and deliuered vnto the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, which for diuers causes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed vpon betweene the ambassadours, and the commissioners aforesayd, that the saide citizens and marchants may in the towne of Dordract in Holland, vpon the first day of the moneth of May next ensuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and prorogation of all other articles not fully declared in the partes of Prussia, shall be put in vre) by themselues or their lawfull procurators, make their appearance, for the obtayning of a conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation of all iniuries attempted against them, then, or at some other times within one whole yere next following, and not afterward, being effectually set downe and limited, at the place aforesaid, by the consent of the ambassadours and commissioners of either parte, all lawfull impediments ceasing.

Prouided alwayes, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandises, whereof the said citizens and marchants of Liuonia, in their articles receiued by the sayde English ambassadours, as is aforesayd, doe make mention, shall be iustly esteemed, prized, and approoued, not by any of England, or of Prussia, or of Liuonia, but by some other indifferent marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants, which such like marchandise would haue amounted vnto, if, at the time when they were taken, they had bene to be solde at the town of Bruges in Flanders.

Forasmuch also, as diuers and sundry Prussians (who exhibited manifolde Articles of complaints, being receiued by the said English Ambassadours, at their abode in Prussia) made not their personall appearance, before the saide English Ambassadours, in the lande of Prussia aforesaide: The prorogation aboue-mentioned was made vnto the first day of the moneth of May: and also it was agreed vpon by the saide Ambassadours, Procurators, and Commissioners, that the saide parties which had not appeared before shall haue libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, vpon the first of May aforesaide, at the towne of Dordract, either by themselues or by their Procurators, and also to bring with them the letters testimonial, and patents, sealed with the seale of the saide Lord the master generall, (he hauing first of all receiued sound and sufficient information from the cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of the damages and grieuances any way vniustly inflicted vpon them or any of them by the English) to the end that they may there by articles conueniently declare and proue, before the Ambassadours, Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners of both partes, the rate and value of their saide goods: and that in so doing they may obtaine conuenient, iust, and reasonable restitution, for all acts vniustly attempted against them, then, or at some other times effectually to bee set downe and limited at the foresaid place by the consent of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, euen as it was aboue promised vnto the marchants of Liuonia.

But if they of Prussia last aboue-mentioned, shall not vpon the first of May, and at the place appointed, for some cause, make their appearance, that then it shalbe lawfull for them, at any time within one yeere next following, to repaire vnto the lord Chancelor of England, at the citie of London, and to insinuate and declare vnto him their complaints before exhibited vnto the saide English Ambassadours in the land of Prussia, or which complaints should haue bene deliuered at the foresaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finished and dispatched: and also by articles as is aforesaide, to declare and proue the true worth and estimation of all damages and grieuances any wayes vniustly offered by the English vnto them or any of them: to the ende that they may (as it is aboue mentioned) effectually receiue, and also speedily and easily obtaine conuenient, iust, and rea-

sonable reformation and satisfaction, for al acts vniustly attempted against them, which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finished.

Moreouer, it is appointed and agreed vpon betweene the foresaide Ambassadours and Commissioners: that the forenamed soueraign Lord & the said lord the Master general are to send and set forward their Ambassadours, messengers, and Commissioners, vpon the first of May vnto the place appointed, to treate, parle, agree, and conclude about those affaires, which shal then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermore, betweene the often mentioned Ambassadours, Procurators, and Commissioners, it is enacted and concluded: that vnto all and singular lawfull statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the saide lorde the Master generall, in his land of Prussia, or by his Proconsuls and Consuls, and his gouernours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Prussia, vnto the obseruation whereof, aswell the subiectes of the said Master general, as foreners and strangers, are tyed and bound: vnto the very same statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, al English marchants whatsoeuer resorting vnto the land of Prussia, must be firmely bounden and subiect. *Note well.*

Also it is ordained, that whatsoeuer sale-clothes are already transported, or at any time hereafter to bee transported out of England into Prussia by the English marchants, and shall there be offered to bee solde, whether they be whole cleathes or halfe cloathes, they must containe both their endes.

Lastly, that the matters aboue-mentioned fall not short and voyde of their wished effect; the treaty and conference about all and singular damages and grieuances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there must be, by the vertue of these presents, performed, a reformation and amendment) must be continued and proroged vntill the first of May next ensuing: as by these presents they are continued and proroged with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of Dordract aforesaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane space, as occasion shall serue, by both parties to be limited and assigned, or else within one yeere after the said first day of the moneth of May next ensuing bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, shall haue performed vnto them a conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation on both partes. Prouided alwayes, if within the terme of the saide yeere, some conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation bee not performed vnto the parties iniuried, and endamaged, which are generally aboue mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foresaid yere shall expired, the Prussians shall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the saide Soueraigne Lord the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which they shal haue gotten or bought, within the space of the foresaid three moneths: and that the English men also are likewise, in all respects bounden to auoid and (no lawfull impediment hindering them) to withdrawe themselues and to depart out of the terrytories and dominions of the saide Master generall, without all molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoeuer, none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this regard.

Howbeit least that by the robberies and piracies of some insolent and peruerse people, matter should be ministred vnto the said lord the Master generall, of swaruing from the faithfull obseruation of the foresaide agreements, or (which God forbid) any occasion bee giuen him of not obseruing them: it is also decreed by the often aboue mentioned Ambassadours and messengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the saide lorde Master generall his subiectes whatsoeuer shall be from henceforth vniustly taken vpon the Sea, by any English Pirates, and shalbe caried into the realme of England, and there receiued, that the Gouernours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatsoeuer names they be called) at the which portes and places such marchandises and goods shall chaunce to arriue, beeing onely informed of the saide goods and marchandises, by sole report, or (other proofes wanting) by probable suspition are bound to arrest and to keep them in safe custodie, fauourably to be restored vnto the owners thereof, whensoeuer they shall be lawfully demaunded: which if they shall omit or deny to performe, from thenceforth the saide

saide gouernours and keepers are bound to make vnto the parties endamaged, a recompense of their losses.

And for fault of iustice to be executed, by the said gouernours and keepers, our soueraign lord the king aboue named, after he shall conueniently be requested by the parties damnified, is bound within three moneths next ensuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted) to make correspondent, iust, and reasonable satisfaction, vnto the saide partes endamaged. Otherwise, that it shal be right lawfull for the saide lorde the Master generall, to arrest, and after the arrest to keepe in safe custodie the goods of the English marchants being in the land of Prussia, to the condigne satisfaction of such iniuries, as haue bene offered vnto his subiects, vntill his said subiects be iustly and reasonably contented.

Likewise also in all respects, the same iustice is to be done vnto the English by the said Lord the Master generall and his subiects in Prussia, euen as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the aboue written clause, beginning, Cæterum ne per &c. In English. Howbeit least that &c. for the said Master general, and his subiects by the foresaide ambassadors of England, and the commissioners of the said lord the Master generall, that in like cases iustice ought to be administred on the behalfe of himselfe, and of his subiects in the realme of England.

And that all and singular the couenants aboue written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concerne, firmly and inuiolably be obserued: the forenamed ambassadors, messengers, and commissioners, all and euery of them, for the full credite, probation, and testimonie of all the premisses, haue vnto these present Indentures, made for the same purpose, caused euerie one of their seales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the custodie of the English ambassadors, and the other part in the hands of the commissioners of Prussia. Giuen at the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. vpon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

An agreement made betweene King Henrie the fourth and the common societie of the Marchants of the Hans.

THis Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clearke, procurators, messengers, and commissioners sufficiently deputed and authorized by the most mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, & France, and lord of Ireland, for the performation of ỹ things vnderwritten, on the one part: & the hon. personages M. Henry Vredeland, M. Riman Salum chief notaries, Thederic Knesuolt secretary, M. Simõ Clouesten chief notary, and Iohn Zotebotter citizen, being sufficiently made and ordained procurators and messengers, on the behalfe of the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Gripeswold, for the demanding & obtaining seuerally, of due reformation, and recompense at the hands of our saide souereigne lord the king, and of his messengers and commissioners aforesayde, for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and manslaughters, any wayes vniustly done, and offred seuerally by the liege people and subiects of our soueraigne lord the king, vnto the common societie of the marchants of the Hans, and vnto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide whatsoeuer on the other part, Witnesseth: That betweene all and euery of the saide Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners, by vertue of the authoritie committed vnto them, it hath bene and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege marchants and subiects of our said soueraigne lord the king, and the marchants of the common societie of the Dutch Hans aforesaide, from hencefoorth for one whole yeere and seuen moneths immediately next ensuing and following, shalbe permitted and licenced friendly, freely, and securely, to exercise mutual traffike, and like marchants to buy & sell together, one of, and vnto another, euen as in times past, namely, in the yeere 1400. and before that time also, they haue bin accustomed to exercise mutuall traffike and marchandise, and to buy and sell. 1400.

Also the saide William and Iohn agreed and consented, that they themselues, or some other perhaps to be appointed in this behalfe by their saide lord the king in their stead, shall vpon the first day of the moneth of May next to come, with the continuation of the dayes following,

at

at the towne of Dordract in Holland, or vpon any other terme or termes, then perhaps to bee limited, competently satisfie, and performe conuenient recompence vnto the saide common societie, citizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide, and also of other cities, townes and villages of the Hans, of and for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and drownings, or manslaughters done and committed, as they alleage, against them, deliuered and exhibited in written articles, vnto the aboue named William and Iohn, or els heereafter to bee deliuered and exhibited, either by the same procurators or by some others, which shall perhaps be authorized in their stead, or by the messengers procurators and commissioners of other cities, townes, and places of the Hans, in equall and like maner and forme, euen as at the saide terme limited, or then perhaps to be proroged, there is appointed by the said William and Iohn, reparation, reformation, and recompence vnto the inhabitants of Prussia, and Liuonia, for the iniuries, damages, and grieuances vniustly done and committed against them by the liege people and subiects of the saide soueraigne lord the king, in the presence of the mightie lord the Master general of Prussia, in his land of Prussia, as in certain letters indented, bearing date in the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord 1405. and being made and written about the reparation, reformation, and recompence of such like iniuries &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be vnderstood as if it were inserted) it is more manifestly contained.

It was furthermore promised by the said William and Iohn, that they should not inforce nor compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common society of the Hans, or of the aboue named cities, or of any other cities of the Hans aforesaid (hauing receiued sufficient information of their dwelling and place of abode) to more difficult or district proofes of their Articles of complaints alreadie exhibited, and in the foresaide termes to come, to bee exhibited, then vnto the inhabitants of the lands of Prussia and Liuonia, according to the forme of the Indentures aboue mentioned.

Moreouer the saide William and Iohn doe promise, that so soone as they shall come into the kingdome of England, and before the presence of their king, they shall prouide, that all and singular the priuiledges graunted vnto the marchants of the saide Hans by the renowmed kings of England, and confirmed by the said Soueraigne lord the king that now is, must, according to al their contents, be inuiolably obserued by the said soueraigne king and his subiects: and also, that from henceforth nothing is vniustly to be attempted, vpon any occasion, pretense, or colour, by the saide Soueraigne Prince, and the inhabitants of the realme of England, to the preiudice of the sayde priuiledges. They shall prouide also, that all things heretofore attempted and practised against the saide priuiledges, shall, by reasonable amendement and iust reformation, vtterly be abolished.

But if after the date of these presents (which God forfend) within the space of the said one yere and seuen moneths prescribed any damages, iniuries or grieuances, in ships, goods, or persons, should, either by the English and the inhabitants of England be vniustly inflicted vpon the cities, and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforesaid, or by any marchants or others of the cities or townes of the saide Hans, either vnto the English, or vnto any of the inhabitants of that Realme, vpon any fained pretense whatsoeuer, all and singular the foresaid messengers, commissioners, ambassadours, and procurators haue promised, that all such damages, iniuries and molestations so inflicted by them who shall offer and commit them, must bee reformed and amended, after the very same forme and manner, that in the like case reformation, reparation and amends of iniuries, damages, and molestations committed by the English against them of Prussia is to be performed, according vnto a certaine clause contained in the letters aboue mentioned, which beginneth: Cæterum ne per &c. In English: Howbeit least that &c. continuing vnto that clause: Et vt præscripta omnia &c. In English: And that all the couenants aboue written &c.

It was also concluded betweene the foresaide messengers, commissioners, and procurators, and with one generall consent agreed vpon, that if from the first day of the moneth of May next to come, within one whole yeere following, some conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation be not performed vnto the parties iniuried and damnified generally aboue mentioned,

tioned, in regard of their damages, molestations, and iniuries: then, within three moneths after the saide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities aforesaid are bound, without any molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoeuer (none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this behalfe) to auoyde (and if no lawfull impediment shall hinder them) to abstaine and depart from the Realmes and Dominions of the said Soueraigne king of England, with their marchandize and other goods bought or gotten within the space of the saide three monethis: and also the English likewise in all respects shall auoide, abstaine, and depart from the territories and dominions of the Hans cities aforesaide.

Also it was promised by the saide William and Iohn, that at the terme appointed, namely vpon the first of May next following, or at some other terme or termes then limited or to bee limited, there must be made a due recompense, and a proportionall satisfaction, for all those persons of the land of Prussia, Liuonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of the Hans, who haue vniustly bene drowned, and slaine by the English: and that according to the tenour of a certain schedule written concerning a recompense to be had in regarde of the saide persons drowned and slaine, and presented vnto them by Albertus Rode consul of the citie of Thoren, and by the forenamed procurators and messengers of the cities aforesaid, they must faithfully and effectually, to the vtmost of their abilitie indeuour, for the obtaining of the saide recompense and amends. In witnesse whereof (these letters of indenture remaining in the possession of the saide William and Iohn the messengers, procurators, & commissioners of England aforesaid, and left in their custodie, by the aboue named procurators and messengers Henrie Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and Iohn Sotebotter, of their certaine knowledge and assurance) and for the full confirmation and testimonie of al the premisses, the foresaid procurators and messengers haue put to their seales. Giuen in the towne of Dordract the 15. day of December in the yere of our Lord 1405.

William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this behalfe sufficiently authorized and deputed as Ambassadours, procurators, messengers and commissioners, by our said soueraigne lord the king, namely in regard of the molestations, iniuries and damages vniustly done and committed against the liege people and subiectes of the foresaide most excellent Prince and lord, Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England & France, and Lord of Ireland, by the communalties of the cities of Wismer and Rostok vnderwritten, their common coūsel being assembled for the same purpose, & authorized also, and as well closely as expresly maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common society of the marchants of the Dutch Hans) doe, in this present diet at the towne of Hage situate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed for the very same occasion, demaund of you Syr Iohn de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer deputies for the cities of Wismer and Rostok, and sufficiently ordeined by authority requisite in this behalfe, to be the procurators and messengers of the said cities, that conuenient, iust, and reasonable satisfaction and recompense may certainely and effectually be done vnto the iniuried and endamaged parties, who are specified in the articles vnder written.

Imprimis, that about the feast of Easter, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. Henry van Pomeren, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Hawfoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wismer and of Rostok, being of the societie of the Hans, tooke, by maine force, a ship of Newcastle vpon Tine, called Godezere sailing vpon the sea towards Prussia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging vnto Roger de Thorneton, Robert Gabiford, Iohn Paulin, and Thomas de Chester: which ship, together with the furniture thereof amounteth vnto the value of foure hundred pounds: also the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the summes of money contained in the said ship amounted vnto the value of 200. marks of English money: moreouer they vniustly slew Iohn Patanson and Iohn Russell in the surprising of the shippe and goods aforesaide, and there they imprisoned the sayde parties taken, and, to their vtter vndoing, detayned them in prison for the space of three whole yeeres. Newcastle. An English ship of 200. tunnes.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine persons of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one Richard Horuse of Hull of diuers goods and marchandizes Hull.

marchandizes in a ship called the Shipper Berline of Prussia, beeing then valued at 160. nobles.

Hull. Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1395. Hans van Wethemonkule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strotbeker, by force of armes, and by the assistance of the men of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway, wickedly and vniustly take from Iohn Tutteburie, fiue pieces of waxe, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a last of osmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred seuentie sixe nobles.

Hull. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1396. one Iohn van Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainously and vniustly tooke a shippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie wollen broad clothes, and a thousand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds.

Hull. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. one Iohn van Derlowe, Wilmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Euerade Pilgrimson, and diuers others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway villainously and vniustly take a shippe of Iohn Wisedome of Hull called the Trinitie, with diuers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, waxe, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds.

Hull. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. one Clays Scheld, and others aboue written of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and vniustly took from one William Pound marchant of Hull, two cakes of waxe, to the value of 18. poundes, out of the ship called the Hawkin Derlin of Dantzik.

Yorke. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. one Goddekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and diuers others of Wismer and Rostok, and of the Hans, wickedly and vniustly tooke out of a ship of Elbing (the master whereof was called Henry Puys) of the goods and marchandizes of Henrie Wyman, Iohn Topcliffe, and Henry Lakenswither of Yorke, namely in werke, waxe, osmunds, and bowstaues, to the value of 1060. nobles.

Yorke. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats, wickedly and vniustly took out of a ship of Holland (the master whereof was called Hinkensman) 140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight nobles) from Thomas Thester of Yorke, and a chest, with armour, siluer and Golde of the foresaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds.

London. Item, in the yere of our Lord 1393. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, and others their complices of the Hans, wickedly and vniustly tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth, greene cloth, meale and fishes, to the value of 133 li. 6. s.

London. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. about the feast of S. Michael, one Nicholas Femeer of Wismer marchant of the Hans, with the assistance of other his complices of the Hans aforesaide, wickedly and vniustly tooke from one Richard Morley citizen of London fiue lasts of herrings, besides 32. pounds, in the sea called Northsound.

Colchester. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the moneth of September, one Godekin Wisle, and Gerard Sleyre of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and vniustly took out of a ship of Prussia (wherof the master was named Rorebek) from Iohn Seburgh marchant of Colchester two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of an 100. markes: from Stephan Flispe, and Iohn Plumer marchants of the same town two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from Robert Wight marchant of the same towne, two packes of woollen cloth to the value of an 100. marks: from William Munde marchant of the same town, two fardels of woollen cloth, worth 40. li. & from Iohn Dawe, and Thomas Cornwaile marchants of the same towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth 200. marks. Moreouer they tooke and imprisoned certaine English men, which were in the said ship, namely William Fubborne seruant vnto Iohn Diere, Thomas Mersh seruant vnto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ransome 20. nobles of English money, William Munde marchant of the towne aforesaide, which William, by reason of the extremity of that imprisonment, lost the sight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foresaide Towne, which Thomas paide for his raunsome twentie nobles.

Item,

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, vpon the coastes of Denmarke and Norway, beneath Scawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and Iohn Walters marchants of Yermouth: and Robert Cantmbridge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich, in a certaine shippe of Elbing in Prussia (whereof one Clays Goldesmith was master) with diuers woollen clothes of the saide Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald, to the value of one thousande marks English, and carried the persons and goods aforesaide, away with them: and the said Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald they imprisoned at Courtbuttressow, and there detained them, vntill they paide an hundred markes for their redemption. Yermouth. Norwich.

Item in the yeere of our Lorde 1401. some of the inhabitants of Wismer and of Rostok wickedly tooke at Longsound in Norway, a certaine shippe of West-Stowe in Zeland (the Master whereof was one Gerard Dedissen) laden with diuerse goods and marchandises of Iohn Hughson of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of sheepe, with butter, masts, sparres, boordes, questingstones and wilde werke, to the value of an hundred marks, and do as yet detaine the said things in their possession, some of the Hans being their assistants in the premisses. Yermouth. Longsound in Norway.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402. certaine of the Hans, of Rostok, and of Wismer, tooke vpon the coast of England, neere vnto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the master) laden with bay salt, to the quantitie of 130. wayes, and with a thousand canuisse clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the saide goods in their possession, the said Hugh being endamaged, by the losse of his ship, and of his goods aforesaid 800. nobles and the foresaid Master and the mariners loosing, in regard of their wages, canuas, and armour, 200. nobles. Yermouth.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1405. certaine malefactors of Wismer wickedly and vniustly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ship of Yarmouth (the owner whereof was William Oxney and the master Thomas Smith) laden with salt, cloth, and salmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detaine the said ship and goods in their possession, some of the Hans their confederates ayding and assisting them at the same time. Yermouth. Selow in Norway.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of one Iohn Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (whereof Laurence Tuk of Cley was master) and conueighed the said ship vnto Maustrond in Norway, and the saide Master and mariners they robbed of diuers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and salt fishes being in the same ship, to the value of 500. nobles. Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of one William Bets of Cley called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was master) and conueyed the ship it self vnto Mawstrond in Norway, and there robbed the master and his partners of diuers commodities, namely of artillerie, furniture, and salt fishes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the said masters mates they maliciously drowned. Cley.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, the forenamed Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully took vpon the sea a certain ship of Nicholas Steyhard and Iohn Letis of Cley called the Nicholas (wherof Iohn Prest was master) and conueyed the said ship vnto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his companie of diuers commodities, namely of furniture and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 320. nobles. Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast aforesaid, the said Godekins and Stertebeker, & their companions of the Hans vniustly took vpon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Isabel (whereof William Noie was master) and conueyed it vnto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his company of diuers commodities, as namely of furniture, and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 406. nobles. Cley.

Item, in the yeere next aboue mentioned, vpon the Saterday, about the foresaid feast, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans vnlawfully took vpō the sea, a certain ship of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helens, wherein Cley.

Robert Alwey was master, & also wickedly and vniustly drowned in the bottom of the sea diuers commodities, as namely salt fishes, together with the ship it selfe.

Cley. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the feast of S. Michael the archangel, the foresaid Godekin & Stertebeker, with other their cõfederats of the Hans, took at Langsound in Norway a certain crayer of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was master) & the foresaid crayer they wickedly and vniustly caried away, being worth 280. nobles.

Wiueton. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and others of the Hans vniustly tooke a certain ship of Simon Durham, called the Dogger-ship, and the Peter of Wiueton, laden with salt fishes (whereof Iohn Austen was master) vpon the coast of Denmarke. And they caried away the saide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foresaid salt fishes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreouer, the master, and 25. mariners in the same ship they maliciously slewe, and a certaine ladde of the saide Dogger they caried with them vnto Wismer.

Wiueton. Item, in the foresaid yeere, and about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, with other their complices, vniustly tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Lyderpole, and Iohn Coote of Wiueton: and the master and mariners which were in the saide shippe, they villanously slue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godsonne, nephew, and seruant of the foresaid Simon Durham. Which ship, with the goods and furniture that were therein was worth 410. nobles.

Wiueton. Item, in the very same yeere, about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker & other their complices wickedly spoiled a certaine ship of the foresaid Simon Durham called the Dogger, wherein Geruase Cat was master, lying at an anker, while the companie were occupied about fishing, and likewise vniustly tooke away with them the salt fishes, and furniture of the said ship. Moreouer, the master and his company that were in the said Dogger they beate and wounded, so that they vtterly lost their fishing for that yeere, the master and his said companie being endamaged thereby, to the summe of 200. nobles.

Wiueton. Item, in the yere of our Lord 1396. the foresaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their complices vniustly tooke vpon the sea a certain crayer, called the Buss of Zeland, which one Iohn Ligate marchant, and seruant vnto the forenamed Simon Durham had laden in Prussia, on the behalfe of the said Simon, to saile for England, and spoiled the said craier, and also tooke and caried away with them the goods and marchandises of the said Simon, being in the foresaid ship, to the value of 66. pounds.

Wiueton. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, tooke a crayer of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Bussship, which Alan Barret the seruant and factor of the foresaid Simon Durham had laden with masts, sparres, and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the said Simon, and vniustly tooke from thence the goods of the said Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and caried the same away.

Lenne. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and others of the Hans vniustly tooke vpon the sea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the foresaid Simon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain crayer of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and bound for Dantzik in Prussia.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe auouch, verifie, & affirme, that about the feast of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394 sundry malefactors and robbers of Wismer & Rostok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ships, arrined at the towne of Norbern in Norway, and tooke the said town by strong assault, and also wickedly and vniustly took al the marchants of Lenne there residing with their goods & cattels, and burnt their houses and mansions in the same place, and put their persons vnto great ransoms; euen as by the letters of safeconduct deliuered vnto the said marchants it may more euidently appeare, to the great damage and impouerishment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Inprimis they burnt there 21. houses belonging vnto the said marchants, to the va-

12. houses of English marchants burnt at Norbern in Norway.

lue

lue of 440. nobles. Item, they tooke from Edmund Belvetere, Thomas Hunt, Iohn Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 1815. pounds.

Concerning this surprise Albertus Krantzius in the sixt book of his history of Norway, and the 8. Chapter writeth in maner following.

IN the meane while Norway enioyed peace vnder the gouernment of a woman: vntil Albertus king of Suecia, who had now seuen yeeres continued in captiuity vnder Queen Margaret, was to be set at liberty. Which, when the common souldiers of Rostok & Wismer, called the Vitalians perceiued, (who, whilest their king was holden captiue, in the right of the forenamed cities, for the behalfe of their lord the king being prince of Mekleburg by birth, vndertooke and waged warre al the time of his captiuitie) banding their forces together, they resolued, at their own costs & charges, but in the right of the said cities, to saile into the 3. kingdoms, and to take such spoiles as they could lay hold on. These common souldiers therfore, seeing an end of their tyrannical and violent dealing to approch, sailed into Norway, vnto the towne of Norbern, being a mart town for al the marchants of Germanie: who transporting fishes from thence, doe bring thither marchandises of all kinds, especially corne, vnto the scarcitie wherof, vnlesse it be brought out of other countreys, that kingdome (as we haue said) is very much subiect. Departing out of their ships and going on shore, they set vpon the towne, and by fire and sword they easily compelled the inhabitants dwelling in weake wodden houses, to giue place. Thus these Vitalians entring and surprising the towne conueyed such spoiles vnto their ships as them pleased, and hauing laden their ships with those booties, they returned home frolike vnto the ports of their own cities. Without all respect, they robbed and rifled the goods, aswel of the Germanes, as of the Norwagians: and like lewde companions, wasting and making hauock of all things, prooued themselues neuer the wealthier. For it is not the guise of such good fellowes to store vp or to preserue ought. The citizens, at the first, seemed to be inriched: howbeit afterward, (no man misdoubting any such calamitie) goods ill gotten were worse spent. Thus farre Krantzius. The Vitalians

Item, pitifully complaining, the foresaide marchants auouch, verifie, and affirme, that vpon the 14. day after the feast of S. George, in the yeere of our Lord next aboue written, as 4. ships of Lenne, laden with cloth, wine, and other marchandises, were sailing vpon the maine sea, with all the goods and wares conteined in them, for Prussia, sundry malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, being in diuers ships, came vpon them, and by force of armes and strong hand tooke the said ships, with the goods and marchandises contained in them: and some of the people which were in the saide foure ships, they slew, some they spoyled, and others they put vnto extreame ransomes. And carying away with them those foure ships with the commodities and marchandise therin, they parted stakes therwith, as them listed, to the great impouerishment & losse of the said marchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Silesden, Tho. Waterden, Ioh. Brandon, Ioh. Wesenhā, & other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 3623. li. 5. s. 11. d. Lenne.

Item, pitifully complaining the foresaid marchants doe affirme, that one Henry Lambolt and other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke vpon the maine sea betweene Norway and Scaw, one crayer laden with osmunds, and with diuers other marchandises, perteining vnto Iohn Brandon of Lenne, to the summe and value of 443. li. 4. s. 2. d. Moreouer, they tooke from Iohn Lakingay 4. lasts and an halfe of osmunds, to the value of 220. lib. 10. s. Lenne.

Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certain malefactors of Wismer, with other their complices of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. tooke from Thomas Ploket of Lenne, out of a certaine ship sailing vpon the maine sea towards Sconeland (whereof Iames Saycop was master) cloth and other marchandise, to the summe and value of 13. lib. 18. s. 4. d. Lenne.

Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors of Wismer, with others of the Hans society, in the yere of our Lord 1397. wickedly and vniustly took Lenne.

out of a certaine ship of Dantzik (whereof Laurence van Russe was master) from Ralph Bedingam of Lenne, one fardel of cloth worth 52. li. 7. s. 6. d. Also, for the ransome of his seruant, 8. li. 6. s. 8. d. Item, they tooke from Thomas Earle diuers goods, to the value of 24. pounds.

Lenne. Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certaine malefactors of Wismer & Rostok, with others of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly & vniustly tooke one crayer pertayning vnto Iohn Lakinglich of Lenne, laden with diuers goods and marchandise pertaining vnto sundry marchants of Lenne, namely from the forenamed Iohn one fardel of cloth, and one chest full of harneis, and other things, to the value of 90. lib. Item, they took out of the foresaid ship from Roger Hood, one fardel of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 58. lib. Item, from Iohn Pikeron, one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 440. lib. Item, from Andrew Purser one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers commodities therein, to the value of ten pounds.

Lenne. Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors of Wismer & Rostok, and others of the Hans, namely, Godekin Mighel, Henrie van Hall de Stertebeker, with other of their confederates, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly and vniustly took from Iohn Prieur of Lenne, out of the ship of Michael van Burgh, namely 160. nests of masers, worth 100. lib. 13. s. 4. d. Item, 30. furres rigges of Kaleber woorth 13. s. 4. d. a piece, the summe totall amounting to 20. li. Item, 20. furres wombys of Kalebre worth &c. Item, one girdle of siluer, and one dagger adorned with siluer worth 30. s. Item, two coates, and one long iacket, and other goods, to the value of 30. s. Item, he paide for his ransome 4. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Vnto all and singular the articles aboue-written, the ambassadors of England aforesaid do further adde, that the doers and authors of the damages, iniuries, and robberies set down in the articles aboue written, (of whom some are named in particular, and others in general) performed and committed all those outrages, being hired thereunto at the expenses and charges of the common societies of the cities aforesaid. And that the inhabitants of euery houshold in the foresaide cities (ech man according to his ability) wittingly & purposely set foorth one, two, or more men, for the very same expedition, wherein all and singular the foresaid trespasses were committed.

Note the secret treasons of the Hans.

The foresaid English ambassadors doe exhibite the articles aboue-written vnto the procurators of the cities of Wismer and Rostok aforesaid: leaue and libertie being alwayes reserued vnto the said ambassadors, to enlarge, or to diminish, or to expound all, or euery, or any of the said Articles whatsoeuer, so often as it shall seeme expedient vnto them.

These be the grieuances and offences, whereat the marchants of the Hans of Almaine, comming vnto, and residing in the Realme of England, doe finde themselues aggrieued, contrarie to the Articles and priuileges of the Charter graunted vnto them by the worthy Progenitors of the king of England that now is, and also by the saide soueraigne Lord the King, ratified, and confirmed.

IMprimis, whereas the foresaide marchants haue a priuilege graunted vnto them by Charter, that they may, in cities, boroughs, and in other towns and villages throughout the whole realme of England, exercise traffique in grosse, as wel with the natural inhabitants of the kingdome, as with strangers, and priuate persons: of late, those that are free denizens in the cities, boroughs, and villages within the foresaid kingdome, do hinder and restrain all others that be strangers, foreners, and aliens, that they neither can, nor dare buy and sel with the marchants of the Hans aforesaid, to their great hinderance and losse.

Item, the foresaid marchants by vertue of their charter were wont to haue and to hold Innes and mansions, for the reposing of themselues and of their goods, wheresoeuer they pleased in any cities, boroughs, or villages, throughout the whole kingdome: howbeit of late the foresaide marchants are not suffered to take vp their mansions, contrary to the tenour of their charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuileged not to vndergoe any other burthens or impositions, but onely to pay certaine customs, as it doeth by their charter manifestly appeare.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding at ỹ same time when Simon de Morelen was maior of London, the foresaid marchants were constrained, in the ward of Doue-gate at London, to pay fifteenths, tallages, and other subsidies contrary to the liberties of their charter. Whereupon the saide marchants prosecuted the matter before the Councel of our soueraign lord the king, insomuch that they were released from paying afterward any such tallages, fifteenths, and subsidies. Which marchants, a while after, of their owne accord and free will, gaue vnto the gild-hall of London an hundreth markes sterling, conditionally, that they of the citie aforesaide should not at any time after exact or demaund of the said marchants, or of their successors, any tallages, fifteenths, or subsidies, contrary to the tenor of their charter, as by records in the foresaid gild-hall, it doth more plainly appeare. Howbeit of late the officers of our lord the king, in the foresaid ward of Doue-gate, constrained the marchants aforesaid to pay tallages, fifteenths, & other subsidies. And because the saide marchants murmured and refused to pay any such contributions, alleaging their priuileges, the foresaid officers arrested the goods of those said marchants (which are as yet detained vpon the arrest) notwithstanding that they were released before the councel of our soueraigne lord the king, & also that they gaue vnto the said gild-hall one hundreth marks to be released, as it is aforesaid. And also the foresaid marchants were constrained to pay 12. d. in the pound, and of late 6. d. and other subsidies, more then their ancient customes, to the great damage of those marchants.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuileged as touching customs of wols by the bought within the realm of England, ỹ they are not bound to pay, ouer & besides their ancient customs, but onely xl. d. more then the homeborn marchants of England were wont to pay. But now ỹ foresaid marchants are compelled to pay for euery sack of wool (besides ỹ ancient custom & the 40. d. aforesaid) a certain impositio called Pence for the town of Cales, namely for euery sack of wool 19. d. more then the marchants of England doe pay, to their great losse, & against the liberty of their charter. The ancient customes of wools. Pence for the towne of Cales.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuileged by their charter, that concerning the quantity of their marchandize brought into the realme of England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3. d. for the worth of euery pound of siluer) credit is to be giuen vnto them for the letters of their masters and of their companies, if they were able to shew them. And if so be they had no letters in this behalfe to shew, that then credite should bee giuen vnto themselues, and that their othe, or the othe of their attorney should be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of their marchandize so brought in, & that thereupon they should be bound to pay customs, namely the customes of 3. d. iustly for that cause to be paid. But nowe the customers of our soueraigne lorde the king put their goods to an higher rate then they ought or were woont to be: and heereupon they compell them to pay custome for their goods, at their pleasure, scanning about their fraight and expenses particularly disbursed in regard of the said goods and marchandize, to the great hinderance of the said marchants, and against the tenor of their charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants by way of pitiful complaint do alleage, that whereas the worthy progenitors of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the saide great charter, graunted libertie vnto them to pay the customes of certain clothes, namely of skarlet, and cloth died in grayne, and of other clothes of assise, which were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, euen as by their foresaid Charter it doeth more plainly appeare: and whereas our soueraigne lord the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the saide charter, and being willing that they shoulde haue more especiall fauour shewed vnto them) granted vnto them by their Charter, that the said marchants should be exempted and freed from all custome and imposition of small clothes, as in pieces and in narrow clothes which were not of assise, and in such other clothes of like qualitie: yet of late the Customers of our Lorde the King that nowe is, not allowing their saide speciall Charter so graunted vnto the marchants aforesaid, do compel them to pay for straight clothes and for pieces of clothes which are not of assise, (together with other demands particularly & seuerally made) as great custome as if the clothes were full out of assise. Moreouer also of late, the customers of the smal or pety custome & of the subsidie doe demand of them custome for kersey-clothes equal The great charter of marchants. A speciall Charter. The customers of the pety customs.

equal vnto the custome of those clothes, that be of ful assise, whereas the foresaid marchants were not wont to pay for those kerseys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of ech pound of siluer, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to the great hinderance of the foresaid parties, and against the manifest graunt of our soueraigne Lord the king, as it appeareth in the said speciall Charter.

Item, the said marchants alleage, that they are priuiledged by their Charter, if they pay custome and subsidy for their goods in the behalfe of our lord the king, at any port of England where those goods haue arriued, and afterward would transport the saide goods or any part of them vnto any other port within the realme aforesaid: that then they should be quite released from paying of any other custome for the same goods, if they bring a warrant that they haue paide the saide custome, as is aforesaide. Of late it fortuned, that a certaine man
1405. of their societie named Nicholas Crossebaire, being a marchant of the lande of Prussia, immediatly after the concord was concluded betwene the English and the Prussians, brought vnto the towne of Sandwich a shippe laden with bow-staues and other marchandize, and there well and truely paide the custome of our lord the king for all his wares: and selling there part of the same goods, he afterward transported parcel thereof in a small barke vnto London, there to be solde, and caried a warrant also with him, that he had at Sandwich paid the custome due vnto our lord the king: & yet (the said warrant notwithstanding) the customers of the pety custome & subsidy of London came & demanded custome of him at another time cõtrary to reason, & against the tenor of their charter: and the said Nicholas offred pledges vnto them, yea, euen ready money downe into their hands, vntil the question were discussed and determined, whether he should pay new custome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the said Nicholas brought a brief from our lord the king, to get himselfe discharged from paying the said custome: and for all that, the foresaid customers would not as yet haue regard vnto him, but kept the said goods within shipboord, vpõ the riuer of Thames, for the space of 15. dayes, vntil he had paid another custom, to the great losse of the said Nicholas, for that which he sold first at Sandwich to be deliuered at London for seuen nobles, he could not afterward haue for it aboue foure nobles, and yet so was it solde, by reason of the harme which his wares had taken by lying so long vpon the water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.

Itẽ, the said marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertson bought at Bristow certain clothes, & laded the same in a ship, to be transported for Prussia, for the which he truely paide at Bristow, the customs & subsidies due vnto our soueraign lord the king: which ship with the foresaid goods arriuing at London: the customers of the pety-custome and of the subsidie there would not permit the said ship with the goods to passe vnto the parts aforesaid, vntil the said Peter had paid another custome for the same goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithstanding) to his great hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Itẽ, pitifully complaining the foresaid marchants alleage, that wheras euery marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to haue a schedule wherein his name was written, for a specification & certificat of the quantity of his goods in the said schedule to be found at the arrival of the ship, without paying therfore ought at all, of late the customers of the pety custome do compel thẽ to pay for ech mans name written a peny, at y arrival of their goods out of euery ship wherin the said goods are found, what commodities & marchandize soeuer they be: whenas notwithstanding, if there be a chest or any other smal matter, there should not therfore be any custome due vnto our lord the king, nor any receiued vnto his
The customers of the subsidie. Maiesties vse. In like maner do the customers of the subsidy deale. Wheras also the foresaid marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conueyance & transportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were written therein) more then 4. d. of late the customers of the pety custom do compel them to pay for euery name contained in the same cocket 4. d. and in like sort do the customers of the saide subsidy deale. Which contribution in a yere extendeth it self vnto a great summe, to the vnknown preiudice of our lord the king, more then any man could suppose, (for the customers enioy their fees and commodities

from

from his Maiestie that they may doe him faithfull seruice) and likewise to the great damage of the said marchants.

Itē, pitifully complaining the said marchants do alleage that they are constrained to pay for subsidy, sometime 12. d. and somtime 6. d. in the pound, contrary to the tenor of their charter: and yet notwithstanding when their marchandize commeth to the wharf, the customers prolong & delay the time 3. or 4. weeks before they wil take custome for their goods, in the which space other marchants sel their goods, the customers not regarding whether the goods aforesaid take wet or no; to the great damage aswel of our lord the king, as of the said marchants: because, if they had quicke dispatch, they might pay custome vnto his Maiestie oftner then they doe.

Item, the said marchants doe farther alleage, that the customers of the petie custome, and of the subsidie in the port of London haue appointed among themselues certaine men to seale vp the goods of the saide marchants, so soon as they are arriued at the port of safetie, vntil the said goods be customed. By meanes of the which sealing, the foresaide parties doe compell the marchants aboue-named, (vpon an vse and custome whereof themselues haue bene the authors) to paye a certaine summe of money, to the great hinderance of the sayde marchants, and contrarie to iustice and to their charter. Moreouer, the saide customers haue ordained betweene themselues, that the saide marchants shall put or make vp no cloth into fardels, to transport out of the realme, vnlesse certaine men appointed by them for the same purpose bee there present, to see what maner of clothes they bee, vnder paine of the forfeiture of the saide goods. Also of late, when the sayde marchants would haue made up such fardels, the foresayde parties assigned to be ouerseers refused to come, vnlesse they might haue for their comming some certaine summe of money, delaying and procrastinating from day to day, so long as themselues listed, to the great losse and vndoing of the foresaide marchants, and contrarie to their liberties: because the foresaide customers are bound by their office to doe this, without any contribution therefore to bee paide vnto them by the saide marchants: for that they doe enioy from our soueraigne Lord the King their fees and commodities, to the ende that they may serue him and euery marchant iustly and faithfully, without any contribution by them to be imposed anewe vpon the sayde marchants, of custome.

Item, the said marchants doe alleage, that the customers & balifs of the town of Southampton do compel them to pay for euery last of herrings, pitch, & sope ashes brought thither by the 2. s. more then the kings custome: and for ech hundreth of bowstaues & boords called Waghenscot, 2. d. for euery hundreth of boords called Richolt, 4. d. & for al other marchandize brought by the foresaid marchants vnto the same towne: which contributions they neuer paid at any time heretofore, being greatly to their hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants do alleage, that one of their company, called Albert Redewish of Prussia, bringing diuers goods & marchandizes vnto Newcastle vpon Tine, & there paying the vsual custom of 3. d. in the pound for al his wares, the bailifs of the saide towne, against all reason, exacted 7. pound sterling at his hands more then the custome: whereupon the foresaide marchant got a briefe from the kings maiesty, for the recouery of the said 7. li. according to equity & reason: howbeit, that at the comming of the said briefe the foresaid bailifes would do nothing on his behalfe, but would haue slaine their foresaid associate, contrary to their charter and priuiledges.

William Esturmy knight, & Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne, being by ỹ most mighty prince & lord, L. Henry by Gods grace K. of England & France & lord of Ireland, sufficiently deputed and appointed to parle, treate, & agree wt the common society of ỹ marchants of the Hans of Dutchland or Almain, concerning & about the redressing & reformation of vniust attēpts happening between our said soueraign L. the king his liege people & subiects on the one part, & between the cōmon society aforesaid, the cities, towns, & particular persons thereof on the other part: do (for the behalf of our said soueraign L. the king, with a mind & intention to haue al & singular ỹ things vnderwritten to come to the knowledge of the

the said common society) intimate, declare, & make known vnto you (hono. sirs) Henr. Westhoff citizen & deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Iohn van Berk citizen of Colen, Mainard Buxtehude citizen, & deputy of the city of Hamburgh, M. Simō Clawstern clerk, sir Iohn de Aa knight deputie of the citie of Rostok, Herman Meyer deputy of the citie of Wismar, being, as the procurators, messengers, & commissioners of the foresaid cities, assembled together at the town of Hagen in Holland, with ȳ forenamed Will. & Iohn in regard of the foresaid redres & reformation: that, euen as our said soueraign L. the king his meaning is not to disturb or hinder such priuiledges as haue bin heretofore granted & vouchsafed vnto the cōmon society of the marchats aforesaid, by the renowned kings of England, & the worthy progenitors of our L. the K. that now is, & by himself also vnder a certain form confirmed: euen so he is determined (without ȳ preiudice of forren lawes) vpon inst, mature, and sober deliberation, by his royall authoritie to withstand such priuiledges, as by reason of the abuse thereof, haue bene infinitely preiudiciall vnto himselfe and his subiects.

Inprimis the said ambassadours doe affirme as afore, that whereas all and euery the Marchants of the said company, as often as they would, were, both in the Realme of England, and in other territories & dominions subiect vnto our soueraigne lord the king, admitted and suffered (according to the tenor of the forenamed priuiledges granted vnto them) freely, friendly and securely to traffique and conuerse with any of his Maiesties liege people and subiects whatsoeuer, or with other people of whatsoeuer nation liuing in the realme of England, or in the dominions aforesaid: the said common society of marchants by their publike & deliberate common counsel did appoint & ordain, ȳ no society in any cities, townes, or places, neither yet any particular man of any such society (there being no lawfull or reasonable cause why) shoulde in any wise admit any marchants of the realm of England resorting vnto their cities or other places for marchandise, to enioy intercourse of traffike: but that the saide English marchants should bee altogether excluded from all traffike and mutuall conuersation among them, by denouncing and inflicting grieuous penalties of money as well vpon cities as other places, and vpon particular marchants also of the foresaid societie practising the contrary.

Item, that immediately after, the foresaid parties enacting and ordaining published their sayde statute and ordinance, in all kingdomes, prouinces, partes, cities, and townes, wherin any marchants of the said societie were conuersant.

Item, that after that publication, the statute and ordinance aforesaid by euery of the marchants of the forenamed society were inuiolably obserued.

Item, that the said statute and ordinance hath bene so rigorously put in execution, that whereas immediatly after certaine English marchants with their ships, mariners, and marchandize beeing in a certaine part of one of the principall cities of the foresaide societie, vtterly destitute of meate, drinke, and money, publikely offred to sell their woollen clothes of England, onely to prouide themselues of necessary victuals: yet the marchants of the saide citie, stoutely persisting in their statute and ordinance aforesaid, straightly prohibited the buying of such clothes, vnchristianly denying meate and drinke vnto the said English marchants.

Item, the foresaid society decreed and ordained, that no marchant of the saide company should in any place or countrey whatsoeuer, buy any woollen clothes of the realme or dominion of England (albeit offered by others and not by English men) or, hauing bought any, should, after the terme prefixed, sel them, imposing grieuous pecuniary mulcts, besides the forfeiture of the clothes so bought or sold, vpon them that would attempt the contrary.

Item, that after the said statute and ordinance, the foresaide societie decreed, that all marchants of the said companie, hauing among their wares and marchandise any woollen clothes made in England, should either sell the saide clothes, or within a short space then limited should, vnder penaltie of forfeiting the said clothes, vtterly renounce the vse and commoditie thereof: Notwithstāding a grieuous penaltie of money being imposed vpon the violaters of the same statute.

Item,

Item, that the statutes and ordinances aforesaid might with more speed and celerity be put in execution, the said authors and publishers thereof imagining, according to their desire, that by this meanes an vtter extirpation and ouerthrow of English marchants might, yea & of necessity must ensue: vpon their serious & long premeditated deliberation, straitely commanded & inioyned, vnder pain of losing the benefit of all priuileges, whereseouer, or by the princes of what lands, or the Magistrates of what Cities or townes soeuer vouchsafed vnto the said common societie, that not only the aldermen of that society in al places throughout the realme of England, but also al other marchants of the said company, after the maner of marchants conuersing in the saide Realme, should, without exception of persons, vtterly abstein from all intercourse of traffike with the marchants of the realme aforesaid: yea, and that they shoulde depart out of the said kingdome within a very short space limited. For the dispatching of al which premisses without delay, it was according to their commandement effectually prouided.

The Hans societie determineth the ouerthrow of English marchants.

Item, that the society aforesaid hath approued diuers very vnreasonable statutes & ordinances, made & published by the marchants of the same society residing in the kingdoms of Norway and Swedland, to the great preiudice of the kingdome of England, and the marchants thereof: and as yet both couertly and expresly do approue the same, vniustly putting them in daily execution.

Statutes against ye Engl. marchants in Norway and in Sundland.

Item, whereas in the priuileges & indulgences granted by ỽ renoumed princes somtimes kings of Englād, ỽ worthy progenitors of our souereign lord the king ỽ now is, vnto the society aforesaid, it is prouided, ỽ the said marchants shal not auow any man which is not of their company, nor shal not colour his goods and marchandize vnder their company: whereas also in the confirmation of the sayd priuiledges made up by our souraigne lord that nowe is, it is manifestly prouided, that the marchants of the Hans towns, vnder the colour of their priuiledges in England, shall not vpon paine of the perpetuall frustration and reuocation of the foresayd priuiledges, receiue any stranger of any other towne in their liberties, by whom the kings custome may in any sort be withholden or diminished: & yet the contrary vnto al these prouisoes hath bin euery yere, for these 20. yeres or thereabout notoriously practised and committed, as well ioyntly by the generall counsell, and toleration of the foresayd society, as also seuerally by the aduise and permission of diuers particular cities of the foresayd Hans company to the great diminution of his maiesties custome, the estimation whereof the foresayd ambassadors are not able at this present fully to declare. But that all occasions of the last aboue mentioned diminution may bee preuented for the time to come, the sayd ambassadors doe demand to haue from the foresayd societie a declaration in writing, what and what maner of territories, cities, townes, villages or companies they be, for which the sayd society challengeth and pretendeth, that they ought to enioy the priuiledges granted vnto their marchants, as is aboue mentioned.

How many & which be the Hans towns.

Moreouer, it is required by the foresaid ambassadors, if the societie aforesayd hath not decreed nor ordayned the things aboue written, that the names of the cities and places decreeing and ordaining such statutes & ordinances, may by the sayd common society either now or at some other times and places conuenient for the same purpose, be expressed and set downe in writing.

A letter of Henry the fourth king of England &c. vnto Frater Conradus de Iungingen the Master generall of Prussia.

HEnrie &c. to the most noble and mighty personage of sacred religion Fr: Conradus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie, our most deare friend, greeting, and continual perfection of amity.

When as your messengers and ambassadors were of late personally present in Holland, and there expected the arriual of our ambassadors vntill the first day of the moneth of Nouember last expired, that there might bee by way of friendly conference a remedie prouided in regard of certaine iniuries pretended to be offered, by both our subiects one against another, for the publique commoditie of both parts, we were determined to haue sent vnto Dordract,

at the foresaid daye, our welbeloued and faithfull knight William Sturmy, and our welbeloued clerke Iohn Kington, vpon our ambassage-affayres: hauing as yet in our desires, for a peaceable ending of the matter, (which, our foresayd ambassadors, by reason of the shortnes of time, or the finding out of some other remedie and happy conclusion of all and singular the foresaid attempts concerning the principall busines, could by no meanes at that instant attaine vnto) that vpon some other more conuenient day (to the end your ambassadors might not returne home altogether frustrate of their expectation) there might be, after the wonted friendly maner, a conference & agreement with your foresaid ambassadors, euen as by other letters of ours directed vnto your sayd ambassadors the second day of the moneth of Nouember aforesayd wee haue deliuered our mind vnto them. But it fortuned not long before the departure of your ambassadors into their owne countrey, that no sufficient shipping could be found wherein our sayd ambassadors might haue secure and safe passage vnto Dordract, or Middleburgh, neither was it thought that they should get any passage at all, till the ships at Middleborough were returned into our kingdome, by the force whereof they might be the more strongly wafted ouer. And so by reason of the departure of your ambassadours, all matters remaine in suspense till such time as the sayd ambassadors shall againe meete with ours to adde perfection vnto the busines as yet imperfect. Wherefore (our friend vnfainedly beloued) desiring from the bottome of our heart that the integritie of loue, which hath from auncient times taken place betweene our & your subiects, may in time to come also be kept inuiolable, we haue thought good once again to send one of our foresaid ambassadors, namely William Esturmy knight to Dordract, giuing him charge thither to make haste, and there to stay, till some of your messengers, at your commandement doe in time conuenient repayre vnto that place, there (by Gods assistance) to bring the matter vnto an happy conclusion. May it please you therefore of your vnfayned friend-ship, without all inconuenience of delay, to returne, not vnto vs, but vnto our forenamed knight an answere in writing, what your will and determination is. Neither let it seeme strange vnto you, that we haue not at this present sent our forenamed Iohn Kington clerke together with the sayd William: for the cause of his abode with vs is, that he may in the meane season employ his care and diligence about those matters which must be preparatiues for the finall conclusion of the foresayd busines. Honorable sir, and most deare friend, we doe most heartily wish increase of prosperity and ioy vnto your person. Giuen in our palace of Westminster the 14. day of
1407. Feb. in the yeare of our Lord 1407.

To the right noble and valiant knight Sir William Sturmy sent at this present by the most soueraigne King of England &c. as his ambassadour vnto Dordract, his most sincere friend.

HOnorable sir, our most entier friend, wee receiued the royall letters of the most mighty prince and lord, our lord the king of England and France and lord of Ireland, sent vnto vs vnder the date of the 14. day of February (which we receiued at our castle of Marienburgh the 11. of April) containing, amongst other matters, that his Maiesties purpose was once againe to sende one of his ambassadors, namely your selfe our very sincere friend vnto Dordract, giuing you in charge that you would make haste thither & there stay, vntill some of our subiects might at our commandemēt, in conuenient time repaire vnto the same place, there (by Gods assistance) to bring our matters vnto a happy conclusion. And then he requested that wee should without delay write our determination vnto you, as the conclusion of the said letter importeth. Howbeit (our most deare friend) the treaties & conferences about the redresse or reformation of vniust attempts committed by the subiects of our sayd lord the king & our subiects, one against another, are both on our behalfe, and on the behalfe of the common societie of the Hans marchants, hitherto had, made, and continued common. And so our commissioners vpon our full and absolute commandement, shal, for the managing of these and of other affaires of the foresaid societie, many waies vrgent and difficult, vpon the feast of our Lords Ascension next to come, meet with the said societie at Lubec, there to giue notice what they haue determined to conclude in this present busines

& in

& in others for their owne behalfe. For we will giue our ambassadours which are there to appeare, streightly in charge that according to the kings request aforesayde they doe without delay procure an answere to be written vnto your honour concerning the determination of the foresayd societie. Giuen at the place and vpon the day aboue named, in the yeare of our Lord 1407.

Fr. Wernherus de Tettingen, commander in Elbing, general vice-master and lieutenant in the roome of the Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Marie &c. of late deceased.

The letters of Henry the 4. king of England &c. vnto Vlricus de Iungingen Master generall of Prussia, 1408. wherein he doth ratifie and accept the last agreement made at Hage in Holland.

HEnry &c. vnto the honourable and religious personage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare friend, greeting and dayly increase of our accustomed amity and friendship. We doe by these presents giue your honour to vnderstand, that our faithfull & welbeloued William Esturmy knight, and Master Iohn Kington clerke, our ambassadors and messengers sent of late on our behalfe, vnto the presence of your predecessour for the redressing of certaine grieuances and damages being contrary to iustice offered against vs and our liege subiects by the people & subiects of your predecessors, & against them also by our subiects as it is aforesayd, in friendly maner to be procured, of late returning out of the parts of Alemain made relation vnto vs and to our counsell, that hauing conferred with your forenamed predecessour about the foresayd affayres, the particulars following were at length concluded: namely first of all, that at a certaine day and place they should meete in Holland with his ambassadors and messengers, to hold a friendly conference between them about the redressing and reformation of the grieuances and damages aforesayd: and that they should by the equall waight of diligent examination ponder, & in the balance of iustice discusse & define al & singular the foresaid grieuances & damages inflicted on both parts. Howbeit at length after sundry prorogations then made & continued on this behalfe, our ambassadors & messengers aforesaid vpon the 28. of August last past, assembling themselues for our part at the towne of Hage in Holland, the hon. & discreete personages Arnold Heket burgomaster of the towne of Dantzik, & Iohn Crolowe, for the behalf of your subiects of Prussia, and Tidman de Meule, & Iohn Epenscheid for the behalfe of Liuonia, being assembled as messengers and commissioners about the redresse and reformation aforesayd, did then and there demaund in certaine articles, of our arabassadours and messengers abouenamed 25034. nobles & half a noble, for the grieuances & damages offered (as it was thē said) to your subiects of Prussia, and 24082. nobles, 12. s. 8. d. in recompense of the damages offered vnto those your subiects of Liuonia. And when the substance of those articles about the grieuances & losses aforesayd was by the sayd ambassadours and messengers throughly examined and discussed, by their generall consent it was finally agreed, that your subiects, in consideration of all and singular the foresayd grieuances and damages offered vnto them by our people, should within three yeares after the feast of Easter next ensuing, at three equall payments receiue from vs, namely they of Prussia, 8957. nobles, and they of Liuonia 22496. nobles, sixe pence, halfepeny, farthing, and no more, so that we our selues thought good to condescend thereunto. Howbeit, forasmuch as certaine other articles of your subiects of Prussia, and also certaine articles in the behalfe of our subiects containing grieuous complaints in them, being propounded before the ambassadors & messengers aforesaid, for the attaining of reformation in regard of the damages & grieuances offered on both parts, could not as thē, for the great obscurity of diuers of the sayd articles, and also for want of sufficiēt proofe at the last meeting appointed and held by the foresayd ambassadors at the towne of Hage in Holland, sufficiently to be examined, discussed, and defined, it was agreed vpon by the ambassadors and messengers of both partes, that from the 15. day of October then last expired vnto the feast of Easter now next

A meeting at Hage the 28. of August 1407.

ensuing, and from thenceforth within one whole yere immediatly following, the plaintifes of both parts should throughly declare before our chancelour of England for the time being, the foresayd obscurities cõcerning the substance of their articles, and that they should, for the obtaining of execution, and complement of iustice at our sayd chancelours hands, peremptorily minister necessary probations, vnder paine of perpetuall exclusion from the petition of those things which are contayned in the articles aboue mentioned.

Prouided alwayes, that if at the last it shall be by lawfull proofes made manifest concerning the summes aboue written or any part or parcell thereof, that due satisfaction hath beene made to him or them vnto whom it was due, or that those goods of and for the which complaint hath bene made on the behalfe of your subiects haue pertained or doe appertaine vnto others, or any other iust, true, and reasonable cause may lawfully bee alleaged, why the payment of all the foresayd summes or any of them ought not to be performed: that then so much only is to be cut off or deducted from the sayd summes as shall be found to be already payd or to pertaine vnto others, or else vpon some true, iust, and reasonable cause (as is aforesayd) not to be due. We therefore considering that the sayd friendly conference, and the finall agreement ensuing thereupon are agreeable vnto reason and equitie, doe, for our part ratifie and willingly accept the very same conference and agreement. And forasmuch as it hath bene alwayes our desire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the integritie of loue, which hath of olde time bene obserued betweene our and your subiects, may in times to come perpetually remaine inuiolable, and that your and our people may hereafter, not onely for the good of our common weale but also for the commodity and peace of both parts, according to their woonted maner, assemble themselues and enioy the faithfull and mutuall conuersation one of another: we will cause in our citie of London, with the summe of 8957. nobles satisfaction to bee made vnto the Prussians, and with the summe of 22496. nobles, sixe pence, halfe peny, farthing, recompense to be performed vnto the Liuonians, in regard of their damages and iniuries (which in very deede proceeded not of our consent) by our subiects offered vnto them, as it is afore sayd, and within three yeares after the feast of Easter next ensuing the sayd summes of money to bee payed at three payments, and by three equall portions. Conditionally that vnto our subiects which be endamaged correspondent satisfaction be likewise on your part within the terme of the foresayd three yeeres performed, with paying the summes of 766. nobles and of 4535. nobles, demaunded on our behalfe, and also with the payment of such summes as within one yeere immediately ensuing the feast of Easter aforesayd, shalbe found by sufficient declarations and proofes to be made on the behalfe of our subiects (as is aforesayd) to be due. Euen as we in like maner will make satisfaction vnto your subiects within our citie aforesayd. Now as touching the request of your ambassadors and of the Liuonians, whereby we were required to procure some holesome remedy for the soules of certaine drowned persons, as conscience and religion seemeth to chalenge (in regard of whom we are moued with compassion, and do for their sakes heartily condole their mishaps) you are (our entier friend) of a certaintie to vnderstand, that after we shall be by your letters aduertized of the number, state, and condition of the sayd parties drowned, we will cause suffrages of prayers and diuers other holesome remedies profitable for the soules of the deceased and acceptable to God and men, religiously to be ordained and prouided: vpon condition, that for the soules of our drowned countrey men there be the like remedie prouided by you. The almighty grant vnto your selfe and vnto your whole Order, that you may prosperously triumph ouer the enemies of Christ his crosse. Giuen vnder our priuie seale at our palace of Westminster the 26. of March, in the yeere of our lord 1408. and in the ninth yere of our reigne.

The

The letters of Fr: Vlricus Master of Prussia directed vnto the king of England, signifying that he is contented with the agreements concluded by his messengers at Hage.

To the most renowmed prince and mighty lord L. Henrie king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, our most gracious lord.

VNto your highnes pleasure at all assaies humbly recommending my voluntarie seruice &c. Most renowmed king, mighty prince, and gracious Lord, we receiued of late with great reuerence as it becommeth vs, by our welbeloued Arnold de Dassel the bearer of these presents, your Maiesties letters of late directed vnto vs, making mention amongst other matters of certaine appointments first made and concluded between the noble and worthy personages William Esturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambassadours and messengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtensten great cõmander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hospitalary & commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treasurer, being the procuratours and commissioners of Fra. Conradus de Iungingen our last predecessour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redressing, reformation, and amendement of vniust attempts committed on both sides, at our castle of Marienburgh, and also very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the moneth August in the yeare immediately past, betweene your foresayde ambassadours William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clerke, for your part, and our trusty and welbeloued commissioners and procurators, namely Arnold Hecht burgomaster of our citie of Dantzik, and Iohn Crolow citizen of the same citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowlege in this behalfe, our sayd commissioners made relation vnto vs and vnto our whole counsell, that associating vnto themselues our messengers of Liuonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and Iohn Epensheid, together with your foresaid ambassadours and messengers, they there finally appoynted and concluded, of and about the aboue mentioned summes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforesayd. With this special prouiso, that in like manner satisfaction be made in all points, both vnto other of our damnified subiects of Prussia, namely such whose goods or the true value thereof haue bene finally adiudged by the iudges or professors of our lawes, and vnto such who hauing brought their articles of complaints vnto the audience of the most dread and mighty prince and lorde, our Lord Rupertus king of the Romans alwayes most soueraigne, were in conclusion to haue the estimations of their goods to be adiudged by the sentence of the sayd lord, with the aduise of two of his counsellors, and also vnto other of our subiects who haue brought in sufficient proofe of damages vniustly inflicted vpon them by your subiects, ouer and besides the premisses. So that in like maner satisfaction be made vnto the common societie of the Hans marchants: and by the arbitrament set downe in the conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was aboue prouided and enacted on their behalfe, namely if they will rest contented with our subiects in the courses and meanes then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere vnto them in this behalfe. Afterward our messengers aforesayd, both they of Prussia and of Liuonia demanded conuenient, iust, and speedy satisfaction, with the payment of all and singular the summes aboue mentioned, due vnto both parts (so farre foorth as equity and reason would yeeld vnto, for the recompense of the parties iniuried and endamaged on both sides) to be made within one whole yere accompting from the feast of Easter now last expired vnto the very same feast next to come in the yere immediatly following, & that in three seueral termes of payment, by three portions of the said summes equally to be diuided, at the towne of Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in maner and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and stoode vpon: namely that reformation, reparation, and amendement of all vniust attempts committed on both parts ought to bee performed within one yere. Howbeit contrariwise your ambassadors aforesayd decreed that the sayd satisfaction should be performed vnto the parties iniuried of both parts within three yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feast of Easter

Here relation is had vnto ye king of the Romans.

Easter last past. And when your ambassadours were not contented with the maner of satisfaction set downe by our men, nor our commissioners were willing in any sort to consent vnto that course which was thought conuenient by your ambassadors, the honorable messengers of the sea-townes of the Hans being there at that time present, made a motion that the foresayd satisfaction might be performed within two yeeres and an halfe, accompting from the feast of Easter last past, often before mentioned: yet vnder a certaine protestation, namely if both parties should agree vnto that forme of satisfaction, and if they should thinke good finally and conclusiuely to yeeld their consent vnto it. Which kind of satisfaction also conceiued by the messengers, your sayd ambassadours without giuing notice thereof vnto your royall Maiestie, refused finally to approue; being rather desirous to make a true & faithfull report of the sayd forme of satisfaction last aboue mentioned vnto your kingly highnesse, and that in such sorte, that (as they hoped) effectuall satisfaction and payment of all and singuler the summes due and to bee due on both partes should more conueniently and speedily bee performed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that more speedy and conuenient appointments of termes, for the sayd satisfaction friendly on both parts to be performed in, would haue proceeded from your bountifull and gracious clemencie. And in very deede (most mighty prince) albeit it was neuer the meaning of our foresayd predecessor, so far foorth as these affayres concerned him, to protract and delay the execution of the sayd busines so many and such long distances of time, and that for diuers respects, both because restitution vnto the parties robbed consisted herein, and also because the sayd restitutions and satisfactions are to be made vnto poore people, widowes, orphanes, and other miserable creatures, diuersly and miserably slaine and oppressed: notwithstanding we being moued with hearty & feruent zeale and speciall affection vnto your royall crowne of England, and hauing due regard and consideration of your most excellent Maiestie, vpon the aduise of our honourable brethren our counsellers, doe thankfully receiue, & by the tenour of these presents totally ratifie and approue such satisfactions of the foresayd summes howsoeuer due vnto our subiects both Prussians and Liuonians, in friendly sorte to be performed at such times and seasons limited and prefixed by your highnes as are expressed in your maiesties letters, and also of other summes which within one yeare immediately ensuing after the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes to be made on their part before your chancelour at your citie of London shall be found due vnto them. Conditionally that without inconuenience of delay and impediment they be performed as they ought to be, according to the premisses. In like maner also we our selues within the termes of payment aboue mentioned will procure satisfaction to be without fayle perfourmed vnto your subiects endamaged, with the summe of 766. nobles, being in regard of their losses, of the which they haue giuen vp sufficient informations, due vnto them: and with other like summes also which are by sufficient proofes, within the yeare aforesayd, and in maner and forme prescribed to be exhibited before our treasurer at our citie of Dantzik. The almighty vouchsafe prosperously and long time to preserue your maiesties royal person. Giuen at our castle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1408.

Septem. 27. 1408.

Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Ierusalem.

The letters of king Henry the 4. sent vnto Fr. Vlricus master general of Prussia, wherein he doth absolutely approue the foresaid conference holden at Hage, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene England and Prussia.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, vnto the noble & mighty personage of sacred religion Vlricus de Iungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Ierusalem, our entirely beloued friend, greeting and increase of vnfained friendship. After diuers conferences had in sundry places beyond the seas, betweene the ambassadours and messengers of your late predecessor and of your selfe

selfe also, on the one parte, and betweene our especiall ambassadors and messengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, & restitutions in certaine maner & forme to be performed vnto our subiects of both parts, in regard of manifold iniuries practised against them both, and after that, in the last conference holden by the ambassadours of vs both at the towne of Hage in Holland, there was a motion made concerning a certaine forme of satisfaction, by way of finall conclusion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambassadours condescended vnto, because they durst not proceede vnto the same conclusion without our priuitie, relation thereof at length being by them made before vs and our counsel: we returned vnto your honour an answere in writing by our letters vnder our priuie seale, of our full purpose and intention (vnto the which letters we doe at this present referre our selues, as if they were here againe expresly written) what we thought good to haue done in this behalfe: so that wee also might by your friendly letters be certaynly informed of your will and expresse consent, being likewise conformable vnto your foresayd intention. Nowe whereas since that time we haue of late receiued the certaintie of the matter by your letters written vnto vs from your castle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September last past, contayning in effect amongst other matters, that you being mooued with a feruent zeale and speciall affection (as you write) vnto the royall crowne of our realme, and hauing due regard and consideration of our royall maiestie, vpon the aduise of your honourable brethren your counsellers, doe with a thankfull mind accept, and by the tenour of the said letters of yours totally approue the concord of a certaine satisfaction to be performed with the payment of certaine summes of money howsoeuer due vnto your subiects as well of Prussia as of Liuonia, expressed in our former letters, within the termes prefixed by our consent and limited in our said letters, and also of other summes which within one whole yeare immediatly following the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes on their part to bee made before our chauncelour at our citie of London, shall be found due vnto them: conditionally, that without inconuenience of delay and impediments, the premisses be performed as they ought to be. And that your selfe also will without fayle, vpon the termes appoynted for the said payments, procure satisfaction to be made accordingly vnto our endamaged subiects with the summes due vnto them by reason of their losses, whereof they haue sufficient information: Wherefore in regard of those your friendly letters, and your courteous answere returned by them vnto vs, as is aforesaid, wee doe yeelde vnto you right vnfained thanks. But because it will vndoubtedly be most acceptable and pleasing both vnto vs and vnto our people, and vnto you and your subiects, that the zeale and feruencie of loue which hath from auncient times growen and increased betweene our progenitours for them and their subiects, and your predecessors and their subiects, and which by the insolencie of certayne lewde persons, without any consent of the principall lords, hath often bene violated betweene vs and you and mutually betweene the subiects of vs both, may be put in perpetuall vre and obtaine full strength in time to come, sithens hereupon (by Gods assistance) it is to be hoped, that vnspeakeable commodity and quiet will redound vnto both parts: may it seeme good vnto your discretion, as it seemeth expedient vnto vs, that some messengers of yours sufficiently authorised to parle, agree, and conclude with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and confirmation of friendship, may with all conuenient speede be sent vnto our presence. At whose arriuall, not onely in this busines so profitable and behoouefull, but also in certaine other affaires concerning the former treaties and conclusions, they may, yea and of necessitie must greatly auayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloued friend) euen as vpon confidence of the premisses we haue thought good to grant vnto the marchants and subiects of our realme full authority to resort vnto your dominions, so we doe in like maner graunt vnto your marchants and subiects free licence and liberty with their marchandises and goods securely to come into our realmes and dominions, there to stay, and at their pleasures thence to returne home. Moreouer, if Arnold Dassel, who last of all presented your foresayd letters vnto vs, shal thinke good in the meane season to make his abode here in our dominions (as in very deede it is expedient) he may both by serious consideration and deliberate consulting with our commissioners more conueniently and prosperously finde out wayes and meanes, for the

A motion for a perpetuall league.

the more speedy expedition of all the premisses. Fare ye well in Christ. Giuen vnder our priuie seale at our palace of Westminster, the seuenth of March, in the yere of our lord 1408. according to the computation of the Church of England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

A new concord concluded between king Henry the 4. and Vlricus de Iungingen Master generall of Prussia, in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

BY this indenture or letters indented be it euidently knowen (for the perpetual memory of the matter) vnto all faithfull Christians, that the noble & honourable personages Richard Merlowe Maior and citizen of London, Master Iohn Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman of the same citie, the commissioners of the most soueraigne prince and lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford burgomaster of Elbing, and Iohn Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik, the procurators, commissioners, deputies and messengers of the right noble and religious personage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Ierusalem, hauing in the names of the sayd king and Master by vertue of the power on both parts committed vnto them, suffic ent authority, haue appointed and with one consent agreed vpon all and singular the things vnder written.

1. Imprimis for the conseruation of mutuall loue and wonted amitie, and for the tranquilitie of sweete amiable peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and singular the liege people & subiects of the Realme of England and the marchants of the territories & dominions of the said Realme and all other persons of what state or condition soeuer, shall and may safely and securely, as well by land as by water enter into the parts of Prussia, and there mutually conuerse, and freely after the Maner of marchants exercise traffique aswell with the Prussians as with others, of what nation or qualitie soeuer, there also make their abode, and thence vnto their owne homes and dwelling places returne, and depart vnto any place whither and so often as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize, and wares whatsoeuer; faithfully paying in the meane time all rights & customes due in regard of their said wares and marchandize. Reserued alwaies vnto the said Master and his successours all right and remedie ordained, granted, and vouchsafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention shall be made in the articles following.

2. Item it is ordained, that all and singular the subiects of the said Master generall and of his order, of what state and condition soeuer, shall and may, as well by water as by land enter into the kingdome of England and into the territories and dominions thereof, and there mutually conuerse, and freely after the maner of Marchants exercise traffique as well with all English people as with others of what nation or qualitie soeuer, and there also make their abode, and thence returne vnto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to depart whither they will and as oft as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize and wares whatsoeuer: truely paying in the meane time all rights and customes due in regard of their said wares and Marchandize. Reserued alwayes vnto the said soueraigne king, his heires and successours, all rights and remedies ordained and graunted vnto them in certaine obligations, by the commissioners and procurators of the said Master generall aboue-named, and in the name of the said Master generall.

3. Item it is with one consent agreed vpon, promised, and granted that for all and singular damages, grieuances, and robberies howsoeuer done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresaid soueraigne Prince and his subiects whatsoeuer, and all others which at the time of the grieuances, damages, and robberies aforesaid, were, or at this present are the said soueraigne king his subiects; there are due to be payed vnto the said king or his successours by the said Master generall or his successours, in full satisfaction and recompence of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aboue-written, certaine summes of English money: euen as in the letters obligatorie made by the said Master generall his procurators, and messengers aboue-named in this behalfe, and sealed with their seales, and deliuered

liuered vnto the forenamed procurators and commissioners of our said Lord the king it is expressed more at large.

Item it is couenanted, graunted, and promised, that no subiect of the said Master generall or of his successours, by reason or occasion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforesaid, shall, by the said soueraigne king or his successours, or by their authoritie or commandement, or by any other person whatsoeuer who in regard of the foresaid losses, grieuances and robberies hath bene molested and damnified, or at the procurement or instant suite of any, be attached, arrested, imprisoned, or detained: nor that the goods of the said Master generall, or of his successors, or of any of them, shal be laid hold on, arrested, or detained. 4.

Item it is couenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and subiects of the sayde Master generall or of his successors shall, contrary to the forme of the concord and graunt next aboue-written, chance to be molested or endamaged: that then the foresaid soueraigne Lord the King and his successors the kings of England are bound to make full satisfaction for all such losses as the subiects of the said Master generall or of his successours or any of them shall for that cause haue vniustly sustained, vnto the parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foresaid soueraigne Prince, or his successours in the Realme of England, being conueniently requested by the letters of the said Master generall or of his successours, shall refuse to doe, that then after the terme of sixe moneths immediatly following the said denialll or refusall, it shalbe right lawfull for the Master generall that now is, and for any of his successors in time to come (hauing first made conuenient proofe that the foresaid request was by him or them exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the foresaid king his subiects found in the land of Prussia, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and recompense of any person or persons whatsoeuer vniustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the said goods vnder arrestes, vntill condigne satisfaction and amends be made vnto the party or parties molested. 5.

Item by the commissioners and procuratours often aboue-named it is couenanted, promised, and graunted, that for all and singular the damages, molestations, and robberies by the foresayde soueraigne king his liege people & subiects howsoeuer before the date of these presents committed and offred against the said Master general or against any of his subiects whether Prussians or Liuonians, and against all others who at the time of the damages, grieuances & robberies aforesaid were, or at this present are the subiects of the Master generall aforesaid (except notwithstanding certaine damages & grieuances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof also some prouisoes shalbe had in the articles following, which damages were before § date of these presents by § said soueraigne king his liege people and subiects inflicted vpon certaine subiects of the foresaid general Master, especially them of Prussia which hereafter shalbe named) there are certaine summes of money due to be payed vnto the said Master generall or vnto his successors by the said soueraigne Prince or his successours for the full satisfaction of the foresaid damages, molestations and robberies inflicted vpon the Prussians and Liuonians, and the others aboue mentioned, euen as in the leters obligatorie of the said soueraigne Lord the king made in this behalfe, being giuen and deliuered vnto the said Master generall his procuratours and messengers, it is declared more at large. 6.

Item, it is couenanted, graunted and promised, that none of the liege people or subiects of the foresaid soueraigne prince or of his heires shall, by reason or occasion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforesaid, by the sayd Master generall or his successours or by their authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in respect of the said damages, grieuances and robberies aboue mentioned, hath beene molested or damnified, or by any of their procurements or instant suites, shalbe attached, arrested, imprisoned or detained; nor that any goods of the subiects of the said soueraigne king or his heires or any of them, shall bee attached, arrested, or detained. Reserued alwayes vnto the forenamed Master generall and his subiects all right and remedie any way requisite or competent vnto them by meanes of the obligations aforesaid. 7.

8. Item it is couenanted and agreed that if any of the liege people or subiects of the sayde soueraigne prince or of his heires and successours shall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next aboue-written) chaunce to bee molested or endamaged; that then the saide Master generall and his successours, for all losses and hinderances which the liege people and subiects the foresayde soueraigne prince or of his heires or successours, shall by that meanes haue vniustly sustained, are bound to make full satisfaction vnto the partie endamaged. Which if the Master generall aforesaid or his successours being conueniently requested by the letters of the sayde soueraigne prince or of his heires, shall refuse to doe; that then, after the space of sixe moneths next ensuing the time of the foresayde request, it may bee right lawfull for the forenamed soueraigne prince that nowe is, or that then for that time shall be (conuenient proofe being first brought, that the foresayd request had conueniently beene exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the sayde Master generall his subiects founde in the Realme of England, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and amends of any person or persons vniustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the sayde goods vnder safe custodie, vntill condigne satisfaction and amends be made vnto the partie or parties aggrieued.

9. Item it is couenanted, that besides the summes due vnto the sayde Master generall and his successours in the behalfe of his subiects both of Prussia and of Liuonia (whereof mention is made in the former articles) there are due to bee payed vnto the sayde Master generall and his successours, for sundry other damages, grieuances, and robberies against himselfe and diuers other of his subiects of Prussia, namely Matthewe Ludekensson, Arnold Ashen, Henri Culeman, Iohn Vnkeltop, Iohn Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerstene of Elbing, done and committed by the sayde soueraigne king his liege people and subiects vnder-written, euen before the date of these presents, for the full satisfaction of the sayde damages, grieuances and robberies, certaine summes of nobles hereafter following. Namely Inprimis by Tuthurie, and Terry of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due vnto ỹ foresaid Matthew Ludekinson. Item by Nicholas Scot of Calcis the sonne of Tutbury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due vnto the foresayd Arnold de Aschen. Item by the inhabitants of Scardeburgh, Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one Iohn Iolly of Blakeney for their captaine) 156. nobles, which are due vnto Henrie Culeman aforesayd. Item by the inhabitants of Bayon (Whose Capitaine was one Pideuille) 125. nobles which are due vnto the said Iohn Vnkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of Plymmouth and Dertmouth (whose Captaines were Henry Pay, and William Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due vnto the foresayde Iohn Halewater, in respect of his goods by them violently taken away. Item 334. nobles to be payed by the selfe same parties, being due vnto the sayde Iohn Halewater by reason that they detained his ship from him three moneths and more, which ship was of the burthen of three hundreth tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foresayde time fiue and fourtie seruants maintained at the expenses of the sayde Iohn Halewater. Item that Sir William de Ethingham knight, who was Vice-admirall for the sea, must bee summoned to alleage a reasonable cause (for that the sayd Sir William with his seruants expelled the said Iohn Halewater out of his ship for the space of fifteene dayes together, and tooke of the goods and victuals of the said Iohn to the summe of 114. nobles) why he ought not to pay the said summe of 114. nobles vnto Iohn Halewater aforesaid: which if hee shall not bee willing nor able to alleage before the first of April next ensuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee must be compelled to pay unto the foresaid Iohn the said 114 nobles. Item by the inhabitants of Calcis (whose captaines were Michael Scot, Bishop, and William Horneby) 1900. nobles, which are due vnto the foresayde Eggard Scoff, because the saide soueraigne king hath giuen them in charge by the said Michael Scot and the rest concerning the payment of the summe aforesaid. Item by Iohn Bilis neere vnto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due vnto Nicholas Wolmersten of Elbing. Which summes of nobles must by the kings authority be leuied at the hands of his subiects aboue-mentioned, betweene the time that nowe is and the feast of the Purification of the blessed virgine which shall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee deliuered and payed vnto the sayd Master generall or his lawfull

A ship of the burthen of 300. Tonnes.

lawfull procurator, or vnto his successours or their lawfull procuratours, at the Citie of London, vpon the feast aforesaid.

Item it is couenanted that besides the summes specified in the foresayde letters obligatorie made in the behalfe of the said soueraigne prince, there are due to be paied vnto one Iohn Marion of Wersingham lately deceased being in his life-time the liege subiect of the foresaid soueraigne prince 200. nobles of English money in regard of certaine iniuries and robberies done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresayde Iohn, by one Eghard Scoff subiect vnto the said Master generall, for the full satisfaction of the saide damages and robberies to bee made vnto the said deceased Iohn, his wife, children, heires or executors by the said Egghard, his heires, or by the administrators of his goods at the time and place aboue-mentioned.

Item it is couenanted, confirmed, and promised, that for all the iniuries and robberies done and committed against one Iohn Dordewant of Elbing, being in his life time subiect vnto the sayd Master generall, by the liege people and subiects of the said soueraigne king the inhabitants of Scardeburgh before the date of these presents; for the full recompense of all such iniuries and robberies, there must bee payed vnto one Iohn Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of English money, vpon the feast of Easter next following in the Citie of London by them of Scardeburgh being guiltie and culpable in this behalfe; who are by definitiue sentence condemned vnto the said Iohn in the summe of 800. nobles by reason of the iniuries and robberies aforesaid. Except the lawful expenses in this behalfe layed out: they are also taxed in due time for the issue. And therefore the foresayde condemned parties (whose names are in the sentence against them pronounced in this behalfe, more expresly contained) must in the meane season by the kings authoritie be compelled and constrained really and actually to obey the foresaid sentence, namely by deliuering and paying vnto Iohn Gruk the summe of 800. nobles at the time and place aboue mentioned, with reasonable expences, wherein also the said parties stand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reserued. 10.

Item it is couenanted and granted, that the heires of Lord Henrie de Percy the yonger after they shall come vnto lawfull age, and shall haue attained vnto the possessions and goods of their inheritance, must be compelled by the kings authoritie (iustice going before) to make satisfaction vnto the great procurator of Marienburgh with the summe of 888. nobles in lieu of certaine come and graine which the foresaid Lord Henrie, in the yeere 1403, bought and receiued of the said great procuratour, for the vse of the castle of Zutherwik. In testimony and confirmation of all the which premisses, the said Tedericus, Lefardus, and Iohn Crolow, of their certaine knowledges haue put their seales vnto these present letters indented, in the presence of the aboue-named Richard Merlow, Iohn Kington, and William Askam, commissioners for the behalfe of England. Giuen at the citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

Carta Henrici quarti Anno ‖ quinto regni sui concessa mercatoribus Angliæ in partibus Prussiæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Swethiæ, & Germaniæ, de gubernatore inter ipsos ibidem constituendo. ‖ 1404.

HEnricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ omnibus, ad quos præsentes literæ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cum, vt accepimus, ob defectum boni & sani regiminis & gubernationis, diuersa damna, dissensiones, grauamina, & angustiæ inter mercatores Regni nostri Angliæ in partibus Pruciæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Hansæ, & Suethiæ commorantes sæpius ante hæc tempora mota fuissent & perpetrata, ac maiora exinde, quod absit, futuris temporibus verisimiliter euenire formidantur, nisi pro meliori gubernatione inter eosdem mercatores mutuò habenda manus nostras adiutrices apponamus: Nos damnis & periculis in hac parte imminentibus præcauere, & eosdem Mercatores & alios de dicto regno nostro ad partes prædictas venturos iuste & fideliter regi & pertractari intime de-iderantes, volumus & tenore præsentium concedimus eisdem mercatoribus, quod ipsi quoties & quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honesto, vbi sibi placu-

erit, se congregare & unire, & certas personas sufficientes & idoneas in gubernatores suos in eisdem partibus inter se ad eorum libitum eligere & ordinare valeant libere & impune: Dantes vlterius & concedentes huiusmodi gubernatoribus per prædictos Mercatores sic eligendis, quantum in nobis est, potestatem & authoritatem speciales, omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes prædictas de cætero venientes & declinantes per se vel sufficientes loca sua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum cuilibet in suis causis & querelis quibuscunque inter eos in partibus prædictis motis vel mouendis plenam & celerem iusticiam faciendi & quascunque quæstiones, contentiones, discordias, & debatas inter ipsos mercatores Anglicos partium prædictarum motas seu mouendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, redigendi, sedandi, & pacificandi, & quascunque transgressiones, damna, mesprisiones, excessus, violencias, & iniurias mercatoribus partium prædictarum per prædictos mercatores Anglicos factas seu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, restaurandi, & emendandi, consimilesque restitutiones, reparationes, restauraciones & emendationes de ipsis mercatoribus partium prædictarum seu deputatis suis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi assensu mercatorum Anglicorum prædictorum statuta, ordinationes, & consuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione status eorundem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire, faciendi & stabiliendi, & omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos præfatis gubernatoribus sic eligendis vel eorum loca tenentibus seu eorum alicui, aut alicui statutorum, ordinationum, & consuetudinum prædictarum contrarios, rebelles, vel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti sui in hac parte rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes insuper omnia iusta & rationabilia statuta, ordinationes & consuetudines per dictos gubernatores sic eligendos in forma
‖ Nota. prædicta facienda & stabilienda, nec non omnes iustas & rationabiles ordinationes per ‖ nuper gubernatores prædictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi assensu eorundem mercatorum pro huiusmodi gubernatione sua in partibus prædictis iuxta priuilegia & authoritates sibi per magistrum Pruciæ seu alios dominos partium prædictarum concessa, factas & stabilitas, seu per prædictos gubernatores nunc vt præmittitur eligendos iuxta priuilegia prædicta, seu alia priuilegia eisdem mercatoribus Anglicis per prædictos magistrum & dominos in posterum concedenda, facienda & stabilienda, rata, firma & accepta haberi, & pro ratis, firmis, & acceptis ibidem firmiter & inuiolabiter obseruari. Damus autem vniuersis & singulis mercatoribus Anglicis prædictis tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quod eisdem gubernatoribus sic eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in præmissis omnibus & singulis ac aliis gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus intendentes sint, consulentes, obedientes & auxiliantes, prout decet. Data in palatio nostro Westmonasterij sub magni sigilli nostri testimonio sexto die Iunij Anno regni nostri quinto.

A Charter of King Henry the fourth graunted in the fift yeere of his reigne to the English Marchants resident in the partes of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, Sweden, and Germanie for the chusing of gouernours among themselues.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland: to all to whom these present letters may come, sendeth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good and discreete rule and gouernement, sundry damages, strifes, oppressions, and wrongs oftentimes heretofore haue bene moued and committed among the Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, the Hans steeds, and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, vnlesse we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better gouernement to be maintained among the said Marchants: wee heartily desiring to preuent the perils and dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the sayde Marchants and others which shall trauaile out of our said Realme into the partes aforesaid may iustly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of these presents to the said Marchants, that they may freely and without danger assemble and meete together as often and whensoeuer they please in some conuenient and honest place where they shall thinke good, and that they may choose among themselues certaine sufficient and fit persons for their gouernours in those parts at their good liking. And furthermore we giue and graunt

to

to the said Gouernours which are in such sort to be chosen by the aforesaid Marchants, as much as in vs lieth, speciall power and authorifie to rule and gouerne all and singular the English Marchants which hereafter shall come or repayre to the parts aforesaid by themselues or their sufficient Deputies, and to minister vnto them and euery of them in their causes and quarels whatsoeuer, which are sprung vp, or shall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforesaid full and speedie iustice, and to reforme all maner of questions, contentious discords, and debates moued or to be moued betweene the English Marchants remayning in those parts, and to seeke reformation, to redresse, appease, and compound the same. And further to redresse, restore, repayre and satisfie all transgressions, damages, misprisions, outrages, violences, and iniuries done or to be done by the aforesaid English Marchants against the Marchants of those parts: And to require, demaund and receiue the like restitutions, reparations, satisfactions and amends of the Marchants of those parts or of their deputies. And by the common consent of the aforesaid English Marchants to make and establish statutes, ordinances, and customes, as shall seeme expedient in that behalfe for the better gouernement of the state of the said English Marchants: and to punish with reason according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and singular the English Marchants which shall withstand, resist or disobey the aforesaid gouernours so to be chosen or their deputies, or any of them: or any of the aforesaid statutes, ordinances, or customes. Moreouer we doe ratifie, confirme, and approoue, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoued, wee command firmely and inuiolably there to be observed all iust, and reasonable statutes, ordinances, and customes which shalbe made and established by the said gouernors, so to be chosen, in forme aforesaid, and also all iust and reasonable ordinances made & established by the late gouernours of the aforesaid English Marchants with the common consent of the sayd Marchants for this their gouernement in the parts aforesayd, according to the priuileges and authorities now granted vnto them by the Master of Prussia, or other Lords of the partes aforesayd, or which shall be made and established by the aforesayd gouernours now as is mentioned to be chosen according to the aforesaid priuileges heretofore graunted, or other priuileges hereafter to bee granted to the sayde English Marchants by the aforesayde Master and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of these presents we straitely commaund all and singular the aforesaid English Marchants, that they attend, aduise, obey and assist, as it becommeth them, the sayde gouernours so to bee chosen, and their deputies in all and singular the premisses and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and gouernement. Giuen in our Palace at Westminster vnder the testimonie of our great Seale the sixt day of Iune in the fift yeere of our reigne.

A note touching the mighty ships of King Henry the fift, mentioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the sea, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Winchester.

EOdem anno quo victoria potitus est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni sui Anno tertio, post bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt eum multis Nauibus recuperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Angliæ misit fratrem suum Iohannem Ducem Bedfordiæ & Andeganiæ, qui pugnauit cum eis & vicit, & Naues cepit, & quasdam submersit: cæteri fugerunt cum Hispanis nauibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratiæ 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum deuicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, & propter eorum naues fecit Rex fieri naues quales non erant in mundo. De his sic conductis a Francis ita metricè scribitur.

Naues maximæ Henrici quinti.

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus arno
Gallos, Hispanos, Ianos, deuicit, & Vrget,
Vastat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Nauali bello bis deuicti quoque Iani.

A branch

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the sixt, for the trade to Norwey, Sweueland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.

ITem because that the kings most deare Vncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway & Sueueland, as the same our soueraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath vnderstood, considering the manifold & great losses, perils, hurts and damage which haue late happened as well to him and his, as to other foraines and strangers, and also friends and speciall subiects of our said soueraigne Lord the king of his realme of England, by ỹ going in, entring & passage of such forain & strange persons into his realme of Norwey & other dominions, streits, territories, iurisdictions & places subdued and subiect to him, specially into his Isles of Fynmarke, and elswhere, aswell in their persons as their things and goods: for eschuing of such losses, perils, hurts & damages, and that such like (which God forbid) should not hereafter happen: our said soueraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and statuted, that all and singular strangers, as well Englishmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his realme of Norwey and other dominions, streights, territories, iurisdictions, Isles & places aforesaid with their ships to the intent to get or haue fish or any other Marchandises, or goods, shall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the said king of Denmarke hath specially ordained and stablished his staple for the concourses of strangers and specially of Englishmen, to the exercise of such Marchandises: granting to the said Englishmen that they shall there inioy in and by all things the same fauour, priuileges and prerogatiues which they of the Rans did enioy. Therefore our said soueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, affinitie and amities to be firmely obserued, which betwixt his said Vncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, streites, territories, iurisdictions and their said places, and the same our soueraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, subiects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued, nor nothing by our said soueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done whereby such amities by reason of any dissensions, enemities or discord might be broken: by the aduise of the Lords spirituall & temporall & of the cõmons of his said Realme of England, assembled in this present Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor subiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie presume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, straits, territories, iurisdictions & places of the said king of Denmarke against ỹ ordinance, prohibition & interdictiõ of ỹ same his Vncle aboue remembred, & in contempt of the same, vpõ paine of forfeiture of all their moueable goods & imprisonment of their persons at the kings will.

Another branch of a statute made in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Henry the sixt concerning the state of the English Marchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke.

ITem because that our soueraigne Lord the king at the grieuous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed, that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impouerished, vndone, & in point to be destroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our soueraigne Lord, because that they do daily take of his said faithfull subiects their goods, so that they haue taken of marchants of York and Kinston vpon Hul goods & marchandises to the valour of v. M. li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of ỹ realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx. M. li. wherof they haue no remedie of the said king of Denmarke, nor of none other, forasmuch as none of them cometh within the Realme of England, nor nothing haue in the same realme of England, & that ỹ goods be taken out of the same Realme: The king willing to prouide remedy for his said liege people, hath ordeined & established, that if ỹ goods of any of ỹ said his lieges be or shalbe taken by the said king of Denmarke or any of his said lieges, the keeper of the priuie seale for ỹ time being, shall haue power to make to ỹ partie grieued letters of request vnder the priuie seale, wout any other pursuite to be made to any for restitution to be had of ỹ goods so taken & to be taken. And if restitution be not made by such letters, the king our soueraigne lord by the aduise of his counsel shal prouide to the partie grieued his couenable remedy, according as ỹ case requireth.

Here

Here beginneth the Prologue of the processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and saluation to England, and to all English-men.

Incipit liber de custodia Maris præsertim areti inter Doueram & Galisiam.

THe true processe of English policie
Of vtterward to keepe this regne in rest
Of our England, that no man may deny,
Ner say of sooth but it is one of the best,
Is this, that who seeth South, North, East and West,
Cherish Marchandise, keepe the admiraltie;
That wee bee Masters of the narrowe see.

Sigismond died 1438. He was here 1416. Videns imperator Sigismundus duas villas inter cæteras Angliæ scilicet Calisiam & Doueream, ponens suos duos digitos super duos suos oculos, ait regi, Frater, custodite istas duas villas sicut duos vestros oculos.

For Sigismond the great Emperour,
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land
With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour,
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mightie land which had take in hand
To werre in France, and make mortalitie,
And euer well kept round about the see.

And to the king thus hee sayd: My brother,
(When hee perceiued two Townes Caleis and Douer)
Of all your Townes to chuse of one and other,
To keepe the sea and soone to come ouer
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:
Keepe these two Townes sure, and your Maiestee
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrowe see.

For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere passe without danger and woe:
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre:
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe:
For needs hem must take trewes euery foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow see.

The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18. Quatuor considerantur in moneta aurea Anglica, quæ dicitur Noble: scilicet Rex, Nauis, gladius, & Mare: Quæ designant potestatem Anglicorum super Mare. In quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenses & alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de vestro Nobile nauem & imponite ouem. Intendentes,

Therefore I cast mee by a little writing
To shew at eye this conclusion,
For conscience and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion.
For foure things our Noble sheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see.

Where ben our ships, where ben our swerds become:
Our enemies bed for the ship set a sheepe.
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.
Who dare well say that lordship should take keepe:
I will assay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will euer thee,
For very shame to keepe about the see.

Shall

quod sicut quondam à tempore Edwardi tertij Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus sunt vecordes, victi, & ad bellandum & Mare obseruandum valde inutiles.

Shall any Prince, what so be his name,
Which hath Nobles much leche ours,
Bee Lord of see: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop vs, take vs, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and disteyne our honours:
For cowardise alas it should so bee.
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the see.

Of the commodities of Spaine and of Flanders.

The first Chapter.

Figges, Raisins, Wine, Bastard, Dates, Lycorice, Ciuil Oyle, Graynes, White Pastel Sope, Waxe, Iron, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell, Saffron, Quickesiluer.

KNowe well all men that profits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandie, who so will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raisins, wine Bastard, and Datis,
And Licoris, Siuill oyle, and graine,
White Pastill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell also:
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyn:
Saffron, Quickesiluer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders shipped full craftily,
Vnto Bruges as to her staple fayre:
The Hauen of Scluse hir Hauen for her repayre
Which is cleped Swyn tho shippes giding:
Where many vessels and fayre are abiding.
But these marchandes with their shippes great,
And such chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes must nede take on hand
By the coasts to passe of our England,
Betwixt Douer and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els such matter bring about?

And when these sayd Marchants discharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the see,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike, fine cloth of all colours,
Much Fustian, and also Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great substance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our English woll.

Flemish cloth made of English Wooll.

Then may it not sinke in mannis brayne,
But that it must this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our costes passe:
Hee that sayd nay in witte was like an asse.
Wee should haue peace with the grounds tweyne
Thus if this see were kept, I dare well sayne.
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And neither may well liue without other:
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,
Without our English commodities:

The necessarie coniunction of Spaine and Flanders.

Wolle

Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England
Susteineth the Commons Flemings I vnderstand.
Then if England would her wolle restraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede must with vs haue peace,
Or els shee is destroyed without lees.
Also if Flanders thus destroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer ythee:
For destroyed it is, and as in cheeffe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,
But if it be costed and menged well
Amongst the English wolle the greter delle.
For Spanish wooll in Flaunders draped is,
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:
And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
That longeth to Spaine: who so will espie,
It is of little value, trust vnto mee,
With English wooll but if it menged bee.
Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,
If these two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleete of Flanders passe nought
That in the narrowe see it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the fumose wine,
Ner into Bytonuse Bay for salt so fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?
As who sayd, nought, the thrift is agoe.
For the litile land of Flanders is
But a staple to other lands ywis:
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe or loth,
But a little Mader and Flemish Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in substance
Liuen her commons, this is her gouernance,
Without wich they may not liue at ease.
Thus must hem sterue, or with vs must haue peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal.

The second Chapter.

THe Marchandy also of Portugal
By diuers lands turne into sale.
Portugalers with vs haue troth in hand:
Whose Marchandy commeth much into England.
They ben our friends, with their commodities,
And wee English passen into their countrees.
Her land hath wine, Osey, Waxe, and Graine,
Figges, Reysins, Hony and Cordoweyne:
Dates, and Salt, Hides, and such Marchandy:
And if they would to Flanders passe for by,
They should not bee suffred ones ner twyes,
For supporting of our cruell enemies,

Wine, Osey, Waxe, Graine, Figs, Reisins, Hony, Cordoweyne, Dates, Salt, Hides.

That is to say Flemings with her gyle:
Note well. For changeable they are in little while.
Then I conclude by reasons many moe,
If we suffred neither friend nor foe,
What so enemies, and so supporting
Passe for by vs in time of werring,
Seth our friends will not ben in cause
Of our hindring, if reson lede this clause:
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to vs sought,
And other lands should seeke peace, dout nought:
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
To all nations of Christianitie.

The commodities of pety Britaine, with her Rouers on the sea.

The third Chapter.

FUrthermore to write I am faine
Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,
Salt, and wine, crest cloth and canuas.
And the land of Flaunders sickerly
Is the staple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not passe away
But by the coast of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who so trueth louis,
The Britons great Rouers and Theeues. Are the greatest rouers and the greatest theeuis,
That haue bene in the sea many one yeere:
That our Marchants haue bought full dere.
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,
On this side see, these false pelours
Called of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:
Wich to their Duke none obeysance will bere:
With such colours wee haue bee hindred sore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they haue bene in diuers coasts many
Of our England, more then rehearse can I:
In Norfolke coastes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and slaine by many a rowte:
And they haue also ransomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of bost haue run her sowne:
Wich hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and shame:
They that the sea should keepe are much to blame.
For Britayne is of easie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A storie of Edward the third his ordinance for Britayne

Historia ostendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra depredatores maritimos Britanniæ minoris, ad debellandum eos & subiugandum Britannos minores.

HEre bring I in a storie to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke vnto mee well written in a scrowe:
That I haue commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone.

But

But when noble King Edward the third
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner gelosie
To his Marchants and loued them hartily.
He feld the weyes to rule well the see,
Whereby Marchants might haue prosperitee.
That for Harflew Houndflew did he maken;
And great werre that time were vndertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At last to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Vpon the wich made with couencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went foorth boldly:
But soone anon our Marchants were ytake,
And wee spedde neuer the better for truce sake.
They lost her good, her nauy and spending:
But their complaint came vnto the king.
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he sent,
And complained that such harme was hent;
By couention and peace made so refused:
Wich Duke sent againe, and him excused,
Rehearsing that the mount of Saincte Michael,
And Sainct Malo would neuer a dell
Be subiect vnto his gouernance,
Nor be vnder his obeysance:
And so they did withouten him that deede.
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte set a iudgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long aduise
To fortifie anon he did deuise
Of English Townes three, that is to say,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gaue hem helpe and notable puisance
With insistence set them in gouernance
Vpon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Those good sea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke prisoners, and made them for to lowte.
And efte the Duke, an ensample wise,
Wrote to the king as he first did deuise,
Him excusing: But our men wood
With great power passed ouer the floode
And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,
And had ny destroyed free and bond.
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three
Should haue lo-t all his natiue Countrie,
He vndertooke by suretie true not false,
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als,
And other parties of the litle Brytaine,
Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne.

The Duke hymselfe for all did vndertake:
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:
So that in all the life time of the king,
Marchants had peace withouten werring:

Statutum Regis Edwardi tertii pro Lombardis.

He made a statute for Lombards in this land,
That they should in noe wise take on hande
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and dischardge
But fortie dayes, no more time had they large.
This good king by witte of such appreiffe
Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe.

Of the commodities of Scotland and draping of her wolles in Flanders. The fourth Chapiter.

MOreouer of Scotland the commodities
Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleese.
And all these must passe by vs away
Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.
And all her woolle was draped for to sell
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell:
Which my Lord of Glocester with ire

Anno Domini 1436. Hen. 6. 24.

For her falshed set vpon a fire.
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
Could neuer drape her wool for any thing,
But if they had English woll withall.
Our goodly wooll which is so generall
Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
And other costes, this sentence is nnot false:
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it vpon yo ,
I haue this learned ye wot well where and howe:
Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flaunders sckerly.
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Haberdashers Ware,
And halfe her shippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in substance:
Thus most rude ware are in her cheuesance.
So they may not forbeare this Flemish land.
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,
Wee should right soone haue peace for all her bosts,
For they must needes passe by our English costs.

Of the commodities of Pruce, and High Dutch men, and Easterlings. The fifth Chapitle.

NOwe goe foorth to the commodities,
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
For two maner people haue such vse,
That is to say, High Duch men of Pruse,
And Esterlings, which might not be forborne,
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.

For

For they bring in the substance of the Beere,
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.
Yee haue heard that two Flemings togider
Will vndertake or they goe any whither,
Or they rise once to drinke a Ferkin full,
Of good Beerekin: so sore they hall and pull.
Vnder the board they pissen as they sit:
This commeth of couenant of a worthie wit.
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
When they fled home, and when they leysure lacked
To holde their siege, they went like as a Doe:
Well was that Fleming that might trusse, and goe.
For feare they turned backe and hyed fast,
My Lord of Glocester made hem so agast
With his comming, and sought hem in her land,
And brent and slowe as he had take on hand:
So that our enemies durst not bide, nor stere,
They fled to mewe, they durst no more appeare,
Rebuked sore for euer so shamefully,
Vnto her vtter euerlasting villanie.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruse ybrought
Into Flanders, as loued and farre ysought:
Osmond, Copper, Bow-staues, Steele, and Wexe,
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe:
And Colleyne threed, Fustian and Canuas,
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.
But the Flemings among these things dere,
In common louen best Bakon and Beere.
Also Pruse men maken her aduenture
Of Plate of siluer of wedges good and sure
In great plentie which they bring and bye,
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:
Which is increase full great vnto their land,
And they bene laden, I vnderstand,
With wollen cloth all maner of colours
By dyers crafted full diuers, that ben ours.
And they aduenture full greatly vnto the Bay,
for salt that is needefull withouten nay.
Thus if they would not our friends bee,
We might lightly stoppe hem in the see:
They should not passe our streemes withouten leue,
It would not be, but if we should hem greue.

Pitch, Tarre, Board, Flexe, Collein threed, Fustian, Cotton, Cardes, Bokeram, Siluer-plate, Wedges of Siluer and Metall.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.

THe Genuois comen in sundry wies
Into this land with diuers marchandises
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke
They bring with them, and of ‖ crood great plentee,
Woll Oyle, Woad ashen, by vessel in the see,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,

‖ Or, Wood.

And

And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they aduenture, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with such things as they bye,
That is their chefe staple sekerly:
And if they would be our full enemies,
They should not passe our stremes with marchandise.

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their Gallees. Chap. 7.

THe great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All spicery and of grossers ware:
With sweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and Iapes, and marmusets tayled,
Nifles and trifles that little haue auayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that we bye.
For much of this chaffare that is wastable
Might be forborne for dere and deceiuable.
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are such commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practise both yfound:
That all humors might be voyded sure,
Which that we gleder with our English cure:
That we should haue no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al so speedefull,
That growen here, as those things sayd.
Let of this matter no man be dismayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the sea.
And yet they should except be any thing
It were but sugre, trust to my saying:
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,
Let him better search experience.
In this matter I will not ferther prease,
Who so not beleeueth, let him leaue and cease.
Thus these galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence our best chaffare:
Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I sayd before,
Out of this lond worst might be forbore.
For ech other land of necessitie
Haue great neede to buy some of them three:
And we receiue of hem into this coste
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loste,
And would Iesus, that our Lordis wold
Consider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that haue experience,
That might the yong exhorte to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to vs, vnto our great grieuance,

Of

Of such lands, and of such nations:
As experte men know by probations,
By writings as discouered our counsailes,
And false colour alwaies the countertailes
Of our enimies: that doth vs hindering
Vnto our goods, our Relme, and to the King:
As wise men haue shewed well at eye,
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example of deceite.

ALso they bere the gold out of this land,
And sucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waspe souketh honie fro the bee,
So minisheth our commoditee.
Now wol ye here how they in Cotteswold
Were wont to borrow or they shold be sold
Her woll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:
And in her galies ship this marchandie:
Then soone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then vtterne there the chaffare by the peise,
And lightly als there they make her reise.
And when the goods beene at Venice sold,
Then to carie her change they this money haue,
They will it profer, their subtiltie to saue,
To English marchants to yeue it out by eschange
To be payed againe they make not strange,
At the receiuing and sight of a letter,
Here in England, seeming for the better,
by foure pence lesse in the noble round:
That is twelue pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol haue of payment
A full moneth, than must him needes assent
To eight pence losse, that is shillings twaine
In the English pound: as eft soone againe,
For two moneths twelue pence must he pay.
In the English pound what is that to say,
But shillings three? So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when English marchants haue content
This eschange in England of assent,
That these sayd Venecians haue in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold soone
Ouer the see into Flanders againe:
And thus they liue in Flanders, sooth to saine,
And in London with such cheuisance,
That men call vsury, to our losse and hinderance.

Another example of deceite.

NOw lesten well how they made vs a valeys
When they borrowed at the town of Caleis
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
For yere and yere they should make payment.

And

And sometime als two yere and two yeare.
‖ Or, lost. This was fayre ‖ loue: but yet will ye heare,
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
And sell it fast for ready money in hand.
For fifty pounds of money of loste they wold not wond
In a thousand pound, and line thereby
Till the day of payment easily,
Come againe in exchange: making
Full like vsury, as men make vndertaking.
Than whan this payment of a thousand pound
Was well content, they should haue chaffare sound
If they wold fro the Staple full,
Receiue againe three thousand pound in woll.
In Cotteswold also they ride about,
And all England, and buy withouten doubte
What them list with freedome and franchise,
More then we English may gitten many wise.
But would God that without lenger delayes
These galees were vnfraught in fortie dayes
And in fortie dayes charged againe,
And that they might be put to certaine
To goe to oste, as we there with hem doe.
It were expedient that they did right soe,
As we doe there. If the king would it:
Ah what worship wold fall to English wit?
What profite also to our marchandie
Which wold of nede be cherished hertilie?
Note diligitly. For I would witte, why now our nauie fayleth,
When manie a foe vs at our doore assayleth.
Now in these dayes, that if there come a nede,
A wetful complaint of lacke of nauie if need come. What nauie should we haue it is to drede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time past, full worthy warriours:
A storie of destruction of Denmarke for destruction of their marchants. Which when they had their marchants destroyed,
To pouerty they fell, thus were they noyed:
And so they stand at mischiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.
If they be rich, then in prosperitee
Shalbe our lande, lords, and commontee,
And in worship. Now thinke I on the sonne
The prayse of Richard of Whitingdon marchant. Of Marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;
That load sterre, and chiefe chosen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet lasteth dayly in worthines?
That pen and paper may not me suffice
Him to describe: so high he was of price

Aboue marchants, that set him one of the best:
I can no more, but God haue him in rest.

Now the principal matter.

WHat reason is it that we should goe to oste
In their countries, & in this English coste
They should not so? but haue more liberty
Then we our selues now also motte I thee.
I would to gifts men should take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to speede.
For this we see well euery day at eye,
Gifts and fests stopen our policie.
Now see that fooles ben either they or wee:
But euer we haue the worse in this countree.
Therefore let hem vnto oste go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them vnto oste, and yee shall see
Moch auantage, and moch profite arise,
Moch more then I can write in any wise.

Of our charge and discharge at her marts.

COnceiue wel here, that Englishmen at martes
Be discharged, for all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine hastily
In the same dayes fourteene acharged eft.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they should forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it should no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene
With English cloth full good and fayre to seene:
We ben again charged with mercerie,
Haburdasher ware, and with grosserie:
To which marts, that English men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:
English, and French, Lombards, Iennoyes,
Catalones, thedre they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Irishmen there abides,
With great plenty bringing of sale hides.
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common vse then done all other nations:
This haue I heard of marchants relations:
And if the English ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they byemore, and fro purse put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.
Kept then the see, shippes should not bring ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thidre stretch:
And so those marts wold full euill thee,
If we manly kept about the see.

Of the commodities of Brabant and Zeland and Henauld and marchandy carried by land to the martes. Cap. 8.

YEt marchandy of Brabant and Zeland
The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand
To dyen with, Garlike and Onions,
And saltfishe als for husband and commons.
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our felles,
And wolles our, that Englishmen hem selles.
And the chaffare that Englishmen doe byen
In the marts, that noe man may denien,
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by see,
But al by land, by carts, and from France,
Bourgoyne, Colein, Cameret in substance,
Therefore at marts if there be a restraint,
Men seyne plainely that list no fables paynt,
If Englishmen be withdrawen away,
Is great rebuke and losse to her affray:
As though we sent into the land of France
Ten thousand people, men of good puissance,
To werre vnto her hindring multifarie,
So ben our English marchants necessarie.
If it be thus assay, and we shall witten
Of men experte, by whom I haue this written.
For sayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,
As all the goods that come in shippes thider,
Which Englishmen bye most and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, shame to say,
But Englishmen thither dresse her way.

Mader, Woad.

Garlike, Onions, saltfish.

What our marchants bye in that coste more then all other.

A conclusion of this depending of keeping of the sea.

THan I conclude, if neuer so much by land
Were by carres brought vnto their hand,
If well the sea were kept in gouernance
They should by sea haue no deliuerance.
Wee should hem stop, and we should hem destroy,
As prisoners we should hem bring to annoy.
And so we should of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
If they were not suffered for to passe
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glasse
And also brittle, not thought neuer abiding;
But when grace shineth soone are we sliding;
We will it not receiue in any wise:
That maken lust, enuie, and couetise:
Expone me this; and yee shall sooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then shuld worship vnto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Maiestie:

Liche

Liche as the seale the greatest of this land
On the one side hath, as I vnderstand,
A prince riding with his swerd ydraw,
In the other side sitting, soth it is in saw,
Betokening good rule and punishing
In very deede of England by the king.
And it is so, God blessed mought he bee.
So in likewise I would were on the see
By the Noble, that swerde should haue power,
And the ships on the sea about vs here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Iuie
Shewe a tauerne winelesse, also thrine I?
If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Shuld bere no state in sea by werring.
Of Hankin lions. Then Hankin lyons shuld not be so bold
To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold
Vnto our shame. He had be beten thence.
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to shend the old English fames;
And the profits of England, and their names:
Why is this power called of couetise;
With false colours cast beforn our eyes?
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons succours,
To purge the sea vnto our great auayle,
And winne hem goods, and haue vp the sayle,
And on our enimies their liues to impart,
So that they might their prises well departe,
As reson wold, iustice and equitie;
To make this land haue lordship of the sea.
Lombards are cause enough to hurt this land, although there were none other cause. Then shall Lombards and other fained friends
Make her chalenges by colour false offends,
And say their chaffare in the shippes is,
And chalenge al. Looke if this be amisse,
For thus may al that men haue bought to sore,
False colouring of goods by Lombards. Ben soone excused, and saued by false colour.
Beware yee men that bere the great in hand
Also for bribes & gift of goods, feasts & other means, that stoppen our policie. That they destroy the policie of this land,
By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And silke, and other: say yee not this soth is?
This is the very state of our time. But if we had very experience
That they take meede with priuie violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleasance,
Whereby stopped should be good gouernance:
And if it were as yee say to mee,
Than wold I say, alas cupiditie,
That they that haue her liues put in drede,
Shalbe soone out of winning, all for meed,
And lose her costes, and brought to powerty,
That they shall neuer haue lust to goe to sea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance against colour of maintainers and excusers of folkes goods.

It is a marueilous thing that so great a sicknes and hurt of ye land may haue no remedie of so many as take hēselues wise men of gouernance.

FOr this colour that must be sayd alofte
And be declared of the great full ofte,
That our seamen wol by many wise
Spoile our friends in steede of our enimies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counsayle that may not fayle, I trowe,
That friends should from enimies be knowe,
Our enimies taken and our friends spared:
The remedy of hem must be declared.
Thus may the sea be kept in no sell,
For if ought be spoken, wot yee well,
We haue the strokes, and enemies haue the winning:
But mayntainers are parteners of the finning.
We liue in lust and bide in couetise:
This is our rule to maintaine marchandise,
And policie that wee haue on the sea.
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Of the commodities of Ireland, and policie and keeping thereof, and conquering of wild Irish: with an incident of Wales. Chap. 9.

I Cast to speake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will entitle,
Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Irish wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,
And marterns goode ben her marchandie,
Hertes Hides, and other of * Venerie.
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Irish hare,
Of sheepe, lambe, and Foxe, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the sea,
Because the King cleped is Rex Angliæ,
And is Dominus also Hyberniæ,
Old possessed by Progenitours:
The Irish men haue cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie should hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,
At Waterford, and costes many one.
And as men sayne in England be there none
Better hauens, ships in to ride,
No more sure for enemies to abide.
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland?
For all so much as I can vnderstand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,

* Or, hunting.

So

So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and marualous.
Myues of siluer and gold in Ireland. For of siluer and golde there is the oore,
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore.
For they are rude and can thereon no skill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure.
As in London saith a luellere,
Which brought from thence golde oore to vs here,
Whereof was fyned mettal good and clene,
As they touch, no better could be seene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will answere at last iudgement,
That for slought and for racheshede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost.
For it is a boterasse and a post,
Vnder England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due vnto the king.
But I haue pittie in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with anisement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent:
It must awey, it wol bee lost from vs,
But if thou helpe, thou Iesu gracious,
And giue vs grace al slought to leue beside.
For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatise I caste to write
Made al onely for that soile and site,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Irish wirlinge
Should be chosen for to bee their kinge,
After her conqueste for our last puissance,
And hinder vs by other lands alliance.
Wise men seyn, wich felin not, ne douten,
That wild Irish so much of ground haue gotten
There vpon vs, as likenesse may be
Like as England to sheeris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Irish haue wonne on vs vnable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a litle corner,
To all Ireland in true comparison.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee lost, as Christ Iesu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,
This is ow to be greatly feared. For aliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
And so haue enemies enuiron round about.
I beseech God, that some prayers deuout

Mutt

Mutt let the said apparance probable
Thus disposed without feyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I see
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee.
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men say, in all Christendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.
Then mee semeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande: and it were piteous
To vs to lese this high name Dominus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Shuld haue the ground obeysant wilde and tame.
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground subiect to the Lord.
And that it is possible to bee subiect,
Vnto the king wel shal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of spake.
I trowe reson al this wol vndertake.
And I knowe wel howe it stante,
Alas fortune beginneth so to scant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is gouernance.
For so minisheth parties of our puissance,
In that land that wee lese euery yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.
I herd a man speake to mee full late.
Which was a lord of full great estate;
Than expense of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puissance
This said ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet because England might not forbere
These said expenses gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred vp here,
Might winne Ireland to a finall conqueste,
In one sole yeere to set vs all at reste.
And how soone wolde this be paied ageyne:
Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:
I wol declare, who so luste to looke,
I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
But couetise, and singularitie
Of owne profite, enuie, crueltie,
Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euery day,
And musters made that shame is to say:
Our money spent al to litle auaile,
And our enimies so greatly doone preuaile,
That what harme may fall and ouerthwerte
I may vnneth write more for sore of herte.

This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this matter, that he would vndertake it, in pain of losse of al his liuelihood. But this proffer could not be admitted. Ergo malè.

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales.

BEware of Wales, Christ Iesu mutt vs keepe,
That it make not our childers childe to weepe,

Ne

Ne vs also, so if it goe his way,
By vnwarenes: seth that many a day
Men haue bee ferde of her rebellion,
By great tokens and ostentation:
Seche the meanes with a discrete auise,
And helpe that they rudely not arise
For to rebell, that Christ it forbede.
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee haue neede,
Vnfainingly, vnfeyning and vnfeynt,
That conscience for slought you not atteynt:
Kepe well that grounde, for harme that may ben vsed,
Or afore God mutte yee ben accused.

Of the commodious Stockfish of Island, and keeping of the Sea, namely the Narrow sea, with an incident of the keeping of Caleis. Chap. 10.

The trade of Bristow to Island.

OF Island to write is litle nede,
Saue of Stock-fish: Yet forsooth in deed
Out of Bristowe, and costes many one,
Men haue practised by nedle and by stone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelue yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old

The old trade of Scarborough to Island and the North.

Of Scarborough vnto the costes cold.
And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there ware,
That moch losse for vnfreyght they bare:
Island might not make hem to bee fraught
Vnto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commoditees
For which neede is well to kepe the seas:
Este and Weste, South and North they bee.
And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see,
Betweene Douer and Caleis: and as thus
that foes passe none without good will of vs:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our costis and Caleis in our strength.

An exhortation for the sure keeping of Caleis.

ANd for the loue of God, and of his blisse
Cherish yee Caleis better then it is.
See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that well no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for slought so great offence,
But that redressed it bee for any thing:
Leste a song of sorrow that wee sing.
For litle wenith the foole who so might chese
What harme it were good Caleis for to lese:
What wo it were for all this English ground.
Which wel conceiued the Emperour Sigismound,

The ioy of Sigismund the Emperour that Caleis was English.

That of all ioyes made it one of the moste,
That Caleis was subiect vnto English coste.
Him thought it was a iewel most of all,
And so the same in Latine did it call.

And

And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I cast to write within a litle scrowe,
Like as I haue done before by and by
In other parteis of our policie.
Loke how hard it was at the first to get;
And by my counsell lightly doe not it let.
For if wee lese it with shame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.
Howe was Harflew cried vpon, and Rone,
That they were likely for shought to be gone;
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it betyde right so.
Farewell * Harflew: lewdly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can say no better:
My soule discharge I by this present letter.

Harflew was lost in the yere 1449. in the 27. of Henry the sixth.

After the Chapitles of commodities of diuers lands, sheweth the conclusion of keeping of the sea enuiron, by a storie of King Edgar and two incidents of King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. Chap. 11.

NOwe see we well then that this round see
To our Noble by pariformitee
Vnder the ship shewed there the sayle,
And our king with royal apparayle,
With swerd drawen bright and extent
For to chastise enimies violent;
Should be lord of the sea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Christianitee
Master and lord enuiron of the see:
All liuing men such a prince to dreed,
Of such a regne to bee aferd indeed.
Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a * Chronicle anon shalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into English, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O most marueilous
Prince liuing, wittie, and cheualerous:
So good that none of his predecessours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.
Hee was fortunate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth nó man in holines:
Hee passed all in vertuous sweetnes.
Of English kings was none so commendable:
To English men no lesse memorable,
Then Cyrus was to Perse by puissance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.

*Dicit Chronica, quod iste Edgarus cunctis prædecessoribus suis fœlicior, nulli sanctitate inferior, omnibus morum suauitate præstantior fuerit. Luxit ipse Anglis non minus memorabilis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Carolus Francis, Romulus verò Romanis.

I may

I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
And another in the see without;
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boystrous windes put see men into fere;
Within his land about by all prouinces
Hee passed through, perceiuing his princes,
Lords, and others of the commontee,
Who was oppressour, and who to pouertee
Was drawen and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by mischiefe and by strife
With ouer leding and extortion:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee aspied: and his ministers als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
Howe the right and lawes of the land
Were execute, and who durst take in hand
To disobey his statutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of these he made subtile inuestigation
Of his owne espie, and other mens relation.
Among other was his great busines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,
And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppression.
Thus was he wont in this Winter tide
On such enforchise busily to abide.
This was his labour for the publike thing,
Thus was hee occupied: a passing holy King.
Nowe to purpose, in the Sommer faire
Of lusty season, whan clered was the aire,
He had redie shippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a store:
Full three thousand and sixe hundred also
Stately inough on our sea to goe.
The Chronicles say, these shippes were full boysteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee haue in wonne
And in custome to be ful redie soone,
With multitude of men of good array
And instruments of werre of best assay.
Who could hem well in any wise descriue?
It were not light for eny man aliue,
Thus he and his would enter shippes great
Habiliments hauing and the fleete
Of See werres, that ioyfull was to see
Such a nauie and Lord of Maiestee,
There present in person hem among
To saile and rowe enuiron all along,

Dicit Chronica, præparauerat naues robustissimas numero tria millia sexcenta: in quibus redeunte æstate omnem insulam ad terrorem extraneorũ, & ad suorum excitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnauigare consueuerat.

So regal liche about the English isle;
To all strangers terrours and perile.
Whose fame went about in all the world stout,
Vnto great fere of all that be without,
And exercise to Knights and his meynee
To him longing of his natall cuntree.
For courage of nede must haue exercise,
Thus occupied for esshewin of vice.
This knew the king that policie espied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that enuiron the see
Should bene our subiects vnto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worship and for profite also
To defend his land fro euery foo.
That worthy king I leue, Edgar by name,
And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:
Saffe onely this I may not passe away,
A worde of mighty strength till that I say,
That graunted him God such worship here,
For his merites, hee was without pere,
That sometime at his great festiuitee
Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
And princes fele were there present,
And many Lords came thider by assent,
To his worship: but in a certaine day
Hee bad shippes to be redie of aray:
For to visit Saint Johns Church hee list
Rowing vnto the good holie Baptist,
Hee assigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
Many ships right goodly to sights:
And for himselfe and eight kings moo
Subiect to him bee made kepe one of thoo,
A good shippe, and entrede into it
With eight kings, and downe did they sit;
And eche of them an ore tooke in hand,
At ore hales, as I vnderstand,
And he himselfe at the shippe behinde
As steris man it became of kinde.
Such another rowing I dare well say,
Was not seene of Princes many a day.
Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
In lande, in see, that I may not suffice
To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,
That king Edgar had vpon the see.

Dicit Chronica hec; vt non minus quantum ei etiam in hac vita honorum operum meretem domuerit: cum aliquando ad magnam eius festiuitatem, reges, comites, multarumq; prouinciarum protectores conuenirent, &c.

An incident of the Lord of the sea King Edward the third.

Of king Edward I passe and his prowes
On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:
The siege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,

Howe

Calais was yeelded to ye English 1347.

Howe it lasted not yeeres manyagoe,
After the battell of Creeye was vdoe:
Howe it was closed enuiron about,
Olde men sawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt.
Old Knights say that the Duke of Burgoyn,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;
Of ship on see made no besieging there,
For want of shippes that durst not come for feare.
It was nothing besieged by the see:
Thus call they it no siege for honestee.
Gonnes assailed, but assault was there none,
No siege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
This maner carping haue knights ferre in age,
Expert through age of this maner language.
But king Edward made a siege royall,

King Edward had 700. English ships, and 14152. English mariners before Calais.

And wanne the towne: and in especiall
The sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;
In whose time was no nauie on the see
That might withstand his maiestie.

The battell of Scluse by sea.

Battell of Scluse yee may rede euery day,
Howe it was done I leue and goe my way:
It was so late done that yee it knowe,
In comparison within a litle throwe:
For which to God giue we honour and glorie;
For Lord of see the king was with victorie.

Another incident of keeping of the see, in the time of the marueilous werriour and victorious Prince, King Henrie the fifth, and of his great shippes.

AND if I should conclude all by the King
Henrie the fift, what was his purposing,
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which passed other great ships of all the commons;

The great ships of Henry the fift, made at Hampton.

The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost,
And other moe, which as nowe bee lost.
What hope ye was the kings great intent
Of thoo shippes, and what in minde hee meant?
It was not ellis, but that hee cast to bee
Lorde round about enuiron of the see.
And when Harflew had her siege about,

Great caracks of Genoa taken by the Duke of Bedford.

There came caracks horrible great and stoute
In the narrow see willing to abide,
To stoppe vs there with multitude of pride.
My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.

1416.

This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne;

The French nauie thus ouerthrowen was of fyue hundred saile.

That all was slaine or take, by true relation,
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.
There was present the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell other wise then I:
Aske him, and witte; I passe foorth hastily

What had this kipg of his magnificence,
Of great courage, of wisedome, and prudence?
Prouision, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, iustice, and agilitee,
Discretion, subtile auisednesse,
Attemperance, Noblesse, and worthinesse:
Science, prowesse, deuotion, equitie,
Of most estate, with his magnanimitie
Liche to Edgar, and the saide Edward,
As much of both liche hem as in regard.
Where was on liue a man more victorious,
And in so short time prince so marueilous?
By land and sea, so well he him acquitte,
To speake of him I stony in my witte.
Thus here I leaue the king with his noblesse,
Henry the fift, with whom all my processe
Of this true booke of pure policie
Of sea keeping, entending victorie
I leaue endly: for about in the see
No prince was of better strenuitee.
And if he had to this time liued here,
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost. His great ships should haue ben put in preese,
Vnto the ende that he ment of in cheese,
For doubt it not but that he would haue bee
Lord and master about the round see:
And kept it sure to stoppe our enemies hence,
And wonne vs good, and wisely brought it thence
That no passage should be without danger,
And his licence on see to moue and sterre.

Of vnitie, shewing of our keeping of the see: with an endly or finall processe of peace by authoritie. Chap. 12.

NOw than for loue of Christ, and of his ioy,
Bring it England out of trouble and noy:
Take heart and witte, and set a gouernance,
Set many wits withouten variance,
Exhortatio generalis in custodiam totius Anglie, per diligentium custodiar circuitus maris circa litora eiusdem: quæ debet esse per vnanimitatē Consiliariorum regis, & hominum bona voluntatis. To one accord and vnanimitee.
Put to good will for to keepe the see.
First for worship and profite also,
And to rebuke of eche euill willed foe.
Thus shall worship and riches to vs long.
Than to the Noble shall we doe no wrong.
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,
To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:
For which they must dresse hem to peace in haste,
Or ellis their thrift to standen, and to waste.
As this processe hath proued by and by
All by reason and expert policy;
And by stories which proued well this parte:
Or ellis I will my life put in ieoparte,
But many lords would seche her peace for nede,
The see well kept: it must be doo for drede.

Thus

Thus must Flanders for nede haue vnitee
And peace with vs : it will non other bee,
Within short while : and ambassadours
Would bene here soone to treate for their succours.
Tres sunt causæ prædictæ custodiæ: actiues, honor, commodum regni, & oppressionis inimicis. This vnitie is to God pleasance :
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace sikerly,
And power causeth peace finally.
Kept than the sea about in speciall,
Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall enuiron were the see.
Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England :
And than is England kept by Goddes hande ;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at ease withouten doubt,
And thus should euery lond one with another
Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
And liue togither werrelesse in vnitie,
Withour rancour in very charitie,
In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,
Without strife, debate and variance.
Which peace men should enserche with businesse,
And knit it saddely holding in holinesse.
The Apostle seith, if ye list to see,
Ephes. 4. Solliciti ista seruare vnitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis. Bee yee busie for to keepe vnitee
Of the spirit in the bond of peace.
Which is nedeful to all withouten lese.
The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire
To pursue it, this is holy desire.
Our Lord Iesu saith, Blessed motte they bee
That maken peace ; that is tranquillitee.
Matth. 5. Beati pacifici quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur. For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the sonnes of God almight.
God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe
Of his precepts, and slugly not to sleepe
In shame of sinne : that our verry foo
Might be to vs conuers, and turned so.
Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis, etiam inimicos ad pacem conuertet. For in the Prouerbs is a text to this purpose
Plaine inough without any glose :
When mens weyes please vnto our Lord,
It shall conuert and bring to accord
Mans enemies vnto peace verray,
In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,
With vnitie, peace, rest and charitie.
Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
That came from heauen, and styed vp with our nature,
Or hee ascended, he gaue to vs cure,
And left with vs peace, ageyne striffe and debate,
Mote giue vs peace, so well irradicate
Here in this world : that after all this feste
Vbi beata Ierusalem dicta pacis visio. Wee may haue peace in the land of beheste,
Ierusalem, which of peace is the sight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,

There

There glorified in rest with his tuition,
The Deitie to see with full fruition:
Hee second person in diuinenesse is,
Who vs assume, and bring vs to the blis. Amen.

Here endeth the true processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea enuiron: shewing what profit and saluation, with worship commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

GOe furth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;
Appearing euer with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,
In opposile and cherishing the aduance.
To hardines if that not variance
Thou hast fro trought by full experience
Authors and reasons: if ought faile in substance
Remit to hem that yafe thee this science;
That seth it is soth in verray fayth,
The wise lord of Hungerfords iudgement of this booke. That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee ouerseene, and verely he saith
That thou art true, and thus he doeth record,
Next the Gospel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all ouer in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right.

Explicit libellus de Politia conseruatiua maris.

A large Charter granted by K. Edward the 4 in the second yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England resident especially in the Netherland, for their chusing of a master and gouernor among themselues, which gouernement was first appointed vnto one William Obray: with expresse mention, what authoritie he should haue.

1462. EDward by the grace of God king of France, & of England, & lord of Ireland, to al those which shal see or heare these letters, sendeth greeting, & good wil. Know ye, that whereas we haue vnderstood, as well by the report of our louing and faithfull Counsellors, as by the common complaint and report of all men, that many vexations, griefs, debates, discords, annoyes, dissentions, & damages, haue heretofore bene done, moued, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants & mariners, our subiects of our realmes of France & England, & our lordships of Ireland and Wales, & of other our dominions, seigneuries, and territories, because that good discretion and authority hath not bin obserued among our saide subiects, which abide, frequent, conuerse, remain, inhabit, & passe, aswel by sea as by land, into ỹ parts of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and diuers other countreis & seigneuries belonging aswell to the high and mighty prince, our most deere and louing cousin ỹ Duke of Burgoine, of Brabant, earle of Flanders, &c. as being in the obedience & dominion of other lords, which are in friendship, alliance, & good wil with vs: and that it is to be doubted that through the saide inconuenience and occasion, many discommodities may ensue & fal out in time to come (which God forbid) vnles we should prouide conuenient remedie in this behalfe for our subiects aforesaid: wherefore we desiring most effectually and heartily to auoide the mischiefe of the saide inconueniences & to prouide conuenient remedy for the same, to the end that the said common marchants and mariners and others our subiects of our said realms & dominions, which at this present & hereafter shal haunt and frequent ỹ said countreis, may be iustly & lawfully ruled, gouerned, and intreated by right & equity in the countreis aforesaid, and that equity, reason, & iustice may be ministred vnto them and euery of them, according as the cases shal require, we being wel assured and hauing ful confidence, in the discretion, faithfulnes, wisdome, experience, & good diligence of our most deare & welbeloued subiect Will. Obray our seruant, & in regard of

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the good, faithfull, and acceptable seruices, which he hath done vs in our realm & among our subiects in times past, & hoping that he will do also hereafter, we haue made, ordained, constituted, committed, and established, and by the tenour of these presents, of our special grace, ful power, & authority royall, we ordaine, appoint, commit, and establish, (during our plesure) to be gouernor, iudge, warden of iustice, and the appurtenances & appendances therof, which we haue or may haue ouer our said common subiects the marchants trauailing hereafter as wel by sea as by land, and abiding in the said countries of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreis beyond the sea, as is aforesaide, together with the wages, rights, profits, and emoluments heretofore accustomed, & as the said Will. Obray at other times hath had and receiued of our said subiects, when he had, vsed, and exercised the said office of gouernor, & also with other such rights and profits, as hereafter shal more plainly be declared. And furthermore for our parts we haue giuen him, and by these presents do giue him, as much as in vs lieth, during our pleasure, ful power, authority, and special commandement, to gouerne, rule, and cause to be gouerned and ruled with good iustice by himselfe, or by his sufficient lieuetenants or deputies, all and euery our foresaid subiects the common marchants & mariners comming, remaining, frequenting, passing, & repairing from henceforth into the said countreis of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreyes beyond the sea, as it is said, and to keep and cause to be kept, to exercise and maintein, for vs and in our place, the said office of gouernour, and to doe all such things which a faithfull gouernour ought to do, and to take knowledge and administration of the causes of the said common marchants and mariners, our subiects, and of euery of them, and of their causes and quarels moued, or hereafter to be moued in the countreis aforesaid, or within the limits & borders thereof, and to doe them full & speedy iustice. And to reforme, cause reformation, gouerne, appease, and pacifie all contentions, discords, questions, or debates between those our said subiects moued, or to be moued: andto right, redresse, repaire, restore, and amend all transgressions, domages, enterprises, outrages, violences and iniuries committed, or to be cõmitted: and likewise to require, to aske, demand, and receiue, restitutions, reparations, restaurations, and amends of our said subiects the common marchants & mariners, or of their factors in the coũtreis aforesaid. And that, whensoeuer and as often as it shal please the said gouernor or his deputies, they may in some conuenient and honest place within the said countreis make or cause to be made, somon, and hold in our name iurisdictions, courts, and assemblies: and in our said name take administration and knowledge of causes, as it is aforesaide, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreements, mediatours, and vmpires, to iudge, to make decrees, and to minister iustice, to ordaine, appoint, censure, and constraine our saide subiects to sweare and take all kind of oathes, which order of iustice and custome require and affoorde, and to enioy our authoritie, and to vse, execute and accomplish, by way of equitie and iustice, and to doe, or cause to be done all execution and exercise of law and iustice; and to ordain, appoint, & establish sixe sergeants or vnder, to doe the executions & arrests of our said court, by the commandement of the said gouernour or of his deputies, or at the request of the partie or otherwise, according as the case shall require by their aduise, and to discharge and displace the said sergeants, as shall seeme good vnto him, as often and whensoeuer as it shall please him, and change them, and appoint and set others in their roomes, and to require returne and answere of the court, whensoeuer need shal be, of all causes, quarels, and businesses in regard of the said office belonging vnto vs and to our said subiects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the case shall permit and require: and generally and specially to doe as much for vs and in our stead, in the cases before mentioned, and which hereafter shalbe declared, as we could doe or cause to be done, could say or require, if we were there present in our owne person. Moreouer wee will, and by the tenour of these presents wee giue and graunt vnto the saide gouernour, and to our saide subiects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whensoeuer it please them, they may meet and a-semble in some honest and conuenient place, and by the consent of the saide gouernour to choose and appoynt among them at their pleasure, freely and without danger, certaine sufficient and fit persons to the number of

of twelue or vnder, which we wil haue to be named Iusticers, vnto the which Iusticers so elected by the saide gouernour and our saide subiects, as it is said, and to euerie of them, we giue and graunt especiall power and authoritie to sitte and assist in court, with the said gouernour or his lieutenants, for their aide and assistance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our said subiects their suites, pleas, and the state of their causes and quarels whatsoeuer moued or to be moued vnto the ende of their cause, and at the request of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to say, propound, and plainely to expresse and declare their opinions, according to right and conscience, vpon the causes brought before them and by the parties vttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counsell and aduise the saide gouernour or his lieutenants, to order and censure, iudge and determine, and ende the same iustly and equally, according as the case shall permit and require. And furthermore we wil, that all iust and reasonable statutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions made and established, or to be made and established, in the countreys aforesaide, by the consent of the said gouernour, and of the said Iusticers, shalbe corrected, amended, and made, as they shall see to bee expedient in this behalfe, for the better gouernment of the estate of the common marchants and mariners our saide subiects, and shalbe held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approued; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow and approue them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmely and inuiolably obserued, kept and obeyed. And also, of our farther fauour and grace wee will and we grant, that by the consent of our said gouernour, our said subiects the common marchants and mariners may make and set downe in the said countreis, by their common consent, as often as they shall thinke good for their better gouernment and estate, such iust and reasonable lawes, statutes, ordinances, decrees, constitutions, and customes, as they shal thinke expedient in this behalfe: which we cõmand to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, & approued, auailable, and established. Prouided alwaies, that they do not nor seeke any thing preiudicial to this present power and authoritie giuen and graunted by vs to the saide gouernour, in any poynt or article heerein comprised, by any meanes or way whatsoeuer: in which case if they shoulde doe any thing, or ought should happen, we wil that it shal take no place, force, vigour, strength, nor vertue: neither that it shalbe of any effect, but it shalbe abolished, disanulled, and vtterly frustrate; and as abolished, disanulled, and vtterly frustrated, from this time forward, wee holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the same. And so to doe, and put in execution in our name, we haue and doe giue full and absolute power, & speciall authority to our said seruant William Obray, & to his said lieutenants. And likewise, to the end that y course of marchandise may be kept in good estate, and that by order of iustice a firme and constant rule may be set downe among those our said subiects and marchants, we haue ordained and do ordaine, haue consented & doe consent and by these presents haue giuen & do giue ful power & especiall authority to our said seruant Will. Obray gouernour aforesaid, that at al time and times when he shal think good, he may ordaine, elect, chuse, and appoint, in the countreis aforesaid, such ministers, officers, and scruitours as hereafter shalbe named, and such others as he shal think necessary, and to discharge them, and to change them, & set others in their roomes, at his good will and pleasure, vnto such a number as he shall thinke good and reasonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or brokers as many as he shal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betweene our said subiects and others with whom they shal haue to do or to deale in the foresaid countreis: and also as many alnagers to alner and measure al kinds of marchandises which they shal buy or sel by the yard: and also as many weighers to weigh the marchandise which shalbe sold or bought by weight: and also so many folders to fold their clothes, and so many packers to packe their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baskets, and other things needefull for the defence & preseruation of their marchandize. Al which ministers, officers, and scruitors, so chosen, elected, charged, admitted, and established by the saide gouernour, as is saide, may take their wages for their paines & attendances vpon the said marchants, according to the custome of the said countreis, and as they haue bene accustomed to take of the said marchants before these presents by vs giuen and graunted. And hereupon we haue

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giuen and doe giue expresse charge and commandement by vs and in our names to all our said subiects common marchants and mariners, and to euery of them which shall frequent, come, remaine, passe, repaire, or inhabite within the countreis aforesaid, that they shall not make contract or bargaine, sell or buy, nor shall not cause any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the said countreis sell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandises, secretely nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatsoeuer, with any person or persons, of what estate, countrey, or condition soeuer they be, without he hath some of the said brokers at the bargain making, to present, report, and to testifie the said contracts or bargains before the said gouernor or others, if need require, and strife or contention should grow therof betweene them: nor to packe or cause to be packed any goods or marchandises belonging vnto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, chests, maunds, dryfats, or rowles, without hauing some deputy present thereat: nor to take or cause to be taken or set on worke in the said countreis, any other brokers, alnagers, weighers, folders, or packers, then the aforesaid so chosen, admitted, established, and ordained by the saide gouernor, & hereto authorized in our name, as it is said, vnder paine of falling into, and incurring of our displeasure, and of forfeiture, and confiscation of all such goods, wares, and marchandises, which shalbe found to haue passed by other hands or order, then that or those which are before mentioned: the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiscations shall be imployed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterburie by our saide subiects, in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zeland; the other fourth part to vs, & our vse; the third fourth part to our said cousin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the saide goods shall be found; and the fourth part to him or them, which shall discouer, detect, or finde out the saide fraude. And also that none of our said subiects shall vnlade or cause to be vnladen, vnder any colour nor otherwise, nor vnpacke, in the countreis abouesaide, no kind of wares, goods, nor marchandises whatsoeuer, which they shall bring or cause to bee brought into the countreyes aforesaide, comming out of our countreyes, dominions, or obeysance, without first and beforehand they make the gouernour or his deputies acquainted with their arriuall, and eraue leaue, and deliuer, shewe, and declare their cockets, that it may duely appeare, that the saide goods and marchandises haue truly and lawfully payde vnto vs our rights and customes, and not to vnpacke them but in the presence of the saide gouernour, his lieuetenants or deputies, vpon paine of forfaiture, and confiscation of the saide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foresaide article. And if it bee found by the visitation of the saide gouernor, his lieuetenants or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandises whatsoeuer be arriued and discharged in the countreis aforesaid, belonging to our saide subiectes, not lawfully customed and acquited towarde vs of our right and custome, for which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofe of our letters of coquet, as is mentioned, or if they finde any other fraud: we will, we ordaine, and we grant, that the sayd gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies may seaze vpon the sayd goods on our behalfe, and may confiscate and forfeit the same, distributing the same into foure parts in maner aforesayd. And also wee will, that euery one of the sayd packes, fardels, baskets, maunds, cofers, tunnes, bales, roules, and other furnitures and geare, wherein the sayd marchandises shalbe packed, to be sent out of the said countreis, shall not be laden vpon ships, carts, nor horses, to come into our dominion, without being first sealed with a seale ordayned by vs and giuen by the sayd gouernour, vpon paine to be forfayted, applyed, and confiscated to vs and into our hand, if they be found vnsigned and not sealed with the seale. And for euery piece of marchandise which shall be sealed with the sayd seale, they shall pay to the sayd sealer two pence of grosse money of Flanders, which shall goe to the profite of the sayd gouernour. And forasmuch as according to right and conscience, we ought not to vse the labour, trauels, nor seruice of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reason and equity, especially when we doe appoint any person or persons to doe or cause to be done so great trauels, labours, busines, and executions, as these which are contayned in this present charter, aswell for the benefit and profit of vs and our selues, as for the holesome, perfect, & good gouernment of our sayd sub-

iects as we by the good aduise and deliberation of the sayd lords of our priuie counsell, haue granted and giuen, and as before, doe grant and giue, of our sayd grace, to the sayd William Obray our sayd seruant and gouernour aboue named, during our pleasure, for part of his wages and fee of the sayd office, one pennie of our money of England of the value of a liuer of grosse money of Flanders, vpon al and singuler the goods, wares and marchandises of our sayd subiects frequenting the sayd countreis, to be leuyed, gathered, receiued, and payed vnto the sayd William Obray or to his deputies, vpon the sayd wares and marchandises belonging vnto our sayd subiects buying and selling, or which they shall cause to sell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreys aboue said, aswel of the goods and marchandises which they shall bring or cause to be brought into the sayd countries: as of all other goods which they shall lade and carie, or cause to bee caried and conueyed out of those countreis into our dominion or elsewhere into any other part whatsoeuer. And to cause the same to be gathered, receiued, leauied and payed, we haue giuen, and by these presents doe giue full power and speciall authoritie vnto the sayd William Obray, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforesayd, to leauy, gather, and cause to bee leauied and receiued the sayd money, in forme and maner aboue mentioned, to his profite and vse, during our pleasure: and to enioy and vse the same as his proper goods, without any contradiction, constraining and arresting if neede bee, as well on land, as on the water, our said subiects, their sayd goods, and euery of them, by way of law and iustice, and to cause them to yeelde and pay the sayd money, vpon the said goods and marchandises, as is aforesayd. For such is our pleasure, and so will we haue it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleasure. And also we will that the sayd William Obray, ouer and aboue that which is sayd, shall take, gather, and receiue of our sayd subiects from henceforth yearely, during our pleasure, all such and like wages and profits, as he had and receiued of our sayd subiects, in the yeare 1458, when hee held and exercised the said office of gouernour, without diminishing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithstanding this present augmentation made, increased, and done vnto him, of our grace and fauour: and that hee shall gather, take, and receiue the same in such forme and manner, as the other money aboue mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the sayd William Obray may haue and take possession, season, and enterance of the said office of gouernour in our name we haue and doe place him, by the deliuery of these presents, in possession, season, and entrance of the said office, and of the rights, profits, stipends, wages, and moneis aforesayd, to begin to exercise the sayd office of gouernour in our name, the first day of May next ensuing after the date of these presents, for the sayd William Obray to hold and exercise, practise and vse the same, during our pleasure, with the sayd wages, moneys, rights, and profites aboue mentioned, without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and singular our subiects the common marchants and mariners, which shall be contrary, rebellious, and disobedient to the said gouernour so ordayned by vs, to his said lieutenants, to the sayd iusticers so chosen, or to any of them, or to any of the statutes, lawes, decrees, sentences, ordinances, and customes, offices, gifts, and grants aboue sayd, let them grieuously be punished by the sayd gouernour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences, and the exigencie of the cases. We doe sommon, commaund, straitly and expresly enioine by these presents all and euery our saide subiects, that vnto the sayd gouernour so by vs ordained, to his licutenants, attorneis, or deputies, and also to the said iusticers, officers, and ministers, in all and euerie the things aforesaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our said ordinances, their gouernmēt and rule, the circumstances and dependances theron that they giue their attendance, counsayle, comfort, obedience, and aide, diligently without fault or difficulty, surely, safely, fully and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or suffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any disturbance or impeachment, in any maner whatsoeuer: but rather if any thing bee done vnto them contrary and to the preiudice of these presents, they shall remoue and cause the same to be remooued, and that which shall be hindered they shall set at free deliuerance, vpon payne to fall into and to incurre our high displeasure. For such is our pleasure and so will wee haue it, notwithstanding anie letters falsely crept in, obtayned

tayned, or to be obtayned contrary hereunto. And you our subiects, the common marchants and mariners, so behaue your selues, that you may receiue commendation of vs for your good obedience, knowing that such as shall be found doing or to haue done the contrary, we will see them so punished without redemption, that they shall bee an example to all rebellious persons. We pray and most instantly require in the ayde of equitie, all others our friends, allies, and well-willers, aswell princes and potentates, as their iusticers, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commissaries, and subiects, and euery of them, in regard of equitie; that they would vouchsafe, and that it would please them to giue, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, assistance, and prisons if neede require, to our sayd gouernour, his lieutenants, commissaries, deputies, iusticers, & others our officers and ministers aforesayd: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may please them herein to doe so much, that we may haue occasion to thanke them, and to accompt our selues beholding for the same: and as they would that we should do for them in the like matter, or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our letters to bee made patents. Witnes our selues at Westminster, the sixteenth of April, in the second yere our reigne.

A declaration of the Indies and lands discouered, and subdued vnto the Emperour, and the king of Portingal: And also of other partes of the Indies and rich countries to be discouered, which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne merchant of London (who dwelt long in the citie of Siuil in Spaine) exhorted king Henrie the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

EXperience prooueth that naturally all princes bee desirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be marueiled, to see them euery day procure the same, not regarding any cost, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be marueilled, if there be any prince content to liue quiet with his owne dominions. For surely the people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and spirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the desires of Princes haue bene so feruent to obtaine their purpose, that they haue aduentured and prooued things to mans coniecture impossible, the which they haue made possible, and also things difficult haue made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpose, haue in maner turned vp and downe the whole world so many times, that the people inhabiting in the farthest region of the Occident haue pursued with great distresse, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the farthest regions of the Orient: and in likewise those people of the said parts of the Orient haue had no lesse labour and desire to enter and penetrate into the farthest land of the Occident, and so following their purchase haue not ceased vntill they could passe no farther by reason of the great seas.

This naturall inclination is cause, that scarsely it may be said, there is any kingdome stable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath prouided to your Grace, and to your gracious progenitors, this Realme of England, and set it in so fruitfull a place, and within such limites, that it should seeme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foresayd desire. One speciall cause is, for that it is compassed with the Sea: by reason therof it seemes, this notwithstanding, their desires and noble courages haue beene most commonly like vnto others: and with marueilous great labours, costes and perils, they haue trauelled and passed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kings and dominions nigh neighbours, but also with them of farre countries, and so haue woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victory and glory. And also now of late your Grace hauing like courage and desire, and not without iust cause, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demaund your limits and tribute of the French king, which at that present he restrained, your Grace in person passed with a great power into France, putting your Graces person to great paine

and labour, and without doubt victoriously you had conquered the sayd Realme of France, as ye began, if your aduersary had not reconciled himselfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and so promised truly to pay the tribute then due, & fulfill your request in all things, and also desired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemency you could not refuse.

Now I considering this your noble courage and desire, and also perceiuing that your Grace may at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little cost, perill, or labour to your Grace or any of your subiects, amplifie and inrich this your sayd Realme, I know it is my bounden duety to manifest this secret vnto your Grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath beene hid: which is, that with a small number of ships there may bee discouered diuers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subiectes infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to discouer, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three parts are discouered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they haue discouered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: so that by this part of the Orient & Occident, they haue compassed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the course or way of the middest of the day, and so then was discouered a great part of the same Seas and coastes by the Spaniards. So that now rest to be discouered the sayd North parts, the which it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Because the situation of this your Realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also for that you haue ‖ already taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so little cost, labour, and danger, be followed and obtayned: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, & found not the commodity thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be no impediment. For there may be now prouided remedies for things, then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cause that your Graces desire tooke no full effect, which is, the courses to be changed, & followed the foresaid new courses. And concerning the mariners, shippes, and prouision, an order may be deuised and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto. By reason wherof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. Surely the cost herein will be nothing, in comparison to the great profit. The labour is much lesse, yea nothing at all, where so great honour and glory is hoped for: and considering well the courses, truely the danger & way is shorter to vs, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by euident reasons appereth.

A secrete.

The discouery of the North.

‖ By Sebastian Cabot and sir Thomas Pett in the eight yere of his reigne. And this is the voyage spoken of by Gonsaluo Ouiedo, that came to S. Domingo.

Note.

And now to declare something of the commodity and vtilitie of this Nauigation and discouerie: it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men say, without great danger, difficulty and perill, yea rather it is impossible to passe, that those same Seas be nauigable and without anie such danger, but that shippes may passe and haue in them perpetuall clerenesse of the day without any darkenesse of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the nauigants, to see at all times round about them, as well the safegards as dangers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leese the most part of euery foure and twentie houres the said light, and goe in darknesse groping their way, I thinke there is none so ignorant but perceiueth this more plainely, then it can be expressed. Yea what avantage shal your Graces subiects haue also by this light to discouer the strange lands, countries, and coastes? For if they that bee discouered, to saile by them in darkenesse is with great danger, much more then the coastes not discouered be daungerous to trauell by night or in darkenesse. Yet these dangers or darkenesse hath not letted the Spanyards and Portingals and other, to discouer many vnknowen Realmes to their great perill. Which considered (and that your Graces subiects may haue the same light) it will seeme your Graces subiects to be without actiuity or courage, in leauing to doe this glorious and noble enterprise. For they being past this litle way which they named so dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they passe the Pole) it is cleere, that from thence foorth the seas and landes are

Nauigation under the pole.

as

as temperate as in these partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners, to choose whether they will sayle by the coastes, that be colde, temperate or hote. For they being past the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they list.

If they will goe toward the Orient, they shall inioy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land most Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their nauigation, following the coasts that returne toward the Occident, they shall fall in with Malaca, and so with all the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speranza: and thus they shall compasse the whole worlde. And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole, toward the Occident, they shall goe in the backe side of the new found land, which of late was discouered by your Graces subiects, vntill they come to the backe side and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And so continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the streight of Magellan to this countrey, and so they compasse also the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be past the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the lands and Islands situated between the Tropikes, and vnder the Equinoctiall, without doubt they shall finde there the richest landes and Islands of the world of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other thinges that we here esteeme most: which come out of strange countries, and may returne the same way.

Tartaria. China. New found land discouered by ye English.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great aduantage of the riches, but also your subiects shall not trauell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as aforesayd.

The booke made by the right worshipful M. Robert Thorne in the yeere 1527. in Siuil, to Doctour Ley, Lord ambassadour for king Henry the eight, to Charles the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, discouered by him and the king of Portingal: and also of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.

RIght noble and reuerend in &c. I haue receiued your letters, and haue procured and sent to know of your seruant, who, your Lordship wrote, should be sicke in Merchena. I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and shipt. I cannot iudge but that of some contagious sicknesse hee died, so that the owner of the house for defaming his house would bury him secretly, and not be knowen of it. For such things haue often times happened in this countrey.

Also to write vnto your Lordshippe of the new trade of Spicery of the Emperour, there is no doubt but that the Islands are fertile of Cloues, Nutmegs, Mace and Cinnamom: and that the said Islands, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamondes, Balasses, Granates, Iacincts, and other stones & pearles, as all other lands, that are vnder and neere the Equinoctiall. For we see, where nature giueth any thing, she is no nigard. For as with vs and other, that are aparted from the said Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Iron, so theirs be Gold, Siluer, and Copper. And as our fruits and graines bee Apples, nuts, and Corne, so theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloues, and other Spices. And as we haue Ieat, Amber, Cristall, Iasper, and other like stones, so haue they Rubies, Diamonds, Balasses, Saphyres, Iacincts, and other like. And though some say that of such precious mettals, graines, or kind of spices, and precious stones, the abundance and quantity is nothing so great, as our mettals, fruits or stones aboue rehearsed: yet if it be well considered, how the quantitie of the earth vnder the Equinoctiall to both the Tropicall lines, (in which space is found the sayd Golde, spices and precious stones) is as much in quantity, as almost all the earth from the Tropickes to both the Poles; it cannot be denied but there is more quantity of the sayd mettals, fruites, spices, and precious stones, then there is of the other mettals and other things before rehearsed. And I see that the preciousnes of these things is measured after the distance that is between vs, and the things that we haue appetite vnto.

For

For in this nauigation of the Spicerie was discouered, that these islands nothing set by golde, but set more by a knife and a nayle of iron, then by his quantitie of Golde: and with reason, as the thing more necessary for mans seruice. And I doubt not but to them should be as precious our corne and seedes, if they might haue them, as to vs their spices: & likewise the pieces of glasse that here we haue counterfeited are as precious to them, as to vs their stones: which by experience is seene daylie by them that haue trade thither. This of the riches of those countries is sufficient.

Doctor Leys letters.

Touching that your Lordship wrote, whether it may bee profitable to the Emperor or no? it may be without doubt of great profite: If, as the king of Portingal doth, he would become a merchant, and prouide shippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of these Islands for himselfe. But other greater businesse withholdeth him from this. But still, as now it is begunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the shippes comming in safetie, there would thither many euery yere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and iewels that come from thence the fift part for his custome cleare without any cost. And besides this hee putteth in euery flote a certaine quantitie of money, of which hee enioyeth of the gaines pound and pounds like as other aduenturers doe. In a fleete of three shippes and a Caruel that went from this citie armed by the marchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partener haue one thousand foure hundred duckets that we employed in the sayd fleete, principally for that two English men, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same shippes, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduise that I desire to knowe especially. Seeing in these quarters are shippes, and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much vnlike ours, that they should procure to haue the said cards, and learne how they vnderstand them, and especially to know what nauigation they haue for those Islands Northwards, and Northeastward.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot discouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

Note.

For if from the sayd Islands the sea did extend, without interposition of land, to saile from the North point to the Northeast poynt one thousand seuen hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to the New found Islands that we discouered, and so we should be neerer to the sayd Spicerie by almost two thousand leagus then the Emperour, or the king of Portingal are. And to aduise your Lordship whether of these Spiceries of the king of Portingal or the Emperours is neerer, and also of the titles that either of them hath, and howe our New found lands are parted from it, (for that by writing without some demonstration, it were hard to giue any declaration of it) I haue caused that your Lordship shall receiue herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the world: the which, I feare me, shall put your Lordship to more labour to vnderstand then me to make it, onely for that it is made in so litle roome that it cannot be but obscurely set out, that is desired to be seene in it, and also for that I am in this science little expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficulty, it is necessary to declare to your Lordship my intent, with which I trust you shall perceiue in this Card part of your desire, if, for that I cannot expresse mine intent, with my declaration I doe not make it more obscure.

The Newe found Islands discouered by the English.

A Mappe of the world.

First, your Lordship knoweth that the Cosmographers haue diuided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, vnder the which is comprehended all the roundnes of the earth: the latitude being diuided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to euery quarter, which they measure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South starres, being from the line Equinoctiall till they come right vnder the North starre the said ninetie degrees: and as much from the sayd line Equinoctiall to the South starre be other ninety degrees. And as much more is also from either of the sayd starres agayne to the Equinoctiall. Which imagined to bee round, is soone perceiued thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be consumed in the said foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter: so that this latitude is the measure of the worlde from North to South, and from South to North. And the longitude, in which are also counted other 360, is counted from West to East, or from East to West, as in the Card is set.

The

The sayd latitude your Lordship may see marked and diuided in the ende of this Card on the left hand: so that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coast standeth, take a compasse, and set the one foot of the same in the Equinoctial line right against the said region, & apply the other foote of the compasse to the said region or coast, & then set the sayd compasse at the end of the Card, where the degrees are diuided. And the one foote of the compasse standing in the line Equinoctial, the other will shew in the scale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the said region is in. Also the longitude of the world I haue haue set out in the nether part of the Card, conteining also 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptoleme and other Cosmographers from an headland called Capo Verde, which is ouer against a little crosse made in the part Occidental, where the diuision of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the same Capo Verde. To know the latitudes.

Now to know in what longitude any land is, your Lordship must take a ruler or a compasse, and set the one foot of the compasse vpon the land or coast whose longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compasse to the next part of one of the transuersall lines in the Orientall or Occidental part: which done, set the one foote of the compasse in the said transuersal line at the end of the nether scale, the scale of longitude, and the other foot sheweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordship must vnderstand that this Card, though little, conteineth the vniuersall whole world betwixt two collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part descendeth perpendicular vpon the 175 degree, & the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree, whose distance measureth the scale of longitude. And that which is without the two said transuersall lines, is onely to shew how the Orientall part is ioined with the Occident, and Occident with the Orient. For that that is set without the line in the Oriental part, is the same that is set within the other line in the Occidentall part: and that that is set without the line in the Occidentall part, is the same that is set within the line in the Orientall part, to shew that though this figure of the world in plaine or flatte seemeth to haue an end, yet one imagining that this sayd Card were set vpon a round thing, where the endes should touch by the lines, it would plainely appeare howe the Orient part ioyneth with the occident, as there without the lines it is described and figured. To know the longitudes.

And for more declaration of the said Card, your Lordship shall vnderstand, that beginning on the part Occidental within the line, the first land that is set out, is the maine land and Islands of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coast goeth Northward and finisheth in the land that we found, which is called here Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the sayd land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

The sayd coast from the sayd Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordshippe may see, commeth to a certaine straight Sea, called Estrecho de todos Santos: by which straight Sea the Spaniards goe to the Spiceries, as I shall declare more at large: the which straight Sea is right against three hundred fifteene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the Equinoctiall three and fifty degrees. The first land from the sayd beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Islands of the Canaries, and Islandes of Capo verde. But the first maine land next to the line Equinoctial is the sayd Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the straight of this sea of Italie. And so followeth Spayne, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the highest parte toward the North. And ouer against Flanders are our Islands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coastes within the streights I haue set out onely the Regions, diuiding them by lines of their limits, by which plainely I thinke your Lordship may see, in what situation euerie region is, and of what highnesse, and with what regions it is ioyned. I doe thinke few are left out of all Europe. In the parts of Asia and Affrica I could not so wel make the sayd diuision, for that they be not so wel knowen, nor need not so much. This I write because in the said Card be made the said lines & strikes, that your Lordship should vnderstand wherefore they doe serue. Also returning to the foresaid Capo verde, the coast goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona speransa: which is right ouer against the 60. & 65. degree of longitude. And by this Cape go the Portingals Now called the straight of Magalane.

Portingals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordship may see in the headland ouer against the 150. degree. Frō the sayd Cape of Buona speransa the coast returneth toward the line Equinoctial, and passing forth entreth the red sea, & returning out, entreth again into the gulfe of Persia, and returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the headland called Calicut aforesayd, and from thence the coast making a gulfe, where is the riuer of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a headland called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: & from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulfe, and after the coast goeth right toward the Orient, and ouer against this last gulfe and coast be many Islands, which be Islandes of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Vpon which the Portingals and he be at variance.

Note. The sayd coast goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right against the 155. degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coast not yet plainely knowen, I may ioine to the New found lande found by vs, that I spake of before. So that I finish with this briefe declaration of the Card aforesayd. Well I know I should also haue declared how the coasts within the straights of the Sea of Italie runne. It is playne that passing the streights on the North side of that Sea after the coast of Granado, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coast of that which France hath in Italie. And then followeth in one piece all Italie, which land hath an arme of the Sea, with a gulfe which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottome of this gulfe is the citie of Venice. And on the other part of the sayd gulfe is Sclauonia, and next Grecia, then the streits of Constantinople, and then the sea called Euxinus, which is within the sayd streights: and comming out of the said streights, followeth Turcia maior (though now on both sides it is called Turcia.) And so the coast runneth Southward to Syria, and ouer against the sayd Turcia are the Islands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And ouer against Italie are the Islands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And ouer against Spaine is Maiorca and Minorca. In the ende of the gulfe of Syria is Iudea. And from thence returneth the coast toward the Occident, till it commeth to the streights where we began, which all is the coast of Affrike and Barbarie. Also your Lordship shall vnderstand that the coastes of the Sea throughout all the world, I haue coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Islands: and all without the line so coloured to bee Sea: whereby it is easie and light to know it. Albeit in this little roome any other description would rather haue made it obscure then cleere. And the sayd coasts of the sea are all set iustly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the nauigation approueth them throughout all the Card, saue onely the coastes and Isles of the Spicerie of the Emperour which is from ouer against the 160. to the 215. degrees of Longitude, For these coastes and situations of the Islands, euery of the Cosmographers and pilots of Portingal & Spayne do set after their purpose. The Spaniards more towards the Orient, because they should appeare to appertain to the Emperour: & the Portingals more toward the Occident, for that they should fal within their iurisdiction. So that the Pilots and nauigants thither, which in such cases should declare the truth, by their industrie do set them falsly euery one to fauour his prince. And for this cause can be no certaine situation of that coast and Islands, till this difference betwixt them be verified.

Doctor Leys demand. Now to come to the purpose of your Lordships demaund touching the difference between the Emperour and the king of Portingal, to vnderstand it better, I must declare the beginning of this discouerie. Though peraduenture your Lordship may say that in that I haue written ought of purpose, I fall in the prouerbe, *A gemino ouo bellum:* But your Lordship commanded me to be large, and I take licence to be prolixious, and shalbe peraduenture tedious, but your Lordship knoweth that *Nihil ignorantia verbosius.*

In the yeere 1484 the king of Portingal minded to arme certain Caruels to discouer this Spicerie. Then forasmuch as he feared that being discouered, euery other prince woulde sende and trade thither, so that the cost and perill of discouering should be his, and the profite common: wherefore first hee gaue knowledge of this his minde to all princes Christened, saying that hee would seeke amongst the infidels newe possessions of regions, and therefore would make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the cost of the sayd

armie

armie, he should enioy his part of the profite or honour that should come of it. And as then this discouering was holden for a strange thing and vncertaine. Nowe they say, that all the Princes of Christendome answered, that they would be no part of such an armie, nor yet of the profit that might come of it. After the which he gaue knowledge to the Pope of his purpose, and of the answere of all the Princes, desiring him that seeing that none would helpe in the costes, that he would iudge all that should bee found and discouered to be of his iurisdiction, and commaund that none other princes should intermeddle therewith. The Pope sayd not as Christ sa-th, Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos? He did not refuse, but making himselfe as Lord and Iudge of all, not onely granted that all that should be discouered from Orient to Occident, should be the kings of Portingal, but also, that vpon great censures no other Prince should discouer but he. And if they did, all to bee the kings of Portingal. So he armed a fleete, and in the yeere 1497 were discouered the Islands of Calicut, from whence is brought all the spice he hath. The Pope reprehended.

After this in the yere 1492 the king of Spaine willing to discouer lands toward the Occident without making any such diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingal, armed certaine Caruels, and then discouered this India Occidentall, especially two Islands of the sayd India, that in this Card I set forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, he sent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to giue him the sayd Islands. For that by the sentence of the Pope all that should be discouered was his, and that hee should not proceede further in the discouerie without his licence. And at the same time it seemeth that out of Castil into Portingal had gone for feare of burning infinite number of Iewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Christians, and carried with them infinite number of golde and siluer. So that it seemeth that the king of Spaine answered, that it was reason that the king of Portingal asked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would giue him the sayd Islands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreed betwixt the sayde kings, that none should receiue the others subiects fugitiues, nor their goods, therefore the king of Portingal should pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Iewes had caryed out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in so doing he would giue these Islands, and desist from any more discouering. And not fulfilling this, he would not onely not giue these Islands, but procure to discouer more where him thought best. It seemeth that the king of Portingal would not, or could not with his ease pay this money. And so not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to discouer: so that he enterprised not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And consented to the king of Spaine, that touching this discouering they should diuide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that should be discouered from Cape Verde, where this Card beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180 of the sayd scale of longitude, which is halfe the world toward the Orient, & finisheth in this Card right ouer against a litle crosse made at the said 180 degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the said Crosse towarde the Occident, vntill it ioyneth with the other Crosse in the Orient, which conteineth the other hundreth and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So that from the land ouer against the said hundreth & eighty degrees vntill it finish in the three hundred and sixtie on both the ends of the Card, is the iurisdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they diuided the world betweene them.

Now for that these Islands of Spicery fall neere the terme and limites betweene these princes (for as by the sayd Card you may see they begin from one hundred and sixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215) it seemeth all that falleth from 160 to 180 degrees, should be of Portingal: and all the rest of Spaine. And for that their Cosmographers and Pilots coulde not agree in the situation of the sayde Islandes (for the Portingals set them all within their 180 degrees, and the Spaniards set them all without:) and for that in measuring, all the Cosmographers of both partes, or what other that euer haue bene cannot giue certaine order to measure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude: for that there is no starre fixed from East to West, as are the starres of the Poles from North to South, but all mooueth The longitudes hard to be found out.

with the mooving diuine: no maner can bee founde howe certainely it may bee measured, but by coniectures, as the Nauigants haue esteemed the way they haue gone. But it is manifest that Spaine had the situation of al the lands from Cape Verde, toward the Orient of the Portingals to their 180 degrees. And in all their Cardes they neuer hitherto set the saide Islands within their limitation of the sayd 180 degrees, (though they knewe very well of the Islands,) till now that the Spaniards discouered them. And it is knowen that the king of Portingal had trade to these Islands afore, but would neuer suffer Portingal to go thither from Calicut: for so much as he knew that it fell out of his dominion: least by going thither there might come some knowledge of those other Islands of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloues of Marchants of that countrey, that brought them to Calicut, much deerer then they would haue cost, if he had sent for them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes secret. And now that it is discouered he sendes and keepes the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

Also it should seeme that when this foresaid consent of the diuision of the worlde was agreed of betweene them, the king of Portingal had already discouered certaine Islandes that lie ouer against Cape Verde, and also certaine part of the maine land of India toward the South, from whence he fette Brasill, and called it the land of Brasil. So for that all should come in his terme and limites, hee tooke three hundred and seuentie leagues beyond Cape Verde: and after this, his 180 degrees, being his part of the worlde, should begin in the Carde right ouer against the 340 degrees, where I haue made a little compasse with a crosse, and should finish at the 160 degree, where also I haue made another little marke. And after this computation without any controuersie, the Islands of the spicery fal out of the Portingals domination. So that nowe the Spaniards say to the Portingals, that if they would beginne their 180 degrees from the sayde Cape Verde, to the intent they should extende more toward the Orient, and so to touch those Islandes of the Spicerie of the Emperour, which is al that is betweene the two crosses made in this Card, that then the Islands of Cape Verde and the lande of Brasil that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the sayd limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. Or if their 180 degrees they count from the 370 leagues beyond the said Cape Verde, to include in it the said Islands and lands of Brasil, then plainely appeareth the said 180 degrees should finish long before they come to these Islands of the Spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordship may see. For their limits should begin at the 340 degrees of this Carde, and ende at the 160 degrees, where I haue made two little markes of the compasse with crosses in them.

So that plainely it should appeare by reason, that the Portingals should leaue these Islands of Cape Verde and land of Brasil, if they would haue part of the Spicerie of the Emperours: or els holding these, they haue no part there. To this the Portingals say, that they will beginne their 180 degrees from the selfe same Cape Verde: for that it may extende so much more toward the Orient, and touch these Islandes of the Emperours: and would winne these Islandes of Cape Verde and land of Brasil neuerthelesse, as a thing that they possessed before the consent of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the best reason. They be not yet agreed, Quare sub Iudice lis est.

But without doubt (by all coniectures of reason) the sayd Islands fall all without the limitation of Portingal, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the most part of all the Cardes made by the Portingals, saue those which they haue falsified of late purposely.

New found land discouered by the Englishmen.

But now touching that your Lordship wrote, whether that which we discouered toucheth any thing the foresayd coastes: once it appeareth plainely, that the Newefound land that we discouered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all the gold and pearles: and so continueth of coast more then 5000 leagues of length, as by this Carde appeareth. For from the said New lands it proceedeth toward the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southward vp till it come to the Straits of Todos Santos, which I reckon to be more then 5000 leagues.

Mota.

So that to the Indias it should seeme that we haue some title, at least that for our discouering we might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie.

Now

Now then if from the sayd New found lands the Sea be nauigable, there is no doubt, but sayling Northward and passing the Pole, descending to the Equinoctial line, we shall hit these Islands, and it should be a much shorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portingals haue. For we be distant from the Pole but thirty and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be ninetie, the which added together, bee an hundred twenty and nine degrees, leagues 248.*. and miles 7440: Where we should find these Islands. And the Nauigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may see, from Spaine to the Islandes of Canarie, and from these Islandes they runne ouer the line Equinoctiall Southwarde to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of Saint Augustine, and from this Cape Southwards to the straites of Todos Santos, in the which nauigation to the said straites of the straites of Magalaes is 1700. or 1800 leagues; and from these Straites being past them, they returne towarde the line Equinoctiall to the Islands of Spicerie, which are distant from the saide Straites 4200. or 4300. leagues. To saile by the Pole.

The nauigation of the Portingals to the said Islandes is departing from Portingal Southward towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape passing the line Equinoctial called Capo de bona speransa, and from Portingal to the Cape is 1800 leagues, and from this Cape to the Islands of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that this nauigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is sayd,) if between our New found lands or Norway, or Island, the seas toward the North be nauigable, we should goe to these Islands a shorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

And though we went not to the sayd Islandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingal, wee shoulde by the way and comming once to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and Spiceric, as all other landes are vnder the sayd line Equinoctiall: and also should, if we may passe vnder the North, enioy the nauigation of all Tartarie. Which should be no lesse profitable to our commodities of cloth, then these Spiceries to the Emperour and king of Portingal. Note. Benifite to England.

But it is a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the seuenth clime, the sea is all ice, and the colde so much that none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that vnder the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was vnhabitable. Obiection.

Yet since (by experience is proued) no land so much hâbitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the same should be found vnder the North, if it were experimented. For as all iudge, *Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura*: So I iudge, *there is no land vnhabitable, nor Sea innauigable. If I should write the reason that presenteth this vnto me, I* should be too prolixe, and it seemeth not requisite for this present matter. *God knoweth* that though by it I should haue no great interest, yet I haue had and still haue no litle mind of this businesse: So that if I had facultie to my will, it should be the first thing that I woulde vnderstand, euen to attempt if our Seas Northward be nauigable to the Pole, or no. I reason, that as some sickenesses are hereditarious, and come from the father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discouerie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Bristow named Hugh Eliot, were the discouerers of the New found lands, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, the lands of the West Indies (from whence all the gold commeth) had bene ours. For all is one coast, as by the Carde appeareth, and is aforesayd. Answere. A true opinion. A voyage of discovery by the Pole M. Thorne and M. Eliot discouerers of New found land. The cause why the West Indies were not ours: which also Sebastian Gobot writeth in an Epistle to Baptista Ramusius.

Also in this Carde by the coastes where you see C. your Lordship shall vnderstand it is set for Cape or headland, where I. for Iland, where P. for Port, where R. for Riuer. Also in all this little Carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the situation of the land, saue onely in these Islands of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is sayd) euery one setteth them after his minde, there can be no certification how they stand. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a consummate Carde should haue, or that a right good demonstration desireth. For there should be expressed all the mountaines and Riuers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of Portes of the sea, the names of all principall cities, which all I might haue set, but not in this Carde, for the litle space would not consent.

Your Lordship may see that setting onely the names almost of euery Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied. Many Islands are also left out, for the said lack of roome, the names almost of all Portes put to silence, with the roses of the windes or points of the compasse: For that this is not for Pilots to saile by, but a summary declaration of that which your Lordship commanded. And if by this your Lordship cannot wel perceiue the meaning of this Card, of the which I would not maruaile, by reason of the rude composition of it, will it please your Lordship to aduise mee to make a bigger and a better Mappe, or els that I may cause one to be made. For I know myselfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but *Licet semper discens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam scientiam peruenies.* Also I know, to set the forme Spherical of the world in *plano* after the true rule of Cosmographie, it would haue bene made otherwise then this is: howbeit the demonstration should not haue bene so plaine.

And also these degrees of longitude, that I set in the lower part of this card, should haue bin set along by the line Equinoctiall, & so then must be imagined. For the degrees of longitude neere either of the poles are nothing equall in bignesse to them in the Equinoctiall. But these are set so, for that setting them a long the Equinoctial, it would haue made obscure a great part of the map. Many other curiosities may be required, which for the nonce I did not set downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to satisfie your doubt touching the spicerie, as for that I lack leasure and time. I trust your Lordship correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your lordships seruice. But from henceforth I knowe your Lordship will rather commaund me to keepe silence, then to be large, when you shall be wearied with the reading of this discourse. Iesus prosper your estate and health.

Your Lordships
Robert Thorne 1527.

ALso this Carde and that which I write touching the variance betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to be shewed or communicated there with many of that court. For though there is nothing in it preiudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may be a cause of paine to the maker: as well for that none may make these Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for masters, as for that peraduenture it would not sound well to them, that a stranger should know or discouer their secretes: and would appeare worst of all, if they vnderstand that I write touching the short way to the spicerie by our Seas. Though peraduenture of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is vnpossible, and I thinke neuer will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor else where is it to be spoken of. For to moue it amongst wise men, it should bee had in derision. And therefore to none I would haue written nor spoken of such things, but to your Lordship, to whom boldly I commit in this all my foolish fantasie as to my self. But if it please God that into England I may come with your Lordship; I will shew some coniectures of reason, though against the generall opinion of Cosmographers, by which shall appeare this that I say not to lacke some foundation. And till that time I beseeche your Lordship let it be put to silence: and in the meane season it may please God to send our two Englishmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may also bring more plaine declaration of that which in this case might be desired.

Also I knowe I needed not to haue beene so prolixe in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordship, if the sayd Carde had bene very well made after the rules of Cosmographie. For your Lordship would soone vnderstand it better then I, or any other that could haue made it: and so it should appeare that I shewed *Delphiuũ natare.* But for that I haue made it after my rude maner, it is necessary that I be the declarer or gloser of mine own worke, or els your Lordship should haue had much labour to vnderstand it, which now with it also cannot be excused, it is so grossely done. But I knew you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I trust your Lordship will accept this, and hold me for excused. In other mens letters that they write they craue pardon that at this present they write no larger: but I must finish,

finish, asking pardon that at this present I write so largely. Iesus preserue your Lordship with augmentation of dignities.

Your seruant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

Epitaphium M. Roberti Thorni, sepulti in Ecclesia Templariorum Londini.

RObertus iacet hic Thorne, quem Bristolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim semper magnæ Respublica curæ,
Charior & cunctis patria diuitijs.
Ferre inopi auxilium, tristes componere lites,
Dulce huic consilio quósque iuuare fuit.
Qui pius exaudis miserorum vota precésque,
Christe huic cœli des regione locum.

A briefe Treatise of the great Duke of Moscouia his genealogie, being taken out of the Moscouites manuscript Chronicles written by a Polacke.

IT hath almost euer bene the custome of nations, in searching out the infancie and first beginnings of their estate, to ascribe the same vnto such authors as lined among men in great honour and endued mankinde with some one or other excellent benefite. Nowe, this inbred desire of all nations to blaze and set foorth their owne petigree hath so much preuayled with the greater part, that leauing the vndoubted trueth, they haue betaken themselues vnto meere fables and fictions. Yea and the Chronicles of many nations written in diuers and sundrie ages doe testifie the same. Euen so the Grecians boasted that they were either Autocthones, that is earthbredde, or els lineally descended from the Gods. And the Romans affirme that Mars was father vnto their first founder Romulus. Right well therefore and iudicially sayth Titus Liuius: Neither meane I to auouch (quoth he) ne to disable or confute those thinges which before the building and foundation of the Citie haue beene reported, being more adorned and fraught with Poeticall fables then with incorrupt and sacred monuments of trueth: antiquitie is it to be pardoned in this behalfe, namely in ioyning together matters historicall and poeticall, to make the beginnings of cities to seeme the more honourable. For sith antiquity it selfe is accompted such a notable argument of true nobility, euen priuate men in all ages haue contended thereabout. Wherefore citizens of Rome being desirous to make demonstration of their Gentrie, vse to haue their auncestors armes painted along the walles of their houses: in which regarde they were so puffed vp, that oftentimes they would arrogantly disdaine those men, which by their owne vertue had attained vnto honour. In like sorte Poets, when the originall of their woorthies and braue champions was either vtterly vnknowen or somewhat obscure, would ofte referre it vnto their Gods themselues. So in these our dayes (to lette passe others) the Turkish Emperour with great presumption boasteth himselfe to bee descended of the Troian blood. Likewise the great duke of Moscouie, to make himselfe and his predecessours seeme the more souereigne, *deriueth the beginnings of his parentage* from the Romane Emperours, yea euen from Augustus Cæsar. *Albeit* therefore no man is so fonde as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly set downe what *the Moscouites* haue written in their Chronicles as touching this matter.

Augustus (beleeue it who listeth) had certaine brethren or kinsfolkes which were appoynted gouernours ouer diuers prouinces. Amongst the rest one Prussus (of whome Prussia was named) had his place of gouernment assigned vnto him vpon the shore of the eastern or Balthick sea, and vpon the famous riuer of Wixel. This mans graund children or nephewes of the fourth generation were Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor, who likewise inhabited in the very same places. Whereas therefore at the very same time the Russians or the Moscouites without any ciuill regiment possessed large and spacious territories towards the north, the foresayd three brethren, vpon the perswasion of one Gostomislius the chiefe citizen of Nouogrod, in the

Russia became ciuill in 9^e yere of our Lord 572.

the yeare since the worldes creation (according to the computation of the Greekes) 6370, which was in the yeare of our Lord 572, were sent for, to beare rule. And so ioyning their kinsman Olechus vnto them, and diuiding these huge countreys among themselues, they laboured to reduce the barbarous and sauage people vnto a ciuill kinde of life.

Sinaus and Truuor deceasing without issue, Rurek succeeded and lefte a sonne behinde him named Igor; who not being of sufficient yeres to beare rule, was committed vnto the protection of his kinsman Olechus. The sayde Igor begate of Olha daughter vnto a citizen of Plesco (who, after her husbande was slaine by his enemies, taking her iourney to Constantinople, was there baptized by the name of Helena) a sonne called Stoslaus, who fought many battels with the neighbour countreys. Howbeit at length Stoslaus was slayne by his foe, who making a drinking cup of his skull, engraued therupon in golden letters this sentence: Seeking after other mens he lost his owne. He left behind him three sonnes, namely Teropolchus, Olega, and Vulodimir. The which Vulodimir hauing slaine his two brethren, became sole gouernour of Russia, or (as the Moscouites call it) Rosseia, his owne selfe. This man beginning at length to loath and mislike the ethnik religon, and the multitude of false gods, applyed his minde vnto the religion of Christ, and hauing taken to wife Anna sister vnto Basilius and Constantinus Emperours of Constantinople, was together with his whole nation, in the yeare of Christ 988. baptized, and imbraced the Christian religion, with the rites and ceremonies of the Greeke Church, and his name being changed, he was called Basilius.

Howbeit Zonaras reporteth that before the time of Vulodimir, Basilius Emperour of Constantinople sent a bishop vnto the Russians, by whose meanes they were conuerted vnto the Christian faith. He reporteth moreouer that they would not be perswaded vnlesse they might see a miracle: whereupon the said bishop hauing made his prayers vnto almighty God, threwe the booke of the Euangelists into the fire, which remained there vnconsumed. And that by this miracle they were moued to giue credite vnto the doctrine of Christ, and to conforme themselues thereunto.

The sonnes of Vulodimir were Vuiseslaus, Isoslaus, Iaroslaus, Suatopolcus, Borissus, Glebus, Stoslaus, Vulzeuolodus, Stanislaus, Sudislaus, and Podius who died in his childhood. Amongst the residue all Russia was diuided by their father, who not being contented with their portions, but inuading each other, were most of them slaine by their mutuall contentions. Borissus and Glebus in regard of their holy conuersation were registred for Saints, whose feasts are euery yeere celebrated with great solemnitie vpon the twelfth of Nouember.

At length Iaroslaus only got the Souereigne authoritie into his owne hands, and left behind him foure sonnes, Vvlodimir, Isoslauus, Weceslauus, and Vuszeuolodus.

Kiow.

The foresaid Vulodimir sonne of Iaroslaus kept his residence at the ancient citie of Kiow standing vpon the riuer of Boristhenes, and after diuers conflicts with his kinsmen, hauing subdued all the prouinces vnto himselfe, was called Monomachos, that is, the onely champion. This man (for I thinke it not amisse to report those things which their owne Manuscript Chronicles make mention of) waged warre against Constantine the Emperour of Constantinople, and when he had wasted & ouerrun Thracia, being returned home with great and rich spoyles, and making preparation for new wars, Constantine sent Neophytus the Metropolitane of Ephesus and two Bishops, with the gouernour of Antiochia, and Eustaphius the Abbat of Ierusalem, to present rich and magnificent gifts vnto him; as namely, part of the crosse of our Sauiour Christ, a crowne of gold, a drinking cup curiously made of Sardonyx stone, a cloake set all ouer with precious stones, and a golden chaine; commaunded them to salute him by the name of Czar (which name, as it may be prooued by many arguments, signifieth a king, and not an Emperour) and concluded a most inuiolable league of amity and friendship with him.

The foresayd Vulodimir begate Vuszeuolodus the second. This Vuszeuolodus lefte eight sonnes behind him, Miscislaus, Isoslaus, Stoslaus, Teropolcus, Weceslaus, Romanus, Georgius, and Andrew. The sonnes of George were Roseslaus, Andrew, Basilius, and Demetrius.

Demetrius

Demetrius begat George, who in the yeere 1237. was slaine by one Bathy, a Tartarian duke, which Bathy wasted Mosconia, and subdued the same vnto himselfe. Since which time the Russians were tributary to the Tartars, and were gouerned by such dukes as they pleased to set ouer them. Howbeit the Tartars so greatly abused that authoritie, that when they sent their ambassadours vnto the prince of Moscouie, he was constrained to goe forth and meete with them, and (as Herbortus Fulstinius in his Polonian historie reporteth) to offer them a bason full of mares milk, and if they had spilt any whit thereof vpon their horses maines, to licke it off with his toung, and hauing conducted them into his princely court, to stand bareheaded before them while they sate downe, and with all reuerence to giue eare and attendance vnto them. But by what meanes they shooke off at the length this yoake of seruitude, I will forthwith declare. 1237.

About the same time almost all Polonia, and the dukedome of Silesia were ouerrun by the Tartars with fire and sword. Who hauing burnt Presla the chiefe citie of Silesia, & being come before the citie of Legnitz, they fought there a most cruel and bloody field, wherin was slain duke Henrie himselfe being sonne vnto the most holy and deuout lady Hedwice, with many others, whose monuments and graues be as yet extant in sundry places, and with an infinite multitude of common souldiers, insomuch that the Tartars filled nine great sackes with the eares of them which they had slaine. The Tartars to the end they might obtaine the victorie, presented vnto the view of our souldiers the portrature of a mans head placed by arte magique vpon a banner, wherein the letter X. was painted, which being shaken and mooued vp and downe breathed foorth a most loathsome stench, & strooke such a terrour into the hearts of our men, that being as it were astonished with the snaky visage of Medusa, they were vtterly daunted and dismayed.

From thence Bathy and his company with the same bloodthirstie intent marched into Hungarie, and had almost slaine king Bela the fourth, who together with his sonne escaping by flight did scarcely ridde themselues out of the enemies hand. And when the whole world almost was exceedingly terrified at the cruell inuasions of this most barbarous nation, at length Pope Innocentius the fourth sending ambassadours vnto Bathy obtained peace for fiue yeeres: but to forsake his heathenish superstitions and to become a Christian, hee would by no meanes bee perswaded. For he was by the instigation of the Saracens infected with deuilish opinions of Mahomet, as being more agreeable vnto his barbarous rudenes, which euen vnto this day the Tartars do maintaine, like as the prophane Turkes also. These ambassadours were Iohan. de Plano Carpini & Frier Benedict a Polonian.

This Bathy had a sonne called Tamerlan, whome the Moscouites call Temirkutla, who likewise, as it is recorded in histories, attained vnto great renoume. For he caried about with him in a cage Baiazet the Turkish Emperour being fettered in golden chaines, and made him a laughing stocke vnto all men.

Let vs now returne vnto the Russians. George being slaine, Iaroslaus his brother succeeded in his room, and left behinde him three sonnes, Theodorus, Alexander, and Andreas. Daniel the sonne of Alexander first established his royal seat in the citie of Mosco, and magnificently building the castle which before time had been obscure, he tooke vpon him the title of the great Duke of Russia. He had fiue sonnes, namely, George, Alexander, Borissus, Ophonias, and Iohn. This Iohn succeeded his father, and because he continually caried a scrippe about with him to bestow almes, he was sirnamed Kaleta, which word signifieth a scrippe. His sonnes were, Simeon, Iohn, and Andrew. He gaue vnto his sonne Simeon the prouinces of Vvlodimiria and Moscouia: which Simeon deceasing without issue his brother Iohn succeeded, who begate a son called Demetrius. This Demetrius had seuen sonnes, namely Daniel, Basilius, George, Andrew, Peter, Iohn, & Constantine. Basilius reigned after his fathers death. This mã dishinheriting his sonne which was called after his owne name, because he suspected his mother of adulterie, at his death surrendred his Dukedome vnto his brother George, who kept his nephewe a long time in prison. Howbeit at his death, though himselfe had two sonnes namely Andrew and Demetrius, yet being stricken perhaps with remorse of conscience, he bestowed the Dukedome vpon his nephew Basilius. Against whom his two cousins bearing a grudge waged warre, and at length hauing taken him by a wyly stra- The citie of Mosco first made the seate of the great Duke.

tageme

tageme they put out his eyes. Notwithstanding the Boiarens (for so the Moscouites call their nobles) continued their duetifull alleageance vnto this their blinde Duke, whom for his blindnes they called Cziemnox, that is to say, darke or darkened. He left a sonne behinde him called Iuan Vasilowich who brought the Russian common wealth, being before his time but obscure, vnto great excellencie and renowme. Who that he might the better get all the superiority into his owne hands put to death so many sonnes and nephewes of the former Dukes as he could lay hold on, and began to take vpon him the title of the great Duke of Vvlodimiria, Moscouia, and Nouogardia, and to call himselfe the Monarch or Czar of all Russia. He brought vnder his subiection two principall cities, namely Plesco being the only walled citie in all Moscouie, and Mouogrod, both of them being in regard of traffike most riche and flourishing cities, and hauing bin subiect vnto the Lithuanians for the space of 50. yeeres before. The treasure of Nouogrod was so exceeding, that the great Duke is reported to haue carried home from thence 300. carts laden with gold and siluer.

Iuan Vasilowich.

The name of the Moscouites first aduanced.

He also was the first man that waged warre against the Polonians and the Liuonians: against Polonia he pretended a quarell, alleaging that his daughter Helena (whome hee had married vnto Alexander the great Duke of Lithuania, which was afterward king of Polonia) was euil intreated, and was withdrawen from the Greekish religion vnto the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. But against the Liuonians for none other cause, but onely for an incredible desire of enlarging his dominions. Howbeit what impulsiue causes of litle or no moment happened in the mean season, we will in another place more plainely declare. Notwithstanding he was very often and in diuers battels vanquished by Plettebergius the great master of the Dutch knights: but it is not to the purpose to stand any longer vpon this discourse.

He was married first vnto Marie the Duke of Tyuersky his daughter, and of her hee begate Iohn, vnto whom in his life time he surrendred his Dukedome, and married him vnto the daughter of Stephan the Palatine of Moldauia: which Iohn, after he had begotten his sonne Demetrius, deceased before his father.

Afterward Iuan Vasilowich aforesaide married a wife called Sophia being daughter vnto Thomas Palælogus, which is reported to haue had her dowry out of the Popes treasury, because the Moscouite had promised to conforme himselfe vnto the Romish Church. This Sophia being a woman of a princely and aspiring minde, and often complaining that she was married vnto the Tartars vassal, at length by her instant intreatie and continual perswasions, and by a notable stratageme she cast off that slauish yoke very much vnbeseeming so mighty a prince. For whereas the Tartarian Duke had his procuratours and agents in the Moscouites court, who dwelt in their owne houses built within the very castle of Mosco, and were eye witnesses of all affaires which were there performed: Sophia said she was admonished from heauen to builde a Temple in the selfe same place where the Tartars house stoode, and to consecrate it vnto Saint Nicholas. Being therfore deliuered of a sonne she inuited the Tartarian Duke vnto the solemne baptizing of him, and beeing come, shee requested him to giue her his house, and obtained it at his hands. Which house being razed and those Tartarian espials beeing excluded, the Tartars at length were quite bereaued and vtterly dispossessed of their authoritie which they had exercised ouer the Russians for many yeres, and could neuer yet recouer it; albeit they haue giuen sundry attempts. Of his wife Sophia he begate sixe children, namely, a daughter called Helena, & fiue sonnes, that is to say, Gabriel, Demetrius, George, Simeon, and Andrew.

The yoke of the Tartars shaken off.

The Dukedome of right appertayned vnto Demetrius the sonne of Iohn, which was the sonne of Vasilowich by his first marriage. Howbeit Sophia preuailed so with her husband, that neglecting his graund-childe Demetrius, hee bestowed his Dukedome vpon Gabriel his sonne.

Andrew the younger had a sonne called Vvlodimir, of whom Mary was borne, which in the yeere of Christ 1573. was maried vnto Magnus the Duke of Holst.

Gabriel hauing obtained the great dukedome of Russia, changed his name calling himselfe Basilius, and applied his minde to the atchieuing of high and great enterprises. For hee reduced

Basilius.

duced a great part of the dukedome of Moscouie, which Vitoldus the great Duke of Lithuania helde in possession, vnder his owne iurisdiction, and wonne vpon the riuer of Boristhenes (which the Russians call Neiper) many cities and especially Smolensco, in the yeere of our Lord 1514. Hauing diuorced his first wife, hee begate of Helena daughter vnto Duke Glinskie, Iuan Vasilowich, which now this present 1580. reigneth as great Duke. Hee was Iuan Vasilowich.
borne in the yeere of our Lorde 1528. the 25. of August, sixe houres after the rising of the sonne. The great dukedome of Russia fell vnto the said Iuan Vasilowich in the fifth yeere of his age, hauing his vncle George for his great protector: being 25. yeeres of age, and being of a strong body and of a couragious mind he subdued the Tartars of Cazan and Astracan vpon the riuer of Volgha, carrying their Dukes and chieftaines into captiuitie.

But by what wayes and meanes (after the league which by the intercession of the most sacred Roman Emperour, continued from the yeere 1503. for the space of fifty yeeres, was expired) hauing renewed warres against Liuonia; hee brought that most flourishing prouince into extreame miserie, vsing for the same purpose a new pretense, and alleadging that it belonged vnto him by right of inheritance, I tremble to recount: and it requireth a large historie, which perhaps in time and place conuenient some more learned then my selfe will take vpon them to addresse.

He is exceedingly addicted vnto piety and deuotion, and doth oftentimes obserue very strict fastings and abstinence with his monks: and whenas the Russes in doing reuerence & adoration vnto God doe beate their foreheads against the ground, this Iuan Vasilowich with performing of the same ceremonie causeth his forehead to be ful of boines and swellings, and sometimes to be black and blew, and very often to bleed. He is much delighted with building of Churches & spareth no cost for that purpose. Whether therfore by nature, or (which hee pretendeth to be the cause) by reason of his subiects malice & treacherie, he be so addicted vnto all rigour and cruelty, I dare not determine, especially sithens he hath not an illiberal or mishapen countenance, as Alfila is reported to haue had. Of his first wife which was sister vnto Mikita Romanowich, heeing nowe great steward of his houshold, he begate two sonnes, namely Iuan and Theodore. And albeit he was fiue times married, yet Theodore.
had he not one childe more.

Whereas this Iuan Vasilowich vpon certaine friuolous reasons calleth himselfe the naturall lord of Liuonia, I thought it not amisse to adde an Epistle hereunto, which was written by a certaine honourable man concerning the same matter.

S. All we which inhabite this Prouince with all seemely reuerence and submission of mind, do offer most humble thanks vnto the Emperors most sacred and peerelesse maiesty our most gracious lord, in that according to his fatherly affection which he beareth towards all Christendome, and for the good & commodity of this our distressed and afflicted countrey, which these many yeres hath bin in stead of a bulwarke against the inuasion of barbarous nations, he hath sent his ambassadors vnto the great duke of Moscouia. In regard of which his fatherly loue and great benefite vouchsafed on vs, wee are ready when occasion shall serue, to aduenture our liues and goods: praying in the meane season vnto Almightie God, who is the onely establisher and confounder of common wealths, to bring this excellent woorke, the foundation whereof is already laide vnto a prosperous conclusion. But as touching the title which the Moscouite maketh to this prouince, to say the very truth, we greatly wondred and were astonished at the declaration thereof. For it is most apparant, not onely out of all ancient and credible histories, but euen from the experience and state of these regions, that the said title and allegations are fabulous and fained. For out of all auncient monuments, by what names soeuer they bee called (whereof there are diuers extant among vs) it cannot be proued by any mention, nor yet by any likelihoode or coniecture, that those things which the Moscouite affirmeth concerning the people which were gouernors of these regions in times past, and concerning the right and title of his ancestors vnto this prouince, are grounded vpon truth.

For it is not vnknowen by what meanes this prouince, partly through the industry of marchants, and partly by the benefite of nauigation, was first discouered: neither is it vnknowen howe tion. The commodities of traffike and of nauiga-

howe the inhabitants thereof beeing wholly addicted vnto heathenish superstitions and idolatrie, were by the croised knights (who drew other knights professing the same order in Prussia to aide and accompanie them in this their enterprise) and that with great labour and difficultie, conuerted vnto the Christian faith: when as at the same time the Liuonians had no knowledge at all of the iurisdiction, religion, maners, or language of Moscouie: who had not onely no conuersation nor dealings with the Moscouites, but were estranged also from all other nations whatsoeuer: for leading a miserable, poore, barbarous, and heathenish life, in sauage maner among wilde beastes, and in the desert and solitary woods, they were vtterly ignorant of God and destitute of ciuil magistrates. Howbeit this kind of gouernment was peculiar vnto them, namely that all of one familie and society vsed a kinde of reuerence vnto their elders more then to any other, whom also, that their authoritie might be the greater, they called by the name of kings, and (albeit one of their families consisted of a 100. persons) they obeyed them in al respects, and after their rude and barbarous maner did them loyal seruice. At the very same time the Moscouites had receiued the religion, and the Ecclesiasticall ceremonies of the Greeke and Easterne Church, which religion they published and dispersed throughout all prouinces subiect to their dominion, vsing their owne proper letters and characters for the same purpose. Of all which things the Liuonians which very barbarously inhabited a lande beeing enuironed with Russia, Lithuania, Samogitia, Prussia, and the Balthic sea, neuer heard any report at all. It is moreouer to be noted that neuer at any time heretofore either within the earth, or in other places of Liuonia, there haue bene found any monuments at all of the antiquitie or letters of the Russes: which verily must needs haue come to passe, if the Moscouites, Russes, or any other nations which vse the foresaid particulars, had borne rule and authority ouer the Liuonians: yea there had beene left some remainder and token, either of their religion and diuine worship, or of their lawes and customes, or at the least of their maners, language, and letters. This indeed we can in no wise deny, that euen in Liuonia it selfe, there haue bin in times past and at this present are many and diuers languages spoken by the people. Howbeit no one language of them all hath any affinity either with the Moscouian tongue, or with the tongues of any other nations. But whereas the Moscouite pretendeth that there hath bin vsually paide a pension or tribute vnto himselfe and his predecessours out of the whole prouince, it is as incredible as the former.

About the beginning of this tragicall warre, the Moscouite, to cloke his tyranny and ambition vnder some faire pretense, amongst other of his demaunds, made mention also of a tribute which should be due vnto him out of the bishop of Dorpat his iurisdiction, whereof notwithstanding hee could neither bring any iust account, nor affirm any certainty: howbeit there is no man liuing to be found which either can tell of his owne remembrance, or from the relation of others, that any such tribute was euer paid vnto the Moscouite. What time therefore he referred al this negotiation vnder the master of the Liuonian order, and commanded him to get what knowledge hee could therof from the men of Dorpat, & vrged the tribute, saying if it were worth but one haire, that he would not remit it: at length it was found recorded in the ancient Chronicles of Dorpat, that beyond the memory of man, when the territory of Piesco contained nothing but woods and forrests for wilde beastes, that the peasants of the liberty of Dorpat called Neuhus, by the consent of the Russian borderers, enioyed Bee-hiues in the said woods, and paid euery yeere in lieu thereof vnto the Russian gouernours, sixe shillings of Liuonian coine. But so soone as the Russians had felled the woods and had built townes and villages in their place, the saide pension ceased together with the trees which were cut downe. Wherefore the saide sixe shillings were neuer since that time either demanded by the Russes or paid by the Liuonians. These things which I knew concerning the causes of the Liuonian warres I thought good to signifie vnto you. Giuen the 22. of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

Ordi-

Ordinances, instructions, and aduertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and deliuered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota Esquier, gouernour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reigne of our most dread soueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supreame head.

FIrst the Captaine general, with the pilot maior, the masters, marchants & other officers, to be so knit and accorded in vnitie, loue, conformitie, and obedience in euery degree on all sides, that no dissention, variance, or contention may rise or spring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hinderance of the voyage: for that dissention (by many experiences) hath ouerthrown many notable intended and likely enterprises and exploits.

2 Item, for as much as euery person hath giuen an othe to be true, faithfull, and loial subiects, and liege men to the kings most excellent Maiestie, his heires and successors, and for the obseruation of all lawes & statutes, made for the preseruation of his most excellent Maiestie, & his crown Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to serue his grace, the Realme, and this present voyage truely, and not to giue vp, intermit, or leaue off the said voyage and enterprise vntill it shalbe accomplished, so farre forth as possibilitie and life of man may serue or extend: Therfore it behoueth euery person in his degree, as well for conscience, as for dueties sake to remember his said charge, and the accomplishment thereof.

3 Item, where furthermore euery mariner or passenger in his ship hath giuen like othe to bee obedient to the Captaine generall, and to euery Captaine and master in his ship, for the obseruation of these present orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter shalbe made by the 12. counsailers in this present book named, or the most part of them, for the better conduction, and preseruation of the fleete, and atchieuing of the voyage, and to be prompt, ready and obedient in all acts and feates of honesty, reason, and duetie to be ministred, shewed & executed, in aduancement and preferment of the voyage and exploit: therfore it is conuenient that this present booke shall once euery weeke (by the discretion of the Captaine) be read to the said companie, to the intent that euery man may the better remember his othe, conscience, duetie and charge.

4 Item, euery person by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good wil (as farre forth as him shall complie) all and euery such act and acts, deede and deeds, as shalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enioyned (during the voyage) by the Captain generall, with the assent of the Counsell and assistants, as well in and during the whole Nauigation and voyage, as also in discouering and landing, as cases and occasions shall require.

5 Item, all courses in Nauigation to be set and kept, by the aduice of the Captaine, Pilot maior, masters, & masters mates, with the assents of the counsailers and the most number of them, and in voyces vniformely agreeing in one to preuaile, and take place, so that the Captaine generall, shall in all counsailes and assemblies haue a double voyce.

6 Item, that the fleete shal keep together, and not separate themselues asunder, as much as by winde & weather may be done or permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & masters shall speedily come aboord the Admiral, when and as often as he shall seeme to haue iust cause to assemble them for counsaile or consultation to be had concerning the affairs of the fleete and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants, and other skilful persons in writing, shal daily write, describe, and put in memorie the Nauigation of euery day and night, with the points, and obseruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres, and the same so noted by the order of the Master and pilot of euery ship to be put in writing,

the captaine generall assembling the masters together once euery weeke (if winde and weather shal serue) to conferre all the obseruations, and notes of the said ships, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they dissent, and vpon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion determined, to put the same into a common leger, to remain of record for the company: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Cardes, Astrolabes, and other instruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterprises and exploits of discouering or landing to search Iles, regions, and such like, to be searched, attempted, and enterprised by good deliberation, and common assent, determined aduisedly. And that in all enterprises, notable ambassages, suites, requests, or presentment of giftes, or presents to Princes, to be done and executed by the captaine generall in person, or by such other, as he by common assent shall appoint or assigne to doe or cause to be done in the same.

9 Item, the steward and cooke of euery ship, and their associats, to giue and render to the captaine and other head officers of their shippe weekely (or oftner,) if it shall seeme requisite, a iust or plaine and perfect accompt of expenses of the victuals, as wel flesh, fish, bisket, meate, or bread, as also of beere, wine, oyle, or vineger, and all other kinde of victualling vnder their charge, and they, and euery of them so to order and dispende the same, that no waste or vnprofitable excesse be made otherwise then reason and necessitie shall command.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he shalbe, shalbe tried vntrue, remisse, negligent, or vnprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to vse him selfe in his charge accordingly, then euery such officer to be punished or remoued at the discretion of the captaine and assistants, or the most part of them, and the person so remoued not to be reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remoue, any more for an officer, but to remaine in such condition and place, as hee shall be assigned vnto, and none of the companie, to resist such chastisement or worthie punishment, as shalbe ministred vnto him moderately, according to the fault or desert of his offence, after the lawes and common customes of the seas, in such cases heretofore vsed and obserued.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour shalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is presently shipped for, such person may bee vnshipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Maiesties realme & dominion, and one other person more able and worthy to be put in his place, at the discretion of the captaine and masters, & order to be taken that the partie dismissed shalbe allowed proportionably the value of that he shall haue deserued to the time of his dismission or discharge, & he to giue order with sureties, pawn, or other assurance, to repay the ouerplus of that he shall haue receiued, which he shall not haue deserued, & such wages to be made with the partie newly placed as shalbe thought reasonable, and he to haue the furniture of al such necessaries as were prepared for the partie dismissed, according to right and conscience.

12 Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be vsed in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or vngodly talke to be suffred in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diuelish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not onely pouertie to the players, but also strife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the vtter destruction of the parties, and prouoking of Gods most iust wrath, and swerde of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, and contagions of vices, and sinnes to bee eschewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reforming, to bee punished at the discretion of the captaine and master, as appertaineth.

A minister in the voyage.

13 Item, that morning and euening prayer, with other common seruices appointed by the kings Maiestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in euery ship daily by the minister in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read deuoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Nauigants accordingly.

14 Item, that euery officer is to be charged by Inuentorie with the particulars of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the disfraying of the same together with modest

&

& temperate dispending of powder, shot, and vse of all kinde of artillery, which is not to be misused, but diligently to be preserued for the necessary defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all instruments of your Nauigation, and other requisites.

15 Item, no liquor to be spilt on the balast, nor filthines to be left within boord: the cook roum, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the gromals & pages to bee brought vp according to the laudable order and vse of the Sea, as well in learning of Nauigation, as in exercising of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liueries in apparel giuen to the mariners be to be kept by the marchants, and not to be worne, but by the order of the captaine, when he shall see cause to muster or shewe them in good aray, for the aduancement and honour of the voyage, and the liueries to bee redeliuered to the keeping of the marchants, vntill it shal be thought conuenient for euery person to haue the ful vse of his garment.

17 Item, when any mariner or any other passenger shal haue neede of any necessarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conseruation of his health, the same shall bee deliuered him by the Marchant, at the assignement of the captaine and Master of that shippe, wherein such needie person shall be, at such reasonable price as the same cost, without any gaine to be exacted by the marchants, the value therof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the same to be discounted off the parties wages, that so shal receiue, and weare the same.

18 Item the sicke, diseased, weake, and visited person within boord, to be tendred, relieued, comforted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and euery maner of person, without respect, to beare anothers burden, and no man to refuse such labour as shall be put to him, for the most benefite, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterprise, to be atchieued exactly.

19 Item if any person shal fortune to die, or miscary in the voyage, such apparell, and other goods, as he shall haue at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the captaine and Master of the shippe, and an inuentorie to be made of it, and conserued to the vse of his wife, and children, or otherwise according to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he shall haue deserued to his death, and what shall rest due to him.

20 Item, that the Marchants appointed for this present voyage, shall not make any shew or sale of any kind of marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forrein princes, or any of their subiects, without the consent, priuitie, or agreement of the Captaines, the cape Marchants and the assistants, or foure of them, whereof the captaine generall, the Pilot Maior, and cape marchant to be three, and euery of the pettie marchants to shewe his reckoning to the cape marchant, when they, or any of them shall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the petie marchants, without the assent abouesaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought or giuen to the companie, by way of marchandise, trucke, or any other respect, to be booked by the marchants, and to be wel ordred, packed, and conserued in one masse entirely, and not to be broken or altered, vntil the shippes shall returne to the right discharges, and inuentorie of al goods, wares, and marchandises so trucked, bought, or otherwise dispended, to be presented to the Gouernor, Consuls, and Assistants in London, in good order, to the intent the Kings Maiestie may be truly answered of that which to his grace by his grant of corporation is limited, according to our most bound duelies, and the whole companie also to haue that which by right vnto them appertaineth, and no embezelment shall be vsed, but the truth of the whole voyage to bee opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and mysterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine. King Edward's Corporation.

21 Item, no particular person, to hinder or preiudicate the common stocke of the company, in sale or preferment of his own proper wares, and things, and no particular emergent or purchase to be employed to any seuerall profite, vntill the common stocke of the companie shall be furnished, and no person to hinder the common benefite in such purchases or contingents, as shal fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper policie, industrie, or chance, nor no contention to rise in that behalfe, by any occasion of iewel, stone, pearles, precious mettals, or

or other things of the region, where it shall chance the same to rise, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or giuen: but euery person to be bounden in such case, and vpon such occasion, by order, and direction, as the generall captaine, and the Councell shall establish and determine, to whose order and discretion the same is left: for that of things vncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be giuen.

22 Item not to disclose to any nation the state of our religion, but to passe it ouer in silence, without any declaration of it, seeming to beare with such lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you shall arriue.

23 Item for as much as our people, and shippes may appeare vnto them strange and wonderous, and theirs also to ours: it is to be considered, how they may be vsed, learning much of their natures and dispositions, by some one such person, as you may first either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ships, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or dishonestie.

24 Item the person so taken, to be well entertained, vsed, and apparelled, to be set on land, to the intent that he or she may allure other to draw nigh to shewe the commodities: and if the person taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you shal know the secrets of his heart.

25 Item our people may not passe further into a land, then that they may be able to recouer their pinnesses, or ships, & not to credit the faire words of the strange people, which be many times tried subtile, and false, nor to be drawen into perill of losse, for the desire of golde, siluer, or riches, and esteeme your owne commodities aboue al other, and in countenance shew not much to desire the forren commodities: neuerthelesse take them as for friendship, or by way of permutation.

26 Item every nation and region is to be considered aduisedly, & not to prouoke them by any disdaine, laughing, contempt, or such like, but to vse them with prudent circumspection, with al gentlenes, and curtesie, and not to tary long in one place, vntill you shall haue attained the most worthy place y may be found, in such sort, as you may returne w victuals sufficient prosperously.

27 Item the names of the people of euery Island, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the same, their natures, qualities, and dispositions, the site of the same, and what things they are most desirous of, & what commodities they wil most willingly depart with, & what mettals they haue in hils, mountaines, streames, or riuers, in, or vnder the earth.

28 Item if people shal appeare gathering of stones, gold, mettall, or other like, on the sand, your pinnesses may drawe nigh, marking what things they gather, vsing or playing vpon the drumme, or such other instruments, as may allure them to harkening, to fantasie, or desire to see, and heare your instruments and voyces, but keepe you out of danger, and shewe to them no poynt or signe of rigour and hostilitie.

29 Item if you shall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers house, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in such order of strength, that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods and ambushes, and that your weapons be not out of your possessions.

30 Item if you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skinnes, hauing long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that sight: for such be worne oftentimes more to feare strangers, then for any other cause.

31 Item there are people that can swimme in the sea, hauens, & riuers, naked, hauing bowes and shafts, coueting to draw nigh your ships, which if they shal finde not wel watched, or warded, they wil assault, desirous of the bodies of men, which they couet for meate: if you resist them, they diue, and so will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night, in some Islands.

32 Item if occasion shal serue, that you may giue aduertisements of your proceedings in such things as may correspond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of successe in the voyage, passing such dangers of the seas, perils of ice, intollerable coldes, and other impediments, which by sundry authors & writers, haue ministred matter of suspition in some heads,

heads, that this voyage could not succede for the extremitie of the North pole, lacke of passage, & such like, which haue caused wauering minds, and doubtfull heads, not onely to withdraw themselues from the aduenture of this voyage, but also disswaded others from the same, the certaintie wherof, when you shall haue tried by experience, (most certaine Master of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the trueth, which you shall haue experted, you may by common assent of counsell, sende either by land, or otherwaies, such two or one person, to bring the same by credite, as you shal think may passe in safetie: which sending is not be done, but vpon vrgent causes, in likely successe of the voyage, in finding of passage, in towardlines of beneficiall traffike, or such other like, whereby the company being aduertised of your estates and proceedings, may further prouide, foresee, and determine that which may seeme most good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the same: either prouiding before hand such things, as shall bee requisite for the continuance of the voyage, or else otherwise to dispose as occasion shall serue: in which things your wisedomes and discretions are to be vsed, and shewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant, how many persons, as well the kings Maiestie, the Lords of his honorable Counsel, this whole companie, as also your wiues, children, kinsfolkes, allies, friends and familiars, be replenished in their hearts with ardent desire to learne and know your estates, conditions, and welfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtain this notable enterprise, which is hoped no lesse to succeed to you, then the Orient or Occident Indias haue to the high benefite of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whose subiects industries, and trauailes by sea, haue inriched them, by those lands and Islands, which were to all Cosmographers, and other writers both vnknowne, and also by apparances of reason voide of experience thought and reputed vnhabitable for extremities of heates, and colds, and yet indeed tried most rich, peopled, temperate, and so commodious, as all Europe hath not the like. Reason voide of experience.

33 Item no conspiracies, parttakings, factions, false tales, vntrue reports, which be the very seedes, and fruits of contention, discord, & confusion, by euill tongues to be suffered, but the same, & all other vngodlines to be chastened charitably with brotherly loue, and alwaies obedience to be vsed and practised by al persons in their degrees, not only for duetie and conscience sake towards God, vnder whose mercifull hand nauigants aboue all other creatures naturally bee most nigh, and vicine, but also for prudent and worldly pollicie, and publike weale, considering and alwaies hauing present in your mindes that you be all one most royall kings subiects, and naturals, with daily remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praise, and benefite that depend of, and vpon the same, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the aduancement of you the trauailers therein, your wiues, and children, and so to endeuour your selues as that you may satisfie the expectation of them, who at their great costs, charges, and expenses, haue so furnished you in good sort, and plentie of all necessaries, as the like was neuer in any realme seene, vsed, or knowen requisite and needful for such an exploit, which is most likely to be atchieued, and brought to good effect, if euery person in his vocation shall endeuour himselfe according to his charge, and most bounden duetie: praying the liuing God, to giue you his grace, to accomplish your charge to his glorie, whose merciful hand shal prosper your voyage, and preserue you from all dangers.

In witnes whereof I Sebastian Gabota, Gouernour aforesaide, to these present ordinances, haue subscribed my name, and put my seale, the day and yeere aboue written.

The names of the twelue Counsellors appointed in this voyage.

1 SIr Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall.
2 Richard Chancelour Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3 George Burton Cape marchant.
4 Master Richard Stafford Minister.
5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6 Iames Dalabere Gentleman.
7 William Gefferson Master of the Bona Speranza Admirall.

8 Stephen

8 Stephen Borrough Master of the Edward Bonauenture.
9 Cornelius Durfurth Master of the Confidentia.
10 Roger Wilson.
11 John Buckland. } Masters mates.
12 Richard Ingram.

Exemplar Epistolæ seu literarum Missiuarum, quas illustrissimus Princeps Eduardus eius nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, misit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes iuxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem; Anno Domini 1553 Regni sui anno septimo, & vltimo.

EDuardus sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, &c. Omnibus Regibus & principibus ac dominis, & cunctis Indicibus terræ, & ducibus eius, quibuscunque est excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ sunt sub vniuerso cœlo: Pax, tranquillitas, & honor vobis, terris, & regionibus vestris quæ imperio vestro subiacent, cuiq; vestrum quemadmodum conuenit ei. Propterea quòd indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis alijs viuentibus; cor & desiderium tale, vt appetat quisque cum alijs societatem inire, amare, & vicissim amari, beneficijs allicere, & mutua accipere beneficia studeat, ideò cuique pro facultate sua hoc desiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficijs fouere & conseruare conuenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc desiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingressi sunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc desiderium fuisse declararunt. Insuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorumq; nostrorum exempla inuitant, qui semper humanissimè susceperunt & benignissimè tractauerunt illos, qui tum à locis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum se protectioni commendantes. Quod si omnibus id præstare æquum est, certè mercatoribus inprimis præstari debet, qui per vniuersum orbem discurrunt, mare circumlustrantes & aridam, vt res bonas & viles, quæ Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotissimas regiones & regna adferant, atque inde vicissim referant, quòd suæ regioni vtile ibi reperierint: vt & populi ad quos eunt, non destituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, & ipsi sint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli & terræ, humano generi maximè consulens, noluit vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quò regio ope alterius regionis indigeret, & gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita stabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, singuliq; omnibus benefacere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac stabiliendæ amicitiæ desiderio moti viri quidam regni nostri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones instituerunt, vt inter nostros & illos populos, viam mercibus inferendis & efferendis aperirent, nósq; rogauerunt & vt id illis concederemus. Qui petitioni illorum annuentes, concessimus viro honorabili & forti, Hugoni Willbeo, & alijs qui cum eo sunt seruis nostris fidis & charis, vt pro sua voluntate, in regiones eis prius incognitas eant, quæsituri ea quibus nos caremus, & adducant illis ex nostris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis & nobis commodum inde accedat, sitq; amicitia perpetua, & fœdus indissolubile inter illos & nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus superabundant in regnis suis, & nos concedemus illis ex regnis nostris res, quibus destituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges & Principes, & omnes quibus aliqua est potestas in terra, vt viris istis nostris, transitum permittatis per regiones vestras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus vestris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quòd homines & ipsi sunt. Et si qua re caruerint, oramus pro vestra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicissim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cuperetis vt nos, & subditi nostri, nos gereremus erga seruos vestros, si quando transierint per regiones nostras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo, terra & mari continentur, pérq; vitam nostram, & tranquillitatem regnorum, nostrorum, nos pari benignitate seruos vestros accepturos, si ad regna nostra aliquando venerint. Atque à nobis & subditis nostris, ac si nati fuissent in regnis nostris ita benignè tractabuntur, vt rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam nostris exhibueritis. Postquam vos Reges, Principes, &c. rogauimus, vt humanitate & beneficentia omni prosequamini seruos nostros nobis charos, oramus

oramus omnipotentem Deum nostrum, vt vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur, & pacem quæ nullam habeat finem. Scriptum Londini, quæ ciuitas est primaria regni nostri, Anno 5515. à creato mundo, mense Iair, 14. die mensis, anno septimo regni nostri.

The copie of the letters missiue, which the right noble Prince Edward the sixt sent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting the Northeast partes of the worlde, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay, at such time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their company attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Christ 1553. and the seuenth and last yeere of his raigne.

EDward the sixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Iudges, and gouernours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent dignitie on the same, in all places vnder the vniuersall heauen: peace, tranquillitie, and honour be vnto you, and your lands and regions, which are vnder your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

Forasmuch as the great and Almightie God hath giuen vnto mankinde, aboue all other liuing creatures, such an heart and desire, that euery man desireth to ioine friendship with other, to loue, and be loued, also to giue and receiue mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially to shew this good affection to such, as beeing moued with this desire, come vnto them from farre countreis. For how much the longer voyage they haue attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby declare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the examples of our fathers and predecessors doe inuite vs hereunto, forasmuch as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated such as of friendly mind came to them, aswell from Countries neare hand, as farre remote, commending themselues to their protection. And if it be right and equity, to shew such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse the same ought chiefly to be shewed to marchants, who wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable things, as are found in their Countries, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the same, such things as they find there commodious for their owne Countries: both aswell that the people, to whom they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities as their Countries bring not foorth to them, as that also they may be partakers of such things, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen and earth greatly prouiding for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the ende that one should haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendship might be established among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all. For the establishing and furtherance of which vniuersall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, mooued heereunto by the said desire, haue instituted and taken vpon them a voyage by sea into farre Countreis, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may bee opened to bring in, and cary out marchandises, desiring vs to further their enterprise. Who assenting to their petition, haue licensed the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our trusty and faithfull seruants, which are with him, according to their desire, to goe to countreis to them heeretofore vnknowen, aswell to seeke such things as we lacke, as also to cary vnto them from our regions, such things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them & vs, but also an indissoluble and perpetuall league of friendship be established betweene vs both, while they permit vs to take of their things, such whereof they haue abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We therefore desire you kings & princes, and al other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit vnto these our seruants free passage by your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of yours unwilling vnto you. Consider you that they also are men. If therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiuing againe of them such things as they shall bee able to giue you

in recompense. Shew your selues so towards them, as you would that we and our subiects should shewe ourselues towards your seruants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in heauen, earth, and the Sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your seruants, if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as friendly and gentily bee entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompence the fauour and benignitie which you haue shewed to our men. Thus after we haue desired you Kings and princes, &c. with all humanity and fauour, to entertaine our welbeloued seruants, we will pray our Almighty God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which neuer shall haue ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world, 5515. in the moneth of Iiar, the fourteenth day of the moneth, and seuenth yeere of our reigne.

Iiar, I would reade Mair, that is, in the Saxon language, mist of Turkish and Aegyptian, February, interpreted by them the moneth to set ships to the sea.

This letter was written also in Greeke, and diuers others languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, to wit, the Speranza, which wintered in Lappia, Where sir Hugh Willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.

The voiage intended for the discouerie of Cathay, and diuers other regions, dominions, Islands, and places vnknowen, set forth by the right worshipful, master Sebastian Cabota Esquire, and Gouernour of the mysterie and company of the Marchants Aduenturers of the citie of London: which fleete being furnished, did set forth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the seuenth yeere of our most dread Soueraigne Lord, and King, Edward the sixt.

The names of the shippes of the fleete and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counsellors, Pilot Maior, Masters of the ships, Marchants, with other officers, and Mariners, as hereafter followeth.

The first ship. The Bona Esperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine generall of the fleete.
William Gefferson, Master of the shippe.
Roger Wilson, his Mate.
William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, Iohn Andrews, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralph Chatterton, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome, and vse of the Seas,
Iohn Brooke, Master Gunner.
Nicholas Anthony, Boateswaine.
Iohn Web, his Mate.
Christopher Banbrucke, Thomas Dauison, Robert Rosse, Thomas Simpson, quarter Masters.
William White, Iames Smith, Thomas Painter, Iohn Smith, their Mates.
Richard Gwinne, George Goiswine, Carpenters.
Robert Gwinne, Purser.
Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.
Richard Morgan, Cooke.
Thomas Nashe, his Mate.
William Light, Iohn Brande, Cutbert Chelsie, George Blage, Thomas Walker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, Iohn Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.
Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwich.
Discharged at Harwich, by reason of sicknes, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony.
For pickerie ducked at the yards arme, and so discharged Thomas Nash.

The second ship. The Edward Bonauenture, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Richard

Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot maior of the fleete.
Stephen Borowgh, Master of the ship.
John Buckland, his Mate.
George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.
John Stafford, Minister. John Stafford Minister.
James Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, John Segswike, Thomas Francis, John Hasse, Richard Iohnson, William Kempe.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome and vse of the Seas.
Robert Stanton, Master Gunner.
John Walker, his Mate.
James Long, John Cocks, Gunners.
Thomas Walter, Surgeon.
Peter Palmer, Boateswaine.
Richard Strowde, his Mate.
John Robinson, Iohn Carowe, Thomas Stone, Roger Lishbie, quarter Masters.
John Austen, Steward: Patricke Steuens, his Mate.
Austen Iacks, Cooke.
William Euery, Cowper.
Griffin Wagham, Carpenter.
Thomas Steltson, Thomas Townes, John Robinson, John White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, Iohn Browne, William Morren, William Watson, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterson, William Beare, Iohn Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrough, Roger Welford, Iohn Williams.

M. William Borrough sower comptroller of her Maiesties nauie. The third ship.
The Bona Confidentia of 90. tunnes, hauing with her pinnesse, and a boate.
Cornelius Durfoorth, Master of the shippe,
Richard Ingram, his Mate.
Thomas Langlie, Edward Keuer, Henrie Dorset, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the vse and custome of the Sea.
Henrie Tailer, Master Gunner.
George Thurland, his Mate.
William Hamane, Boateswaine.
Iohn Edwards, his Mate.
Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenson, John Haye, William Shepwash, quarter Masters.
John Reyne, Steward.
Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Lassie, his Mate.
Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.
Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, John Moore, William Chapman, Brian Chester, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibson, Iohn Clarocke, Erasmus Bently, John Duriforth.

The Iuramentum, or othe, ministred to the Captaine.

YOu shall sweare to be a faithful, true, and loyal subiect in all points, and duties, that to a subiect appertaineth, to our soueraigne Lord the kings Maiestie, his heires, and successors: and that you shall wel and truely to the vttermost of your capacitie, wit, & knowledge, serue this present voiage, committed to your charge, and not to giue vp nor sooner intermit the same, vntil you shall haue atchieued the same, so farre foorth, as you may without danger of your life, and losse of the fleete: you shall giue good, true and faithful counsell to the said societie, and to such as shal haue the charge with or vnder you, and not to disclose the secrets, or priuities of the same to any person by any maner of meane, to the preiudice, hurt, or damage of it. You shal minister iustice to all men vnder your charge, without respect of person, or any affection, that might moue you to decline from the true ministration of iustice. And further, you shal obserue, and cause to be obserued, as much as in you lieth, all and singular rules, articles, prouisions hitherto made, or hereafter to be made for the preseruation or safeconduct of the

fleete and voyage, and benefit of the company. You shall not permit nor suffer the stocke or goods of the company to be wasted, imbezeled, or consumed, but shall conserue the same wholē and entire, without diminishment, vntill you shall haue deliuered, or cause to be deliuered the same, to the vse of the companie. And finally you shall vse your selfe in all points, sorts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this companie shall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe ministred to the Maister of the ship, &c.

YOu shall sweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according and to the vttermost of your knowledge and good vnderstanding in mariners science and craft, shall in your vocation doe your best to conduct the good shippe called the N. &c. whereof you nowe are Maister vnder God, both vnto and from the portes of your discouerie, and so vse your indeuour and faithfull diligence, in charging, discharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the same shippe, as may be most for the benefite and profite of this right woorshipfull fellowship: and you shall not priuately bargein, buy, sell, exchange, barter, or distribute any goods, wares, merchandise, or things whatsoeuer (necessary tackles and victuals for the shippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the priuate lucre, gaine, or profit of any other person or persons whatsoeuer. And further, If you shall know any boatswaine, mariner, or any other person or persons whatsoeuer, to buy, sell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, marchandises, or things for priuate account, reckoning, or behalfe, you shall doe your best to withstand and let the same: and if you cannot commodiously so doe, that then before the discharge of such goods bought for priuat account, you shal giue knowledge therof to the cape marchant of this said fellowship for the time being. And you shal not receiue nor take, nor suffer to be receiued or taken into your said ship during this voyage any maner person or persons whatsoeuer, going or returning, but onely those mariners which without fraud or guile shall be hired to be of your company, and to serue in mariners craft and science onely: So helpe you God, &c.

These foresaid shippes being fully furni-shed with their pinnesses and boates, well appointed with al maner of artillerie, and other things necessary for their defence with al the men aforesaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and valed vnto Detford, the 10. day of May, 1553.

The 11. day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detford, passing by Greenwhich, saluting the kings Maiesty then being there, shooting off our ordinance, & so valed vnto Blackwall, and there remained vntil the 17. day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackwall, and came to Woolwhich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and so the same night vnto Heyreth.

The 18. day from Heyreth vnto Grauesend, and their remained vntil the twentieth day: that day being Saterday, from Grauesend vnto Tilberie hope, remayning there vntill the two
May. and twentieth day.

The 22. day from Tilbury Hope to Hollie Hauen.

The 23. day from Hollie Hauen, till we came against Lee, and there remained that night, by reason that the winde was contrary to vs.

The 24. day the winde being in the Southwest in the morning, we sailed along the coast ouer the Spits, vntill we came against S. Osyth, about sixe of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25. day about tenne of the clocke we departed from S. Osyth, and so sailed forward vnto the Nase, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26. day at fiue of the clock in the morning, we weyed our anker, and sailed ouer the Nase, the winde being at the Southwest, vntill wee came to Orwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there vntill the 28. day.

The same day being Trinitie Sunday about 7. of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers, and sailed til we came athwart Walsurs-ye, and there came to an anker.

The 29. day from thence to Holmehead, where we stayed that day, where we consulted which

which way, and what courses were best to be holden for the discouerie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30. day of May at fiue of the clocke in the morning wee set saile, and came against Yermouth about three leagues into the sea, riding there at anker all that night.

The last of May into the sea sixe leagues Northeast, and there taried that night, where the winde blew very sore.

The first of Iune the winde being at North contrary to vs, wee came backe againe to Orwell, and remained there vntill the 15. day tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpose. Iune.

The 15 day being at Orwel in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning wee weyed our ankers, and went forth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we set forward, and sayled vntill we came athwart Alburrough, and there stayed that night.

The 17 day about fiue of the clocke before noone we went backe vnto Orfordnesse, and there remained vntill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Orwel, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of Iune the wind being faire in the Southwest we hailed into the seas to Orfordnesse, and from thence into the seas ten leagues Northeast: then being past the sands, we changed our course sixe leagues Northnortheast: about midnight we changed our course againe, and went due North, continuing in the same vnto the 27 day.

The 27 day about seuen of the clocke Northnorthwest 42 leagues to the ende to fall with Shotland: then the wind veared to the West, so that we could lie but North and by West, continuing in the same course 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we sayled North 16 leagues by estimation, after that North and by West, & Northnorthwest, then Southeast, with diuers other courses, trauersing and tracing the seas, by reason of sundry and manifolde contrary windes, vntill the 14 day of Iuly: and then the sunne entring into Leo, we discouered land Eastward of vs, vnto the which we sayled that night as much as we might: and after wee went on shore with our Pinnesse, & found little houses to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we iudged, for feare of vs. Iuly.

The land was all full of little Islands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Orfordnesse North and by East, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The distance betweene Orfordnesse and Ægeland 250 leagues. Then we sailed from thence 12 leagues Northwest, and found many other Islandes, and there came to anker the 19 day, and manned our Pinnesse, and went on shore to the Islands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the shore and welcomed vs. In which place were an innumerable sort of Islands, which were called the Isles of Rost, being vnder the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minutes. The winde being contrary, we remayned there three dayes, & there was an innumerable sort of foules of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many. In this land dwelt Oother as it seemeth. Rost Islands.

The 22 day the winde comming fayre, we departed from Rost, sailing Northnortheast, keeping the sea vntill the 27 day, and then we drew neere vnto the land, which was still East of vs: then went forth our Pinnesse to seeke harborow, & found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our shippes, which was called Stanfew, and the land being Islands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also vnder the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there vntil the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the foresaid Rost about 30 leagues Northnortheast. Stanfew harbor. Lofoot.

The 30 day of Iuly about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Islands Northnortheast, keeping the land still in sight vntill the second day of August:

Augus. August: then hailing in close aboord the land, to the entent to knowe what land it was, there came a skiffe of the island aboord of vs, of whom we asked many questions, who shewed vnto vs, that the Island was called Seynam, which is the latitude of seuenty degrees, and from Stanfew thirtie leagues, being also vnder the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandise there, but onely dryed fish, and traine oyle. Then we being purposed to goe vnto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might haue a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, & he said, that if we could beare in, we should haue a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, vnto the wardhouse, which is the strongest holde in Finmarke, and most resorted to by report. But when wee would haue entred into an harbour, the land being very high on euery side, there came such flawes of winde and terrible whirlewinds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea agayne, our Pinnesse being vnshipt: we sailed North and by East, the wind increasing so sore that we were not able to beare any saile, but tooke them in, and lay a drift, to the end to let the storme ouer passe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickenesse of mists, we were not able to keepe together within sight, and then about midnight we lost our pinnesse, which was a discomfort vnto vs. Assoone as it was day, and the fogge ouerpast, we looked about, and at the last we descried one of our shippes to Leeward of vs: then we spred an hallocke of our foresaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not see. Then the flaw something abating, we and the Confidence hoysed vp our sailes the fourth day, sayling Northeast and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouse, as we did consult to doe before, in case we should part company. Thus running Northeast and by North, and Northeast fiftie leagues, then we sounded, and had 160 fadomes, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceiued that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherfore we changed our course the sixt day, and sailed Southeast and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouse.

Seynam in 70 degrees.

The eight day much winde ri-sing at the Westnorthwest, we not knowing how the coast lay, strook our sayles, and lay a drift, where we sounded and found 160 fadomes as afore.

The ninth day, the wind vearing to the South Southeast, we sailed Northeast 25 leagues.

The tenth day we sounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could see any land, wherat we wondered: then the wind comming at the Northeast, we ran Southeast about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the wind being at South, we sounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire sand.

The 12 day the winde being at South and by East, we lay with our saile East, and East and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day early in the morning we descried land, which land we bare with all, hoising out our boat to discouer what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was so shoale, where was very much ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam East and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

Willoughbie his land, in 72 degrees.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeast, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and stocked, we thought it good to seeke harbour for her redresse: then we bare roome the 18 day Southsoutheast, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we sounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we sounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, so shoalder and shoalder water, and yet could see no land, where we marueiled greatly: to auoide this danger, we bare roomer into the sea all that night Northwest and by West

The next day we sounded, and had 20. fadoms, then shaped our course, and ran West Southwest vntill the 23. day: then we descried Low land, vnto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then we plyed Westward along by that lande, which lyeth West Southwest, and East Northeast, and much winde blowing at the West, we haled into the sea North and by East 30. leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeast, we sailed West Northwest: after that, the winde bearing to the Northwest, we lay with our sailes West southwest, about 14. leagues, and then descried land, and bare in with it,

it, being the 28. day, finding shoale water, and bare in till we came to 3. fadome, then perceiuing it to be shoale water, and also seeing drie sands, we haled out againe Northeast along that land vntill we came to the point therof. That land turning to the Westwarde, we ran along 16. leagues Northwest: then comming into a faire bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was vnhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had bin there, by crosses, and other signes: from thence we went all along the coast Westward.

The fourth day of September we lost sight of land, by reason of contrary winds, and the eight day we descried land againe. Within two dayes after we lost the sight of it: then running West and by South about 30. leagues, we gat the sight of land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to be a lee shore, we gat vs into the sea, to the end to haue sea roome. September.

The 12. of September we hailed to shoareward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the shoare, and the tide almost spent, we came to an anker in 30. fadoms water.

The 13. day we came along the coast, which lay Northwest and by West, and Southeast and by East.

The 14. day we came to an anker within two leagues of the shoare, hauing 60. fadoms.

There we went a shore with our boat, & found two or three good harboroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The 15 day we ran still along the coast vntill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary vnto vs, we thought it best to returne vnto the harbor which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit we could not accöplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the Hauen, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This hauen runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many seale fishes, & other great fishes, and vpon the maine we saw beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers strange beasts, as ‖ guloines, and such other which were to vs vnknowen, and also wonderfull. Thus remaining in this hauen the space of a weeke, seeing the yeare farre spent, & also very euill wether, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had beene the deepe of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men Southsouthwest, to search if they could find people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure daies iourney, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes iourney, who in like sorte returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

In this hauen they died.

‖ Or, Ellous.

Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his owne hand.

These two notes following were written vpon the outside of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughby after he was separated from the Edward Bonauenture.

2 Our shippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Island Lofoote.

The riuer or hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere vnto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ship that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and most of the company were aliue in Ianuary 1554.

The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of Russia, and Duke of Muscouia, and of the dominions orders and commodities thereunto belonging: drawen by Richard Chancelour.

Forasmuch as it is meete and necessary for all those that minde to take in hande the trauell into farre or strange countreys, to endeuour themselues not onely to vnderstande the orders, commodities, and fruitfulnesse thereof, but also to applie them to the setting foorth of the same, whereby it may incourage others to the like trauaile: therefore haue I nowe thought good to make a briefe rehearsall of the orders of this my trauaile in Russia and Moscouia, and other countreys thereunto adioyning; because it was my chaunce to fall with the North

North partes of Russia before I came towards Moscouia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein: Russia is very plentifull both of land and people, and also wealthy for such commodities as they haue. They be very great fishers for Salmons and small Coddes: they haue much oyle which wee call treine oyle, the most whereof is made by a riuer called ‖ Duina. They make it in other places, but not so much as there. They haue also a great trade in seething of salte water. To the North parte of that countrey are the places where they haue their Furres, as Sables, marterns, greese Beuers, Foxes white, blacke, and redde, Minkes, Ermines, Miniuer, and Harts. There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called a Morsse. The takers thereof dwell in a place called Postesora, which bring them vpon Hartes to Lampas to sell, and from Lampas carie them to a place called Colmogro, where the hie market is holden on Saint Nicholas day. To the West of Colmogro there is a place called Gratanowe, in our language Nouogorode, where much fine flaxe and Hempe groweth, and also much waxe and honie. The Dutch marchants haue a Staplehouse there. There is also great store of hides, and at a place called Plesco: and thereabout is great store of Flaxe, Hempe, Waxe, Honie: and that towne is from Colmogro 120. miles.

‖ Duyna.

Note.

There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallowe, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not so great plenty as is in Gratanoue. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a riuer called Duyna, and from thence it falleth into the sea. Colmogro seruеth Gratanowe, Vologda and the Mosco with all the countrey thereabout with salte and salifish. From Vologda to Ieraslaue is two hundreth miles: which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are hides, and tallowe, and corne in great plenty, and some Waxe, but not so plentifull as in other places.

The Mosco is from Ieraslaue two hundreth miles. The countrey betwixt them is very wel replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with corne which they carie to the citie of Mosco in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meete in a morning seuen or eight hundred sleds comming or going thither, that carrie corne, and some carie fish. You shall haue some that carie corne to the Mosco, and some that fetch corne from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off; and all their cariage is on sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North partes of the Dukes dominions, where the cold will suffer no corne to grow, it is so extreme. They bring thither fishes, furres, and beastes skinnes. In those partes they haue but small store of cattell.

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eighteene foote thicke, but I doe not beleeue it, it doth not so seeme, notwithstanding I doe not certainely know it: for no stranger may come to viewe it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a riuer called Moscua which runneth into Tartarie and so into the sea called Mare Caspium: and on the North side there is a base towne, the which hath also a bricke wall about it, and so it ioyneth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the castle, wherein are nine fayre Churches, and therin are religious men. Also there is a Metropolitane with diuers Bishops. I will not stande in description of their buildinges nor of the strength thereof because we haue better in all points in England. They be well furnished with ordinance of all sortes.

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I haue seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the olde building of England, with small windowes, and so in other poynts.

Now to declare my comming before his Maiestie: After I had remained twelue daies, the Secretary which hath the hearing of strangers did send for me, aduertising me that the Dukes pleasure was to haue me to come before his Ma. with the kings my masters letters: whereof I was right glad, and so I gaue mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the interpretour came for me into the vtter chamber, where sate one hundred or moe gentlemen, all in cloth of golde very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsaile chamber,

chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they sate round about the chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his nobles in a chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten golde, with an emperial crowne vpon his head, and a staffe of Cristall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his chaire. The Chancelour stoode vp with the Secretary before the Duke. After my dutie done and my letter deliuered, he bade me welcome, & enquired of me the health of the King my master, and I answered that he was in good health at my departure from his court, and that my trust was that he was now in the same. Vpon the which he bade me to dinner. The chancelour presented my present vnto his Grace bareheaded (for before they were all couered) and when his Grace had receiued my letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to me. So I departed vnto the Secretaries chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for agayne vnto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I haue seene many fayrer then it in all poynts: and so I came into the hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Maiesties of England, and the table was couered with a tablecloth; and the Marshall sate at the ende of the table with a little white rod in his hand, which boorde was full of vessell of golde: and on the other side of the hall did stand a faire cupborde of plate. From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his table without cloth of estate, in a gowne of siluer, with a crowne emperiall vpon his head, he sate in a chaire somewhat hie: There sate none neare him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stoode were higher by two steppes then the rest of the house. In the middest of the chamber stoode a table or cuphord to set plate on; which stoode full of cuppes of golde: and amongst all the rest there stoode foure marueilous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and siluer: I thinke they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. By the cupborde stoode two gentlemen with napkins on their shoulders, and in their handes each of them had a cuppe of gold set with pearles and precious stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking cups. when he was disposed, he drunke them off at a draught. And for his seruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich seruice, for all were serued in gold, not onely he himselfe, but also all the rest of vs, and it was very massie: the cups also were of golde and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were serued in golden vessell. The gentlemen that waited were all in cloth of gold, and they serued him with their cups on their heads. Before the seruice came in, the Duke sent to euery man a great shiuer of bread, and the bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and sayd, Iohn Basiliuich Emperour of Russia and great Duke of Moscouia doth reward thee with bread: then must all men stand vp, and doe at all times when those wordes are spoken. And then last of all he giueth the Marshall bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and so doth reuerence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes seruice of the Swannes all in pieces, and euery one in a seuerall dish: the which the Duke sendeth as he did the bread, and the bearer sayth the same wordes as he sayd before. And as I sayd before, the seruice of his meate is in no order, but commeth in dish by dish: and then after that the Duke sendeth drinke, with the like saying as before is tolde. Also before dinner hee changed his crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; so that I saw three seuerall crownes vpon his head in one day. And thus when his seruice was all come in he gaue to euery one of his gentlemen waiters meate with his owne hand, & so likewise drinke. His intent thereby is, as I haue heard, that euery man shall know perfectly his seruants. Thus when dinner is done hee calleth his nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare howe he could name them, hauing so many as he hath. Thus when dinner was done I departed to my lodging, which was an hower within night. I will leaue this, and speake no more of him nor his household: but I will somewhat declare of his land and people, with their nature and power in the wars. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countreis, & his power is marueilous great. For he is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thousand men: he neuer

goeth into the field himselfe with vnder two hundred thousand men: And when he goeth himselfe he furnisheth his borders all with men of warre, which are no small number. He leaueth on the borders of Liefland fortie thousand men, and vpon the borders of Letto 60 thousand men, and towarde the Nagayan Tartars sixtie thousand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doeth hee neuer take to his warres neither husbandman nor marchant. All his men are horsemen: he vseth no footmen, but such as goe with the ordinance and labourers, which are thirtie thousand. The horsemen are all archers, with such bowes as the Turkes haue, and they ride short as doe the Turkes. Their armour is a coate of plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their coates are couered with veluet or cloth of gold: their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the nobles and gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I haue seene it, or else I would scarcely haue beleeued it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attired aboue all measure: his pauilion is couered either with cloth of gold or siluer, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I haue seene the Kings Maiesties of England and the French Kings pauilions, which are fayre, yet not like vnto his. And when they bee sent into farre or strange countreys, or that strangers come to them, they be very gorgious. Els the Duke himselfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when he goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reasonably apparelled ouer other times. In the while that I was in Mosco the Duke sent two ambassadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the lest fiue hundred horses; their sumptuousnes was aboue measure, not onely in themselues, but also in their horses, as veluet, cloth of golde, and cloth of siluer set with pearles and not scant. What shall I farther say? I neuer heard of nor saw men so sumptuous: but it is no dayly guise, for when they haue not occasion, as I sayd before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their warres: They are men without al order in the field. For they runne hurling on heapes, and for the most part they neuer giue battell to their enemies: but that which they doe, they doe it all by stelth. But I beleeue they be such men for hard liuing as are not vnder the sun: for no cold wil hurt them. Yea and though they lie in the field two moneths, at such time as it shall freese more then a yard thicke, the common souldier hath neither tent nor any thing else ouer his head: the most defence they haue against the wether is a felte, which is set against the winde and weather, and when Snowe commeth hee doth cast it off, and maketh him a fire, and laieth him down thereby. Thus doe the most of all his men, except they bee gentlemen which haue other prouision of their owne. Their lying in the fielde is not so strange as is their hardnes: for euery man must carie & make prouision for himselfe & his horse for a moneth or two, which is very wonderful. For he himselfe shall liue vpon water & otemeale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his horse shal eat green wood, & such like baggage, & shall stand open in the cold field without couert, & yet wil he labour & serue him right wel. I pray you amongst all our boasting warriours how many should we find to endure the field with the but one moneth. I know no such region about vs that beareth that name for man & beast. Now what might be made of these men if they were trained & broken to order and knowledge of ciuill wars? If this Prince had within his countreys such men as could make the to vnderstand ȳ things aforesaid, I do beleeue that 2 of the best or greatest princes in Christendome were not wel able to match with him, cõsidering the greatnes of his power & the hardnes of his people & straite liuing both of people and horse, and the small charges which his warres stand him in: for he giueth no wages, except to strangers. They haue a yerely stipend & not much. As for his own countrey men euery one serueth of his owne proper costes and charges, sauing that he giueth to his Harcubusiers certaine allowance for powder & shot: or else no man in all his countrey hath one pennie wages. But if any man hath done very good seruice he giueth him a ferme or a piece of lande; for the which hee is bound at all times to bee readie with so many men as the Duke shall appoynt: who considereth in his mind what that lande or ferme is well able to finde: and so many shall he bee bound to furnish at all and euery such time as warres are holden in any of the Dukes dominions. For there is no man of liuing, but hee is bound likewise, whether the Duke call for either souldier or labourer, to furnish them with all such necessaries as to them belong.

Also

Also, if any gentleman or man of liuing do die without issue male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his land, notwithstanding he haue neuer so many daughters, and peraduenture giueth it foorthwith to another man, except a small portion that he spareth to marrie the daughters with all. Also if there be a rich man, a fermour, or man of liuing, which is striken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke seruice, some other gentleman that is not able to liue and more able to doe seruice, will come to the Duke and complayne, saying, your Grace hath such an one, which is vnmeete to doe seruice to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of welth, and likewise your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke liuing, and we that lacke are well able to doe good seruice, your grace might doe well to looke vpon him, and make him to helpe those that want. Immediately the Duke sendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be so proued, he shall be called before the Duke, and it shall bee sayd vnto him, friend, you haue too much liuing, and are vnseruiceable to your prince, lesse will serue you, and the rest will serue other men that are more able to serue, whereupon immediately his liuing shal be taken away from him, sauing a little to find himselfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for answere he will say, that he hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot say, as we the common people in England say, if wee haue any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. Men may say, that these men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one must giue and grant his goods which he hath bene scraping and scratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleasure and commandement. Oh that our sturdie rebels were had in the like subiection to knowe their duety towarde their Princes. They may not say as some snudges in England say, I would find the Queene a man to serue in my place, or make his friends tarrie at home if money haue the vpper hand. No, no, it is not so in this countrey: for hee shall make humble sute to serue the Duke. And whom he sendeth most to the warres he thinketh he is most in his fauour: and yet as I before haue sayde, hee giueth no wages. If they knewe their strength no man were able to make match with them: nor they that dwel neere them should haue any rest of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young horse that knoweth not his strength: whome a little childe ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great strength: for if hee did, neither childe nor man could rule him. Their warres are holden against the Crimme Tartarians and the Nagaians.

I will stand no longer in the rehearsall of their power and warres. For it were too tedious to the reader. But I will in part declare their lawes, and punishments, and the execution of iustice. And first I will begin with the commons of the countrey, which the gentlemen haue rule on: And that is, that euery gentleman hath rule and iustice vpon his owne tenants. And if it so fall out that two gentlemens seruants or tenaunts doe disagree, the two gentlemen examine the matter, and haue the parties before them, and soe giue the sentence. And yet cannot they make the ende betwixt them of the controuersie, but either of the gentlemen must bring his seruant or tenant before the high iudge or iustice of that countrey, and there present them, and declare the matter and case. The plaintife sayth, I require the law: which is graunted: then commeth an officer and arresteth the party defendant, and vseth him contrarie to the lawes of England. For when they attach any man they beate him about the legges, vntill such time as he findeth suerties to answere the matter: And if not, his handes and necke are bound together, and he is led about the towne and beaten about the legges, with other extreme punishments till he come to his answere: And the Iustice demaundeth if it be for debt, and sayth: Owest thou this man any such debt? He will perhaps say nay. Then sayth the Iudge: art thou able to denie it? Let vs heare how? By othe sayth the defendant. Then he commandeth to leaue beating him till further triall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They haue no man of Lawe to pleade their causes in any court: but euery man pleadeth his owne cause, and giueth bill and answere, in writing; contrarie to the order in England. The complaint is in maner of a supplication, & made to the Dukes grace, and deliuered him into his owne hand, requiring to haue iustice as in his complaint is alleaged.

The duke giueth sentence himselfe vpon all matters in the Law. Which is very cõmendable, that such a Prince wil take paines to see ministration of iustice. Yet notwithstanding it is wonderfully abused: and thereby the Duke is much deceiued. But if it fall out that the officers be espied in cloking the trueth, they haue most condigne punishment. And if the plaintife can nothing prooue, then the defendant must take his oth vpon the crucifixe whether he be in the right or no. Then is demanded if the plaintife be any thing able further to make proofe: if hee bee not; then sometimes he will say, I am able to prooue it by my body and hands, or by my champions body, so requiring the Campe. After the other hath his othe, it is graunted aswell to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they sweare vpon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the trueth before they depart foorth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they vse in that countrey: they fight all on foote, & seldome the parties themselues do fight, except they be Gentlemen, for they stand much vpon their reputation, for they wil not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselues. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted vnto them, and no champion is to serue in their roome: wherein is no deceit: but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great othes vpon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrary often seene: because the common champions haue none other liuing. And assoone as the one party hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carried to prison, and there is shamefully vsed till he take order. There is also another order in the lawe, that the plaintife may sweare in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant be poore, he shalbe set vnder the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintife must sweare oner his head, and when hee hath taken his othe, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and vseth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hier to any such as neede him, vntill such time as his friends make prouision for his redemption: or else hee remaineth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe there are many that will sell themselues to Gentlemen or Marchants to bee their bond-men, to haue during their life meate, drinke and cloth, and at their comming to haue a piece of mony, yea and some will sell their wiues and children to bee bawdes and drudges to the byer. Also they haue a Lawe for Fellons and Pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there he shall remaine vntill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purse, as there be very many, the second time he is taken, he hath a piece of his nose cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in prison till hee finde sureties for his good behauiour. And if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time he is extremely punished and not released, except hee haue very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to haue him to the warres: And in so doing, he shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they be naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreme beating did bridle them. They be naturally giuen to hard liuing aswell in fare as in lodging. I heard a Russian say, that if was a great deale merrier liuing in prison then foorth, but for the great beating. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and liue most miserably: for I haue seene them eate the pickle of Hearring and other stinking fish: nor the fish cannot be so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to be more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there be no such people vnder the sunne for their hardnesse of liuing. Well, I will leaue them in this poynt, and will in part declare their Religion. They doe obserue the lawe of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They haue no grauen images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they vse such idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any image that is made forth of their owne countrey. For their owne images (say they) haue pictures to declare what they be, and howe they be

of

of God, and so be not ours: They say, Looke how the Painter or Carner hath made them, so we doe worship them, and they worship none before they be Christened. They say we be but halfe Christians: because we obserue not part of the olde law with the Turks. Therefore they call themselues more holy then vs. They haue none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their countrey among them. All their seruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the olde and newe Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they haue such tricks in their reading, that no man can vnderstand them, nor no man giueth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at seruice no man sitteth, but gagle and ducke like so many Geese. And as for their prayers they haue but little skill, but vse to say *Ar bodi pomele*: As much to say, Lord haue mercy vpon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creede, no man may be so bolde as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it shoulde not bee spoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Comandements, and they wil say they were giuen to Moses in the law, which Christ hath nowe abrogated by his precious death and passion: therefore, (say they) we obserue little or none thereof. And I doe beleeue them. For if they were examined of their Lawe and Commaundements together, they shoulde agree but in fewe poynts. They haue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then wee haue. They present them in a dish in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the Church vpon the Priestes head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They be great offerers of Candles, and sometimes of money, which wee call in England, Soule pense, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare. They haue foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as we doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. Howbeit I beleeue there bee in no other countrey the like people for drunkennesse. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie sunday, and endeth on Saint Peters euen. If they should breake that fast, their beliefe is, that they should not come in at heauen gates. And when any of them die, they haue a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to heauen gates it may deliuer the same to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Russian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Eeuen. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Christmas Eeuen: which Lent is fasted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure be the principall and greatest Saints in that countrey. In these Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheese; but they are very straitely kept with Fish, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they obserue truely the Wednesdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate flesh. Furthermore they haue a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monks, and they eate no flesh throughout the yeere, but fish, milke and Butter. By their order they should eate no fresh-fish, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, salt Cowcumbers, with other rootes, as Radish and such like. Their drinke is like our peny Ale, and is called Quass. They haue seruice daily in their Churches; and vse to goe to seruice two houres before day; and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse: that ended, to dinner: and after that to seruice againe: and then to supper. You shall vnderstand that at euery dinner and supper they haue declared the exposition of the Gospel that day: but howe they wrest and twine the Scripture and that together by report it is wonderfull. As for whoredome and drunkennesse there be none such liuing: and for extortion, they be the most abhominable vnder the sunne. Nowe iudge of their holinesse. They haue twise as much land as the Duke himselfe hath: but yet he is reasonable eeuen with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and simple, he hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of their houses dieth, then the Duke hath all his goods moueable and vnmoueable: so that the successour buieth all at the

Dukes

Dukes hands: and by this meane they be the best Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an ende, trusting hereafter to know it better.

To the right worshipfull and my singular good Vncle, Master Christopher Frothingham, giue these.

Sir, Reade and correct:
For great is the defect.

The Testimonie of M. Richard Eden in his decades, concerning the Booke following.

AND whereas (saith he) I haue before made mention howe Moscouie was in our time discouered by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebastian Cabota, who long before had this secret in his minde: I shall not neede here to describe that voyage, forasmuch as the same is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned yong man Clement Adams, schoolemaster to the Queenes henshmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of the said Richard Chanceler.

The newe Nauigation and discouerie of the kingdome of Moscouia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553: Enterprised by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chancelor Pilot maior of the voyage: Written in Latine by Clement Adams.

Vpon what occasions, and by whom this voyage was set out, and of the discouerie of Moscouie by the North.

AT what time our Marchants perceiued the commodities and wares of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about vs, and neere vnto vs, and that those Marchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncesters did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by vs carried to their owne portes, and all forreine Marchandises in great accompt, and their prises wonderfully raised: certaine graue Citizens of London, and men of great wisedome, and carefull for the good of their Countrey, began to thinke with themselues, howe this mischiefe might bee remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the auoyding of so great an inconuenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the discouerie and search of newe trades and Countreys was marueilously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolued vpon a newe and strange Nauigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowmed, happened to bee in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discouerie of the Northerne part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for trauaile to newe and vnknowen kingdomes.

3. Ships furnished for the discouerie.

And whereas many things seemed necessary to bee regarded in this so hard and difficult a matter, they first make choyse of certaine graue and wise persons in maner of a Senate or companie, which should lay their heads together, and giue their iudgements, and prouide things requisite and profitable for all occasions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money should publiquely bee collected to serue for the furnishing of so many shippes. And lest any priuate man should bee too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken, that euery man willing to be of the societie, should disburse the portion of twentie and fiue pounds a piece: so that in short time by this meanes the summe of sixe thousand pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought, the most part whereof they prouided to be newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wote not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights: for the Marchants, they get very strong and well seasoned plankes for the building, the Shippewrights, they with daily trauaile, and their greatest skill doe fitte them for the dispatch of the shippes: they calke them, pitch them, and among the rest, they make one most stanch and firme, by an excellent and ingenious inuention. For they had heard that in certaine parts of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is bredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest

oake

oake that is: and therfore that the Mariners, and the rest to bee imployed in this voyage might bee free and safe from this danger, they couer a piece of the keele of the shippe with thinne sheetes of leade: and hauing thus built the ships, and furnished them with armour and artillerie, then followed a second care no lesse troublesome and necessarie then the former, namely, the prouision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to haue the East part of the world sayled vnto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the Northren tract, whereas yet it was doubtfull whether there were any passage yea or no, they resolued to victuall the ships for eighteene moneths, which they did for this reason. For our men being to passe that huge and colde part of the world, they wisely foreseeing it, allowe them sixe moneths victuall to saile to the place, so much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and so much more also for the time of their comming home. Prouision of victuals for 18. moneths.

Nowe this prouision being made and caried aboord, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient Captaines and gouernours of so great an enterprise were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and some voyde of experience) offered themselues, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a most valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earnestly requested to haue that care and charge committed vnto him: of whom before all others, both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the services of warre, the company of the Marchants made greatest accompt: so that at the last they concluded and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appoynted to him the Admirall with authoritie and commaund ouer all the rest. And for the gouernement of other ships although diuers men seemed willing, and made offers of themselues thereunto, yet by a common consent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great estimation for many good partes of wit in him, was elected, in whom alone great hope for the performance of this businesse rested. This man was brought vp by one Master Henry Sidney, a noble young Gentleman and very much beloued of King Edward, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent speech or Oration, and spake to them after this maner following. Choice of Captaines and Pilots for Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

My very worshipfull friends, I cannot but greatly commend your present godly and vertuous intention, in the serious enterprising (for the singular loue you beare to your Countrey) a matter, which (I hope) will proone profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours wee also of the Nobilitie are ready to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing so deare and precious vnto vs, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in so commendable a cause. But principally I reioyce in my selfe, that I haue nourished and maintained that witte, which is like by some meanes and in some measure, to profite and steede you in this worthy action. But yet I would not haue you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe now part with Chanceler, not because I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and chargeable vnto mee, but that you might conceiue and vnderstand my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this businesse, and that the authoritie and estimation which hee deserueth may be giuen him. You know the man by report, I by experience, you by wordes, I by deedes, you by speech and companie, but I by the daily triall of his life haue a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are also to remember, into howe many perils for your sakes, and his countreys loue, he is nowe to runne: whereof it is requisite that wee be not vnmindefull, if it please God to send him good successe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: He commits his life (a thing to a man of all things most deare) to the raging Sea, and the vncertainties of many dangers. We shall here liue and rest at home quietly with our friends, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and vnruly Mariners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares shall hee trouble and vexe himselfe? with how many troubles shall he breake himselfe? and howe many disquietings shall hee bee forced to sustaine? We shall keepe our owne coastes and countrey: Hee shall seeke strange and vnknowen kingdomes. He shall Master Henry Sidneys his Oration.

commit

commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the Sea. Wherefore in respect of the greatnesse of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to fauour and loue the man thus departing from vs: and if it fall so happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie also, liberally to reward him.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had deliuered this or some such like speech, much more eloquently then I can possiblie report it, the companie then present beganne one to looke vpon another, one to question and conferre with another: and some (to whom the vertue and sufficiencie of the man was knowen) began secretly to reioyce with themselues, and to conceiue a speciall hope, that the man would prooue in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues already appearing and shining to the world would growe to the great honour and aduancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to some silence, it seemed good to them that were of greatest grauity amongst them, to inquire, search and seeke what might be learned & knowen, concerning the Easterly part or tract of the world. For which cause two Tartarians, which were then of the kings Stable, were sent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be present, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to answere nothing to the purpose: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly said) to tosse pottes, then to learne the states and dispositions of people. But after much adoe and many things passed about this matter, they grewe at last to this issue, to set downe and appoynt a time for the departure of the shippes: because diuers were of opinion, that a great part of the best time of the yere was already spent, and if the delay grewe longer, the way would bee stopt and bard by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought best by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Mariners should take shipping, and depart from Radcliffe vpon the ebbe, if it pleased God. They hauing saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolkes, and another his friends deerer then his kinsfolkes, were present and ready at the day appoynted: and hauing wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily, came first to Greenewich. The greater shippes are towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or skie coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay) presently vpon the newes thereof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke vpon the shoare: the priuie Counsel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the shippes hereupon discharge their Ordinance, and shoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gaue an Eccho, and the Mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stoode in the poope of the ship, and by his gesture bids farewell to his friendes in the best maner hee could. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbes the shrowds, another stands vpon the maine yard, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reason of his sickenesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorowfull accident of his death followed.

They departed from Radcliffe the 20. of May 1553.

But to proceede in the matter.

The shippes going downe with the tyde came at last to Woolwich, where they stayed and cast ancre, with purpose to depart therehence againe, as soone as the turning of the water, and a better winde should drawe them to set saile. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which porte they stayed long, not without great losse and consuming of time: yet at the last with a good winde they hoysed vp saile, and committed themselues to the sea, giuing their last adieu to their natiue Countrey, which they knewe not whether they should euer returne to see againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes back, and could not refraine

fraine from teares, considering into what hazards they were to fall, and what vncertainties of the sea they were to make triall of.

Amongst the rest, Richard Chanceler the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, was not a little grieued with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hoggesheads of wine also leaked, and were not stanch: his naturall and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him his too little sonnes, which were in the case of Orphanes if he speedde not well: the estate also of his companie mooued him to care, being in the former respects after a sort vnhappie, and were to abide with himselfe euery good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of sorowes and cares, after many dayes sayling, they kenned land afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ships: and being come to it, they land, and finde it to be Rost Island, where they stayed certaine dayes, and afterwards set saile againe, and proceeding towards the North, they espied certaine other Islands, which were called the Crosse of Islands. From which places when they were a litle departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foresight and prouidence in all his actions, erected and set out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefest men of the other shippes, that by the helpe and assistance of their counsels, the order of the gouernement, and conduction of the shippes in the whole voyage might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempest should arise at any time, and happen to disperse and scatter them, euery shippe should indeuour his best to goe to Wardhouse, a hauen or castell of some name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arriued there first in safetie should stay and expect the comming of the rest.

The very same day in the afternoone, about foure of the cloeke, so great a tempest suddenly arose, and the Seas were so outragious, that the ships could not keepe their intended course, but some were perforce driuen one way, and some another way, to their great perill and hazard: The generall with his lowdest voyce cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earnestly requested him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor could keepe companie with him, if he sailed still so fast: for the Admirall was of better saile then his shippe. But the said Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his sailes, was caried away with so great force and swiftnesse, that not long after hee was quite out of sight, and the third ship also with the same storme and like rage was dispersed and lost vs.

The shippe boate of the Admirall (striking against the shippe,) was ouerwhelmed in the sight and viewe of the Mariners of the Bonauenture: and as for them that are already returned and arriued, they know nothing of the rest of the ships what was become of them. They returne the next yeare not knowing what was become of the other 2. ships.

But if it be so, that any miserable mishap haue ouertaken them, If the rage and furie of the Sea haue deuoured those good men, or if as yet they liue, and wander vp and downe in strange Countreys, I must needs say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wish them safetie and a good returne: but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God send them a Christian graue and Sepulchre.

Nowe Richard Chanceler with his shippe and company being thus left alone, and become very pensiue, heauie, and sorowfull, by this dispersion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the rest of the shippes. And being come thither, and hauing stayed there the space of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceede alone in the purposed voyage. And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in company and speech with certaine Scottishmen: who hauing vnderstanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, beganne earnestly to disswade him from the further prosecution of the discouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serue to that purpose. But hee holding nothing so ignominious and reprochfull, as inconstancie and leuitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valour coulde not commit a more dishonourable part then for feare of danger to auoyde and shunne great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged

with the speeches and words of the Scots, remaining stedfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to bring that to passe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with Master Chanceler in his shippe, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whom the foresaid tempest had separated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of minde with Master Chanceler, that they were resolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make proofe and triall of all aduentures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed vp with like good will and loue towards them, feared lest through any errour of his, the safetie of the companie should bee indangered. To conclude, when they sawe their desire and hope of the arriuall of the rest of the shippes to be euery day more and more frustrated, they prouided to sea againe, and Master Chanceler held on his course towards that vnknowen part of the world, and sailed so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout ouer. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within it cast ancre, and looking euery way about them, it happened that they espied a farre off a certaine fisher boate, which Master Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towards to common with the fishermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what maner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the strange greatnesse of his shippe, (for in those partes before that time they had neuer seene the like) beganne presently to auoyde and to flee: but hee still following them at last ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) prostrated themselues before him, offering to kisse his feete: but hee (according to his great and singular courtesie,) looked pleasantly vpon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, refusing those dueties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider howe much fauour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed spread by and by a report abroad of the arriual of a strange nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie: whereupon the common people came together offering to these newe-come ghests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious vse and custome, not to buy any forreine commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the king.

They arriue in the Bay of Saint Nicholas.

The discourse of Russia.

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Russia, or Moscouie, and that Iuan Vasiliwich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned farre and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answere was made, that they were Englishmen sent into those coastes, from the most excellent King Edward the sixt, hauing from him in commandement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and seeking nothing els but his amitie and friendship, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would grow to the subiects of both kingdomes.

The Barbarians heard these things very gladly, and promised their aide and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with so honest and a reasonable request.

In the meane time Master Chanceler intreated victuals for his money of the gouernour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hostages of them likewise for the more assurance of safetie to himselfe and his company. To whom the gouernours answered, that they knewe not in that case the will of their king, but yet were willing in such things as they might lawfully doe, to pleasure him: which was as then to affoord him the benefit of victuals.

Nowe

Nowe while these things were a doing, they secretly sent a messenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriuall of a strange nation, and withall to knowe his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome vnto him, insomuch that voluntarily hee inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reason of the tediousnesse of so long a iourney, they thought it not best so to doe, then hee graunted libertie to his subiects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promised, that if it would please them to come to him, hee himselfe would beare the whole charges of poste horses. In the meane time the gouernours of the place differred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuses, and saying one while that the consent of all the gouernours, and another while, that the great and waightie affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differ their answere: and this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time, vntill the messenger (sent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleasure.

But Master Chanceler, (seeing himselfe held in this suspense with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they posted the matter off so often,) was very instant with them to performe their promise: Which if they would not doe, hee tolde them that hee would depart and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moscouites (although as yet they knew not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolued to furnish our people with all things necessarie, and to conduct them by land to the presence of their king. And so Master Chanceler beganne his iourney, which was very long and most troublesome, wherein hee had the vse of certaine sleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are caried themselues vpon sleds, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cause whereof is the exceeding hardnesse of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in those places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will say something.

But nowe they hauing passed the greater part of their iourney, mette at last with the Sledderman (of whom I spake before) sent to the king secretly from the Iustices or gouernours, who by some ill happe had lost his way, and had gone to the Sea side, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to haue found our ship. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the last in his direct returne, hee met (as hee was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courtesie and in the most louing maner that could be: wherein expresse commandement was giuen, that post horses should bee gotten for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Russes in the rest of their iourney so willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight also in striuing and contending which of them should put their post horses to the sledde: so that after much adoe and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauailed very neere fifteene hundred miles) Master Chanceler came at last to Mosco the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the seate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himselfe, and of the principall cities of Moscouie, wee will speake immediately more at large in this discourse.

The Emperours courteous letters to Mr. Chanceler.

Of Moscouie, which is also called Russia.

MOscouie, which hath the name also of Russia the white, is a very large and spacious Countrey, euery way bounded with diuers nations. Towards the South and the East, it is compassed with Tartaria: the Northren side of it stretcheth to the Scytian Ocean: vpon the West part border the Lappians, a rude and sauage nation, liuing in woods, whose language is not knowen to any other people: next vnto these, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Liuonia, and last of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moscouie, hath also very many and great riuers in it, and is marish ground in many places: and as for the riuers, the greatest and most famous amongst all the rest, is that, which the Russes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next vnto it in fame is Tanais,

which they call Don, and the third Boristhenes which at this day they call Neper. Two of these, to wit, Rha, and Boristhenes yssuing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receiuing many other pleasant riuers into it, & running from the very head or spring of it towards the East, after many crooked turnings and windings, dischargeth it selfe, and all the other waters and riuers that fall into it by diuers passages into the Caspian Sea. Tanais springing from a fountaine of great name in those partes, and growing great neere to his head, spreds it selfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrowe againe, doth so runne for certaine miles, vntill it fall into another lake, which they call Iuan: and therehence fetching a very crooked course, comes very neere to the riuer Volga: but disdaining as it were the company of any other riuer, doth there turne it selfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and fals at last into the Lake of Mœotis. Boristhenes, which comes from the same head that Rha doth, (as wee sayde before) carieth both it selfe, and other waters that are neere vnto it, towards the South, not refusing the mixture of other small riuers: and running by many great and large Countreys fals at last into Pontus Euxinus. Besides these riuers, are also in Moscouie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fish by the celestiall influence: and amongst them all, the chiefest and most principall is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reason of a very strong towre built in it, wherein the kings of Moscouie reserue and repose their treasure in all time of warre and danger.

The mightie lake of Bealozera.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the snow lieth continually, and where hence in times past it was thought that Tanais the riuer did spring, and that the rest of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and inuented of olde, were there to be seene: our men which lately came from thence, neither sawe them, not yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the space of three moneths, and had gotten in that time some intelligence of the language of Moscouie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large & spacious woods, wherein is great store of Firre trees, a wood very necessarie, and fit for the building of houses: there are also wilde beastes bred in those woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolues, and another kinde of beast vnknowen to vs, but called by them Rossomakka: and the nature of the same is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with yong, and ready to bring foorth, it seeketh out some narrow place betweene two stakes, and so going through them, presseth it selfe, and by that meanes is eased of her burden, which otherwise could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the most part a horsebacke, but their Beares a foot, with woodden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be so cold, that the very ice or water which distilleth out of the moist wood which they lay vpon the fire is presently congealed and frozen: the diuersitie growing suddenly to be so great, that in one and the selfe same firebrand, a man shall see both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth still more & more increase by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that colde slake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth dissolue the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our mariners which we left in the ship in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they eftsoones fell downe as men very neere dead, so great is the sharpenesse of that colde climate: but as for the South parts of the Countrey, they are somewhat more temperate.

The sharpnes of the winter in Moscouie.

Of Mosco the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of the Emperour thereof.

IT remaineth that a larger discourse be made of Mosco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince also, as before we haue promised. The Empire and gouernment of the king is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And because the citie of Mosco is the chiefest of al the rest, it seemeth of it selfe to challenge the first place in this discourse. Our men say, that in bignesse it is as great as the Citie of London, with the suburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and fairenesse, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes and Villages also, but built out of

Their manner of building.

order,

order, and with no hansomnesse: their streetes and wayes are not paued with stone as ours are: the walles of their houses are of wood: the roofes for the most part are couered with shingle boords. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Castle, strong, and furnished with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is ioyned directly towards the North, with a bricke wall: the walles also of the Castle are built with bricke, and are in breadth or thickenesse eighteene foote. This Castle hath on the one side a drie ditch, on the other side the riuer Moscua, whereby it is made almost inexpugnable. The same Moscua trending towards the East doth admit into it the companie of the riuer Occa.

In the Castle aforesaide, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether vnhansome, which are vsed and kept by certaine religious men, ouer whom there is after a sort, a Patriarke, or Gouernour, and with him other reuerend Fathers all which for the greater part, dwell within the Castle. As for the kings Court and Palace, it is not of the neatest, onely in forme it is foure square, and of lowe building, much surpassed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houses of the kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and some of them by glasse, some other by lettisses admit the light: and whereas the Palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none such there: they build and ioyne to all their wals benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all priuate mens houses.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelue dayes in the Citie, there was then a Messenger sent vnto them, to bring them to the Kings house: and they being after a sort wearied with their long stay, were very ready, and willing so to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there sate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and there-hence being conducted into the chamber of presence, our men beganne to wonder at the Maiestie of the Emperour: his seate was aloft, in a very royall throne, hauing on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldsmiths worke, and in his hand hee held a Scepter garnished, and beset with precious stones: and besides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Maiestie in his countenance proportionable with the excellencie of his estate: on the one side of him stood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arayed also in cloth of gold: and then there sate the Counsel of one hundred and fiftie in number, all in like sort arayed, and of great state. This so honorable an assemblie, so great a Maiestie of the Emperour, and of the place might very well haue amazed our men, and haue dasht them out of countenance: but notwithstanding Master Chanceler being therewithall nothing dismaied saluted, and did his duetie to the Emperour, after the maner of England, and withall, deliuered vnto him the letters of our king, Edward the sixt. The Emperour hauing taken, & read the letters, began a litle to question with them, and to aske them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men answered him directly, & in few words: hereupon our men presented some thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretary, which at the deliuery of it, put of his hat, being before all the time couered: and so the Emperour hauing inuited them to dinner, dismissed them from his presence: and going into the chamber of him that was Master of the Requests to the Emperour, & hauing stayed there the space of two howres, at the last, the Messenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for so they call it, although not very faire) they finde the Emperour sitting vpon an high and stately seate, apparelled with a robe of siluer, and with another Diademe on his head: our men being placed ouer against him, sit downe: in the middes of the roome stoode a mightie Cupboord vpon a square foote, whereupon stoode also a round boord, in manner of a Diamond, broade beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and euery steppe rose vp more narrowe then another. Vpon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was so much, that the very Cupboord it selfe was scant able to sustaine the waight of it: the better part of all the vessels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold: and amongst the rest, there were foure pots of very large bignesse, which did adorne the rest of the plate in great measure: for they were so high, that they thought them at the least fiue foote long.

King Edwards letters deliuered.

There

There were also vpon this Cupbord certaine siluer caskes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyrkins, wherein was reserued the Emperours drinke: on each side of the Hall stood foure Tables, each of them layde and couered with very cleane table clothes, whereunto the company ascended by three steps or degrees: all which were filled with the assemblie present: the ghests were all apparelled with linnen without, and with rich skinnes within, and so did notably set out this royall feast. The Emperour, when hee takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth first of all crosse himselfe vpon his forehead: they that are in speciall fauour with the Emperour sit vpon the same bench with him, but somewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himselfe, according to an ancient custome of the kings of Moscouy, doth first bestow a piece of bread vpon euery one of his ghests, with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moscouie, and chiefe Emperour of Russia, Iohn Basiliwich (& then the officer nameth the ghest) doth giue thee bread. Whereupon al the ghests rise vp, and by & by sit downe againe. This done, the Gentleman Vsher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of seruants, carying the dishes, and hauing done his reuerence to the Emperour, puts a yong Swanne in a golden platter vpon the table, and immediately takes it thence againe, deliuering it to the Caruer, and seuen other of his fellowes, to be cut vp: which being performed, the meate is then distributed to the ghests, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Vsher receiues his bread, and tasteth to the Emperour, and afterward, hauing done his reuerence, he departeth. Touching the rest of the dishes, because they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of dishes, and drinking vessels, which were then for the vse of a hundred ghests, was all of pure golde, and the tables were so laden with vessels of gold, that there was no roome for some to stand vpon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140. seruitors arayed in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thrise their habit and apparell, which seruitors are in like sort serued with bread from the Emperour, as the rest of the ghests. Last of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his ghests and Noble men by their names, in such sort, that it seemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwise occupied in great matters of estate, should so well remember so many and sundry particular names. The Russes tolde our men, that the reason thereof, as also of the bestowing of bread in that maner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houshold: and withal, that such as are vnder his displeasure, might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the discipline of warre among the Russes.

WHensoeuer the iniuries of their neighbours doe call the King foorth to battell, hee neuer armeth a lesse number against the enemie, then 300. thousand soldiers, 100. thousand whereof hee carieth out into the field with him, and leaueth the rest in garison in some fit places, for the better safetie of his Empire. He presseth no husbandman, nor Marchant: for the Countrey is so populous, that these being left at home, the youth of the Realme is sufficient for all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare doe prouide all things of their owne cost: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horsebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, & a helmet: the coate of maile wout is gilded, or els adorned with silke, although it pertaine to a common soldier: they haue a great pride in shewing their wealth: they vse bowes, and arrowes, as the Turks do: they cary lances also into the field. They ride with a short stirrop, after the maner of the Turks: They are a kinde of people most sparing in diet, and most patient in extremitie of cold, aboue all others. For when the ground is couered with snowe, and is growen terrible, and hard with the frost, this Russe hangs vp his mantle, or souldiers coate, against that part from whence the winde and Snowe drines, and so making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his serues him for his bed, wall, house and all: his drinke is colde water of the riuer, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good cheere, and he thinketh himselfe well, and daintily fedde therewith, and

so sitteth downe by his fire, and vpon the hard ground, rosteth as it were his wearie sides thus daintily stuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, & some blocke or stone his pillow: and as for his horse, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his master, faring both alike. How iustly may this barbarous, and rude Russe condemne the daintinesse and nicenesse of our Captaines, who liuing in a soile & aire much more temperate, yet commonly vse furred boots, and clokes? But thus much of the furniture of their common souldiers. But those that are of higher degrees come into the field a little better prouided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himselfe, it is then aboue all other times, most notable. The couerings of his tent for the most part, are all of gold, adorned with stones of great price, and with the curious workemanship of plumasiers. As often as they are to skirmish with the enemie, they goe forth without any order at all: they make no wings, nor militarie diuisions of their men, as we doe, but lying for the most part, in ambush, doe suddenly set vpon the enemie. Their horses can well abstaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede vpon the barkes of trees, and the most tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this scant and miserable maner of liuing, both the horse and his Master can well endure, sometimes for the space of two moneths, lustie, and in good state of body. If any man behaue himselfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he bestoweth vpon him in recompense of his seruice, some farme, or so much ground as he and his may liue vpon, which notwithstanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male issue. For although his daughters be neuer so many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peraduenture the Emperour of his goodnesse, giue some portion of the land amongst them, to bestowe them withall. As for the man, whosoeuer he be, that is in this sort rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, hee is bound in a great summe, to maintaine so many souldiers for the warre, when need shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all those, to whom any land fals by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male issue, all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperour. And moreouer, if there be any rich man amongst them, who in his owne person is vnfit for the warres, and yet hath such wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriours might be maintained, if any of the Courtiers present his name to the Emperour, the vnhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant, depriued of all his riches, which with great paines and trauell all his life time he had gotten together: except perhaps some small portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children and familie. But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make restitution of other mens goods, then giue that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour hauing taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their deserts: and the oftener that a man is sent to the warres, the more fauour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour, although he goe vpon his owne charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambassadors of the Emperour of Moscouie.

THe Moscouite, with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then that which we haue spoken of, sends his Ambassadors to forrein Princes, in the affaires of estate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Mosco, there were two Ambassadors sent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horses, and the greater part of the men were arayed in cloth of gold, and of silke, and the worst apparell was of garments of blewe colour, to speake nothing of the trappings of the horses, which were adorned with gold and siluer, and very curiously embrodered: they had also with them one hundred white and faire spare horses, to vse them at such times, as any wearinesse came vpon them. But now the time requireth me to speake briefly of other Cities of the Moscouites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Nouogorode.

NExt vnto Mosco, the Citie of Nouogorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia: for although it be in Maiestie inferior to it, yet in greatnesse it goeth beyond it. It is the cheifest and greatest Marte Towne of all Moscouie: and albeit the Emperours seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousnesse of the riuer, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous then Mosco it selfe. This towne excels all the rest in the commodities of flaxe and hempe: it yeeldes also hides, honie, and waxe. The Flemings there sometimes had a house of Marchandize, but by reason that they vsed the like ill dealing there, which they did with vs, they lost their priuileges, a restitution whereof they earnestly sued for at the time that our men were there. But those Flemings hearing of the arriuall of our men in those parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour against them, accusing them for pirats and rouers, wishing him to detaine, and imprison them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they concelued feare, that they should neuer haue returned home. But the Emperour beleeuing rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and false suggestions of the Flemings, vsed no ill intreatie towards them.

The knauery of the Flemings against our men.

Yeraslaue.

YEraslaue also is a Towne of some good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallow, and corne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there also to bee solde, although other places haue greater store: this Yeraslaue is distant from Mosco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fields yeeld such store of corne, that in conuaying it towards Mosco, sometimes in a forenoone, a man shall see seuen hundred or eight hundred sleds, going and comming, laden with corne and salt fish: the people come a thousand miles to Mosco, to buy that corne, and then cary it away vpon sleds: and these are those people that dwell in the North parts, where the colde is so terrible, that no corne doth growe there, or if it spring vp, it neuer comes to ripenesse. The commodities that they bring with them, are salt fish, skinnes, and hides.

Vologda.

VOlogda being from Mosco, 550. miles yeeldes the commodities of Hempe and Flaxe also: although the greatest store of Flaxe is solde at Nouogrode.

Plesco.

THe Towne of Plesco, is frequented of Marchants for the good store of Honie and Waxe that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

THE North parts of Russia yeelde very rare and precious skinnes: and amongst the rest, those principally, which we call Sables, worne about the neckes of our Noble women and Ladies: it hath also Martins skinnes, white, blacke, and red Foxe skinnes, skinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarously, as Beuers, Minxes, and Miniuers. The sea adioyning, breedes a certaine beast, which they call the Mors, which seeketh his foode vpon the rockes, climing vp with the helpe of his teeth. The Russes vse to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompt, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. These commodities they cary vpon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for the sale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, serues all the Countrey about it with salt, and salt fish. The Russians also of the North parts, send thither oyle, which they call traine, which they make in a riuer called ‖ Vna, although it be also made elsewhere: and here they vse to boile the water of the sea, whereof they make very great store of salt.

‖ Or, Dwina.

Of

Of controuersies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

Hauing hitherto spoken so much of the chiefest Cities of Russia, as the matter required: it remaineth that we speake somewhat of the lawes, that the Moscouits doe vse, as farre foorth as the same are come to our knowledge. If any controuersie arise among them, they first make their Landlords Iudges in the matter, and if they cannot end it, then they preferre it to the Magistrate. The plaintif craueth of the said Magistrate, that he may haue leaue to enter law against his aduersarie: and hauing obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring forth a suretie for him: but if he be not of such credite, as to procure a surety, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Iudge. The Iudge then asketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintife. If he denies it, then saith the Iudge, How canst thou deny it? the defendant answereth, By an othe: thereupon the officer is commaunded to cease from beating of him, vntill the matter be further tried. They haue no Lawyers, but euery man is his owne Aduocate, and both the complaint of the accuser, and the answere of the defendant, are in maner of petition deliuered to the Emperour, intreating iustice at his hands. The Emperour himselfe heareth euery great controuersie, and vpon the hearing of it, giueth iudgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worthy of speciall commendation, in the Maiestie of a Prince. But although he doe this with a good purpose of mind, yet the corrupt Magistrates do wonderfully peruert the same: but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doeth punish them most seuerely. Now at the last, when ech partie hath defended his cause with his best reasons, the Iudge demandeth of the accuser, whether he hath any more to say for himselfe: he answereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his Champion, or else intreateth, that in fight betwixt themselues the matter may be ended: which being graunted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them seeme vnfit for that kinde of triall, then they haue publike Champions to be hired, which liue by ending of quarrels. These Champions are armed with yron axes, and speares, and fight on foote, and he whose Champion is ouercome, is by and by taken, and imprisoned, and terribly handled, vntill he agree with his aduersarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Iudge granteth it: in which case they may not vse publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be basely borne, and will not fight with him. If a poore man happen to grow in debt, his Creditor takes him, & maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himselfe, or to some other man, whose wages he taketh vp. And there are some among them, that vse willingly to make themselues, their wiues, and children, bondslaues vnto rich men, to haue a little money at the first into their hands, and so for euer after content themselues with meate and drinke: so little accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of punishments vpon theeues.

If any man be taken vpon committing of theft, he is imprisoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the first offence, as the manner is with vs: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the second time hath his nose cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurses among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be auoyded.

Of their religion.

THey maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they suffer no grauen images of saints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they haue in great abundance, which they do adore and offer vnto, and burne waxe candles before them, and cast holy water vpon them, without other honour. They say that our images which are set vp in Churches, and carued, haue no diuinitie in them. In their priuate houses they haue images for their houshold saints, and for the most part, they are put in the darkest place of the house: hee

that comes into his neighbours house doth first salute his saints, although he see them not. If any foorme or stoole stand in his way, hee oftentimes beateth his browe vpon the same, and often ducking downe with his head, and body, worshippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Priests, and of the Lay men, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is receiued and held amongst them for a rule, and custome, that if a Priests wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a second wife: and therefore they of secular Priests, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whom then chastitie for euer is commanded. Their diuine seruice is all done and said in their owne language, that euery man may vnderstand it: they receiue the Lords Supper with leauened bread, and after the consecration, they carry it about the Church in a saucer, and prohibite no man from receiuing and taking of it, that is willing so to doe. They vse both the Olde and the Newe Testament, and read both in their owne language, but so confusedly, that they themselues that doe reade, vnderstand not what themselues doe say: and while any part of either Testament is read, there is libertie giuen by custome to prattle, talke, and make a noise: but in the time of the rest of the seruice they vse very great silence and reuerence and behaue themselues very modestly, and in good sort. As touching the Lords praier, the tenth man amongst them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the least very fewe of them doe either know them or can say them: their opinion is, that such secrete and holy things as they are should not rashly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Maxime amongst them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements also are abolished by the death and blood of Christ: all studies and letters of humanitie they vtterly refuse: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

Euery yeere they celebrate foure seuerall fastes, which they call according to the names of the Saints: the first beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent beginnes. The second is called amongst them the fast of S. Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the fourth and last begins vpon S. Philips day. But as we begin our Lent vpon Wednesday, so they begin theirs vpon the Sunday. Vpon the Saturday they eate flesh: whensoeuer any of those fasting feastes doe drawe neere, looke what weeke doth immediatly goe before them, the same weeke they liue altogether vpon white meates, and in their common language they call those weekes, the fast of Butter.

In the time of their fasts, the neighbours euery where goe from one to another, and visite one another, and kisse one another with kisses of peace, in token of their mutuall loue and Christian concord: and then also they doe more often then at any other time goe to the holy Communion. When seuen daies are past, from the beginning of the fast, then they doe often either goe to their Churches, or keepe themselues at home, and vse often prayer: and for that seuennight they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that seuennights fast is once past, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable tospots. As for the keeping of their fasting dayes, they doe it very streightly, neither doe they eate any thing besides hearbes, and salt fish, as long as those fasting dayes doe endure: but vpon euery Wednesday and Friday, in euery weeke throughout the yeere, they fast.

There are very many Monasteries of the order of S. Benedict, amongst them, to which many great liuings, for their maintenance, doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes doe at the least possesse the third part of the liuings, throughout the whole Moscouite Empire. To those Monkes that are of this order, there is amongst them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no flesh: and therefore their meate is onely salt fish, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and customes of their religion, to eate any flesh fish at all: and at those foure fasting times, whereof we spake before, they eate no fish at all: onely they liue with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpose cause and take order to grow and spring, for their vse and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and small. For the discharge of their office, they do euery day say seruice, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in such sort, and with such obseruation begin their seruice, that they will be sure to make an ende

of

of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning they celebrate the Communion. When they haue so done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner they goe againe to seruice, and the like also after supper: and in the meane time while they are at dinner there is some exposition or interpretation of the Gospel vsed. Note.

Whensoeuer any Abbot of any monasterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his housholde stuffe, beastes, flockes of sheepe, golde, siluer, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to succeede him in his place and dignitie doth redeeme all those things, and buyeth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the most part are couered with shingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they vsually build some entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine house of wood, wherein they set vp their bels, wherein sometimes they haue but one, in some two, and in some also three.

There is one vse and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hand of the corps they put a litle scroule, & in the same there are these wordes written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, hauing receiued the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who receiuing it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heauen, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Christians of the Latine church, reputing themselues to be followers of a more sincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that we are but halfe Christians, and themselues onely to be the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and childish dotages of such ignorant Barbarians.

Of the Moscouites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to Tartaria.

THere is a certaine part of Moscouie bordering vpon the countreys of the Tartars, wherin those Moscouites that dwell are very great idolaters: they haue one famous idole amongst them, which they call the Golden old wife: & they haue a custome that whensoeuer any plague or any calamitie doth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or such like, then they goe to consult with their idol, which they do after this maner: they fall down prostrate before the idol, & pray vnto it, & put in the presence of the same, a cymbal: & about the same certaine persons stand, which are chosen amongst them by lot: vpon their cymball they place a siluer tode, and sound the cymball, and to whomsoeuer of those lotted persons that tode goeth, he is taken, and by and by slaine: and immediately, I know not by what illusions of the deuill, or idole, he is againe restored to life, & then doth reueale and deliuer the causes of the present calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idole, they are deliuered from the imminent danger. Aurea vetula, or Zelosabaha.

Of the forme of their priuate houses, and of the apparell of the people.

THe common houses of the countrey are euery where built of beames of Firre tree: the lower beames doe so receiue the round holownesse of the vppermost, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they resist, and expell all winds that blow, and where the timber is ioined together, there they stop the chinks with mosse. The forme & fashion of their houses in al places is foure square, with streit and narrow windowes, whereby with a transparent casement made or couered with skinne like to parchment, they receiue the light. The roofes of their houses are made of boords couered without with ẏ barke of trees: within their houses they haue benches or griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they sleepe vpon, for the common people knowe not the vse of beds: they haue stooues wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the same fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole house.

The apparell of the people for the most part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like

vnto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and sharpe vpward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a signe and representation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth supposed to be, and the greater reuerence is giuen them by the common people.

The Conclusion to Queene Marie.

THese are the things most excellent Queene, which your Subiects newly returned from Russia haue brought home concerning the state of that countrey: wherfore if your maiestie shall be fauourable, and grant a continuance of the trauell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be spred amongst those nations, whereunto three onely noble personages from the verie creation haue had accesse, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moscouie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixt, by the hands of Richard Chancelour.

Iuan Vasiliuich, that is to say, John the sonne of Basilius.

THe Almighty power of God, and the incomprehensible holy Trinitie, rightfull Christian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vasiliuich, by the grace of God great lord and Emperor of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouograd, King of Kazan, King of Astracan, lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Nouograd in the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and lord of many other countries, greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of honour Edward King of England &c. according to our most hearty and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, & according to our holy Christian faith, & great gouernance, & being in the light of great vnderstāding, our answere by this our honourable writing vnto your kingly gouernance, at the request of your faithfull seruant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they shall let you wisely know, is this. In the strength of the twentieth yeere of our gouernance, be it knowen, that at our sea coastes arriued a shippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and sayd, that hee was desirous to come into our dominions, and according to his request, hath seene our Maiestie, and ‖ our eyes: and hath declared vnto vs your Maiesties desire, as that we should grant vnto your subiects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our subiects, to frequent free Marts, with all sortes of marchandizes, and vpon the same to haue wares for their returne. And they haue also deliuered vs your letters, which declare the same request. And hereupon we haue giuen order, that wheresoeuer your faithful seruant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be wel entertained, who as yet is not arriued, as your seruant Richard can declare.

‖ That is, come into our presence.

And we with Christian beliefe and faithfulnes, and according to your honourable request, and my honourable commandement will not leaue it vndone: and are furthermore willing that you send vnto vs your ships and vessels, when and as often as they may haue passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmelesse. And if you send one of your maiesties counsel to treate with vs whereby your countrey marchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they shall haue their free Marte with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleasure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our seale which we haue commaunded to be vnder sealed. Written in our dominion, in our citie and our palace in the castle of Mosco, in the yeare 7060, the second moneth of February.

This letter was written in the Moscouian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad seale hanging at the same, sealed in paper vpon waxe. This seale was much like ẏ broad seale of England, hauing on the one side the image of a man on horseback in compleate harnesse fighting with a dragon. Vnder this letter was another

another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moscouian letters. These letters were sent the next yere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, weights and measures vsed in Russia, written by Iohn Hasse, in the yere, 1554.

FOrasmuch as it is most necessary for al marchants which seeke to haue traffique in any strange regions, first to acquaint theselues with the coines of those lands with which they do intend to ioyne in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the highest piece to the lowest, and in what sort they make their paiments, as also what their common weights and measures be: for these causes I haue thought good to write some thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the marchants of that new aduenture, may the better vnderstand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will arise.

First, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Russia hath no other coines then siluer in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongst merchants, yet notwithstanding there is a coine of copper, which serueth for the relief of the poore in Mosco, & no where els, and that is but only for quasse, water and fruit, as nuts, apples, and such other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the least of the siluer coines, 18. But I will not stand vpon this, because it is no currant money among merchants. No coines of gold in Russia, but all of siluer.

Of siluer coines there be three sortes of pieces: the least is a Poledenga, the second a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to say in English as halfepenie, penie, and twopence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forrein countreys, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they passe according to the agreement of merchants.

Their order in summing of money is this: as we say in England, halfpenie, penie, shilling and pound, so say they Poledenga, Denga. Altine and Rubble: There goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, six Dengaes to an Altine, and 23 Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

Concerning the weights of Russia they are these: There are two sorts of pounds in vse amõgst them, the one great, ỹ other small: the great pound is iust two small pounds: they call the great weight by the name of Beasemar, and the smal they call the Skalla weight: with this smal weight they weigh their siluer coines, of the which the Emperor hath commanded to put to euery small pound three Rubbles of siluer, and with the same weight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almost al other wares which come into the land, except those which they weigh by the Pode, as hops, salt, iron, lead, tinne & batrie with diuers others, notwithstanding they vse to weigh batrie more often by the small weight then by the great. The weights in Russia.

Whensoeuer you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, consider that to be the great weight, and the pound to be the small. Also they diuide the small pound into 48 parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers sell their wares out of their shops, as Goldsmiths, Grocers, Silkesellers and such other like as we doe vse to retaile by the ounces: and as for their great weight which they cal the Beasemar, they sel by pode, or shippond. The pode doth containe of the great weight, 40 pounds, and of the small 80 there goe 10. podes to a shippond.

Yet you must consider that their great weight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13 ounces, but aboue 12 I thinke it be. But for your iust proofe, weigh 6 Rubbles of Russia money with our pound weight, and then shal you see what it lacketh: for 6 Rubbles of Russia is by the Emperors standerd, the great pound: so that I thinke it the next way to know the iust waight, as well of the great pound as of the small.

There is another weight needfull to be knowen, which is the weight of Wardhouse, for so much as they weigh all their drie fish by weight, which weight is the Beasemar, as they of Russia doe vse, notwithstanding there is another sorte in it: the names of those weights are these: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the shippond. The marke pound The weight of Wardhouse.

is to be vnderstood as our pound, and their great pound is 24 of their marke pound: thy weie is 3 great pound, and 8 weie is a shippound.

The Russis measures.

Now concerning their measures. As they haue two sortes of weights, so they haue also two sortes of measures: wherewith they measure cloth both linnen and woilen: they cal the one an Areshine, and the other a Locut: the Areshine I take to bee as much as the Flanders ell, and their Locut halfe an English yard: with their Areshine they may mete all such sorts of clothes as come into the land, and with the Locut all such cloth both linnen and woilen, as they make themselues. And whereas we vse to giue yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they do giue nothing but bare measure.

They haue also measure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they cal a Setforth, and the halfe of that an Osmine: this Setforth I take to bee three bushels of London measure. And as for their drinke measure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I neuer saw any true rate, but that some was greater then other some. And as for the measures of Wardhouse wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference between that and the measure of Danske, which is halfe an English ell.

The measure of Wardhouse in cloth, to the measure of Danske.

The Turkes and Armenians pay customs.

Cócerning the tolles & customs of Russia, it was reported to me in Moscouia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie custome of all the wares they bring into the Emperors land, and aboue that they pay for all such goods as they weigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which ỹ buyer or seller must make report to of the Master of the beame: they also pay a certaine horse toll, which is in diuers places of his Realme foure pence of a horse.

The Emperors beame.

The Dutch nation lost their priuiledges, & renued them with a great summe.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithstanding for certaine offences, they had lost their priuiledges which they haue recouered this Summer to their great charge. It was reported to me by a Iustice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thousand Rubbles, and also that Rye, Dorpte and Reuel haue yeelded themselues vnder the gouernment of the Emperor of Russia: whether this was a bragge of the Russes or not, I know not, but thus he sayd, and in deed whiles we were there, there came a great Ambassadour out of Liefland, for the assurance of their priuiledges.

The commodities of Russia.

To speake somewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to be vnderstood, that there is a certaine place foure score miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there resorte all the sortes of Wares that are in the North parts, as Oyles, Salt, Stockfish, Salmon, Fethers and Furres: their Salt they make of saltwater by the sea side: their Oyles they make of Seales, whereof they haue great store which is brought out of the Bay where our shippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to sell, and the merchants there carie it to Nouogrode, and so sell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockefish and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouse: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Mosco, and their drie fish they carrie to Nouogrode, and sell it there to the Liefianders.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beauers, Minkes, Armine, Lettis, Graies, Woolucrings, and white Foxes, with Deere skinnes, they are brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampas, and Powstezer, which fetch them from the Samoedes that are counted sauage people: and the merchants that bring these Furres doe vse to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Batrie, & such other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carie them to Nouogrode, Vologda, or Mosco, & sell them there. The Fethers which come from Penning they doe little esteeme.

If our merchants do desire to know the meetest place of Russia for the standing house, in mine opinion I take it to be Vologda, which is a great towne standing in the heart of Russia, with many great and good towns about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all such wares as are raised in Rusland, but specially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon: there is also great store of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko.

Vologda and the state thereof.

The towne of Vologda is meetest for our marchants, because it lieth amongst all the best towns of Russia, and there is no towne in Russia but trades with it: also the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themselues in Mosco or Nouogrode, their charge will be

great

great and wonderfull, but not so in Vologda: for all things will there be had better cheape by the one half. And for their vent, I know no place so meet. It is likely that some will thinke ỹ Mosko to be the meetest by the reason of the court, but by that reason I take it to be woorse: for the charge there would be so great by crauers and expenses, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholly consumed, which in the other place will bee saued. And yet notwithstanding our marchants may bee there in the Winter to serue the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great marchant himselfe of waxe and sables, which with good foresight may bee procured to their hands: as for other commodities there are litle or none in Moscouia, besides those aboue rehearsed: if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes considering the charges of cariage ouer land.

The Emperor of Moscouia is a marchant himselfe.

Our marchants may doe well to prouide for the Russes such wares as the Dutch nation doeth serue them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeue, they shal serue better and with lesse charge then they of Rye or Dorpt, or Reuel: for it is no smal aduenture to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of these places, and their charge not litle to cary them ouer lande to Nouogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Russian miles.

This Nouogrode is a place wel furnished with flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the best flaxe in Russia is brought thither and there sold by the hundred bundles, which is done also at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Nouogrode, dwell as neere Vologda as Nouogrode, and when they heare of the vtterance which they may haue with our nation, they will as willingly come to them as goe to other.

They haue in Russia two sortes of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other small: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundels then the small: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the small flaxe there goe 27. or 28 bundles to a shippound, there goeth not of the greater sort aboue 22. or 24 at the most. There are many other trifles in Russia, as sope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will bee no great account made of them.

Two sorts of flaxe.

The letters of king Philip and Queene Marie to Iuan Vasilouich the Emperour of Russia written the first of April 1555 and in the second voyage.

PHilip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spaine and Sicille, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tiroll: To the right High, right Mightie, and right excellent Prince, garnished with all gifts of nature, by Gods grace Iohn Vasilouich Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tueria, Iughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod of the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskay, Rostoue, Yeraslaue, Bealozera, Liefland, Ouderia, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and lord of many other countreys, greeting. Whereas by the consent and licence of our most deare and entirely beloued late brother, King Edward the sixt, whose soule God pardon, sundrie of our subiects marchants of the citie of London within this our realme of England did at their owne proper costs and aduenture furnish three shippes to discouer, serch, and find lands, Islands, regions, and territories before this aduenture not knowen, ne commonly haunted and frequented by seas. The one of the which three shippes, named the Edward Bonauenture, (whereof our right welbeloued Richard Chancelour was then gouernour and great Capitaine) chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the sayd Chancelour to arriue and winter in the North part of your Empire of Russia. Forasmuch as we be credibly informed by the report of our trustie and wel beloued subiect, that your Maiestie did not onely call him and certaine of his company to your emperiall presence and speech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes: but also being thereunto requested partly by the letters of our said brother, & partly by request of the sayd Richard Chancelour, haue by your letters patents vnder your seale among other things granted:

That

That all such marchants as shall come forth of anie of our realms of England or Ireland with al maner of wares, if they wil trauel or occupie within your dominions, The same marchants with their marchandises in al your lordship may freely, & at their libertie tranaile out and in without hinderance or any maner of losse: And of your farther ample goodnesse haue promised that our ambassadours, if wee send any, shall with free good will passe to and from you without any hinderance or losse, with such message as shall come vnto you, and to returne the same to our kingdomes well answered, as by the same your letters, written in your lordly Palace and Castle of Mosco in the yeere 7063 the moneth of Februarie more at large appeareth. Like as wee cannot but much commend your princely fauour and goodnesse, and in like manner thanke you for the aboundant grace, extended to the sayd Richard Chancelour, and others our subiects marchants: Euen so these are to pray and request you to continue the same beneuolence toward them, and other our marchants and subiects, which doe or heereafter shall resorte to your countrey: And for the more assurance and incouragement to trade and exercise the feate of marchandise with your subiects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may please you at this our contemplation to assigne and authorise such Commissaries as you shall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our welbeloued subiects and marchants, the sayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, & Richard Graie, bearers of these our letters: who are by vs authorised for that purpose: and to confirme and graunt such other liberties and priuiledges vnto the Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, and Communaltie of the fellowship of the saide Marchants, as the said bearers in their name propone and require by you to be granted for their safe conduct, good gouernment, and order to bee erected and continued among them in your saide dominions: And this with such your clemencie and expedition, as wee, vpon the next arriuall of the saide Richard Chancelour may bee enformed of your gracious disposition and answere. Which your beneuolences so to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your subiects Marchants, that shal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right Excellent, and right mightie, Almightie God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost haue you in his blessed keeping. Giuen vnder our seale at our Palace of Westminster, the first of April, in the yere from the blessed incarnation of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, 1555. and in the first and second yeeres of our reignes.

Articles conceiued and determined for the Commission of the Merchants of this company resiant in Russia, and at the Wardhouse, for the second voyage, 1555. the first of May, as followeth.

First, the Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, iointly and seuerally to be Agents, Factors, and Atturneis generall and speciall, for the whole body of this companie, to buy, sel, trucke, change and permute al, and euery kind and kindes of wares, marchandizes and goods to the said company appertaining, now laden & shipped in the good ship called the Edward Bonauenture, appointed for Russia, the same to vtter and sell to the best commoditie, profit and aduantage of the said corporation, be it for ready money, wares & marchandises, or truck, presently, or for time, as occasion & benefit of the company shal require: and all such wares as they or either of them shal buy, trucke, or prouide, or cause to be bought for the company to lade thē homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent course of marchandises, shall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth also to Iohn Brooke for the Wardhouse, as in the 17. and 18. articles of this commission appeareth.

2 Item, it is also committed, as aboue, to the said Agents, to binde & charge the said company by debt for wares vpon credit, as good opportunitie and occasion shal serue, with power to charge and bind the said company, and their successors, for the paiments of such things as shalbe taken vp for credite, and the said Agents to be relieued ab opere satis dandi.

3 Item full authoritie and power is committed to the said first named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to present

sent the king and Queenes Maiesties letters, written in Greeke, Polish, and Italian, and to giue and exhibite the marchants presents at such time and place as shalbe thought most expedient, they, or one of them to demand, and humbly desire of § Emperour such further grants and priuiledges to be made to this companie, as may be beneficiall for the same, to continue in traffike with his subiects, according to such instructions as bee in this behalfe deuised and deliuered to the Agents whereunto relation is to be had, and some one of these persons to attend vpon the court for the obtaining of the same, as to their discretions shalbe thought good.

4 Item, that all the saide Agents doe well consider, ponder and weigh such articles as bee deliuered to them to know the natures, dispositions, lawes, customes, maners and behauiours of the people of the countreis where they shal traffike, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Marchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the subtilties of their bargaining, buying and selling, making as fewe debtes as possiblie may bee, and to bee circumspect, that no lawe neither of religion nor positiue bee broken or transgressed by them or any minister vnder them, ne yet by any mariner or other person of our nation, and to foresee that all tolles, customes, and such other rites be so duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiscation may ensue to our goods either outward or inward, and that al things passe with quiet, without breach of the publike peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they shall arriue or traffique.

5 Item, that prouision bee made in Mosco or elswhere, in one or mo good townes, where good trade shall be found for a house or houses for the Agents, and companie to inhabite and dwell at your accustomed diets, with warehouses, sellers, and other houses of offices requisite, and that none of the inferiour ministers of what place or vocation soeuer he be, doe lie out of the house of the Agents without licence to be giuen, and that euery inferiour officer shalbe obedient to the orders, rules and gouernments of the said Agents, and in case any disobedient person shall be found among any of them, then such person to be punished for his misbehauiour, at the discretion of the said Agents, or of one of them in the absence of the other.

6 Item, if any person of the said ministers shall be of such pride or obstinacie, that after one or two honest admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the saide Agents to displace euery such person from the place or roume to him heere committed, and some other discreete person to occupie the same, as to the saide Agents by their discretions shal seeme meete.

7 Item, if any person shall be found so arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the said Agents or by one of them in the absence of the other, then the sayde person to bee deliuered to the Iustice of the countrey, to receiue such punishment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8 Item, that the saide Agents and factours shall daily one houre in the morning conferre and consult together what shall bee most conuenient and beneficiall for the companie, and such orders as they shall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee prouided for that purpose, and no inferiour person to infringe or breake any such order or deuise, but to obserue the same exactly, vpon such reasonable paine as the Agents shall put him to by discretion.

9 Item, that the said Agents shall in the ende of euerie weeke, or oftener as occasion shall require, peruse, see and trie, not onely the Casshers, bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the same with their handes, but also shall receiue and take weekly the account of euery other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the empteous, and also of the state of the houshold expenses, making thereof a perfect declaration as shall appertaine, the same accounts also to bee firmed by the saide Agents hands.

10 Item, that no inferiour minister shall take vpon him to make any bargaine or sale of any wares, marchandises or goods, but by the Commission and Warrantise of the sayde Agents vnder their handes, and hee not to transgresse his Commission by any way, pretense or colour.

11 Item, that euery inferiour minister, that is to vnderstand, all Clerks and yong merchants, being at the order of the saide Agents, shall ride, goe, saile and trauaile to all such place, and places, as they or hee shall be appointed vnto by the saide Agents, and effectually to follow and do all that which to him or them shall be committed, well and truely to the most benefite of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, euen as by their othes, duelies and bondes of their masters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at euery moneths end, all accounts and reckonings shalbe brought into perfect order, into the Lidger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents together with the priuileges, and copies of letters, may and shall be well and truely written by the secretarie, in such forme as shalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings may be sent home with the said ship at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents doe diligently learne and obserue all kinde of wares, as wel naturals as forrein, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be sold for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other things of these West partes bee most vendible in those Realmes with profite, giuing a perfect aduise of all such things requisite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargain with you for the whole masse of your stock, and will haue the trade of it to vtter to his owne subiects, then debating the matter prudently among your selues, set such high prises of your commodities, as you may assure your selues to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at such base prises, as you may here also make a commoditie and gaine at home, hauing in your mindes the notable charges that the companie haue diffrayed in aduancing this voyage: and the great charges that they sustaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things: all which must bee requited by the wise handling of this voyage, which being the first president shalbe a perpetual president for euer: and therefore all circumspection is to be vsed, and foreseene in this first enterprise, which God blesse and prosper vnder you, to his glorie, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Maiestie, and the Lords of the Councell haue conceiued great hope, whose expectations are not to be frustrated.

Note.

Inquirie for the way to Cathaya.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you vse all wayes and meanes possible to learne howe men may passe from Russia, either by land or by sea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ships, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well trauailed persons, either naturall or forrein, such as haue trauailed from the North to the South.

16 Item, it is committed to the said Agents, that if they shall be certified credibly, that any of our said first ships be arriued in any place whereunto passage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the discretion of the Agents shall bee appointed to be sent to them, to learne their estate & condition, to visite, refresh, relieue, and furnish them with all necessaries and requisites, at the common charges of the companie, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and welbeloued brethren of this our societie, to their reioycing and comfort, aduertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnes of them and their long absence, with our desire to heare of them, with all other things done in their absence for their commoditie, no lesse then if they had bene present.

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the ships shal arriue at this going foorth at the Wardhouse, that their Agents, with master Chancelor grand pilot, John Brooke merchant, deputed for the Wardhouse, with John Buckland master of the Edward, John Howlet master, and John Robins pilot of the Philip and Marie, shall conferre and consult together, what is most profitable to be done therfore for the benefit of the company, & to consider whether they may bargaine with the captaine of the castle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongst the coast for a large quantity of fish, drie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reasonable for trucke of cloth, meale, salt, or beere, and what traine oyle, or other commodity is to be had there at this time, or any other season of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found sufficient lading for both the sayd shippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in hanting the place, if profit will so arise to the company, and to consider whether the Edward in her returne may receiue at

The Philip and Marie.

the

the Wardhouse any kind of lading homeward, and what it may amount vnto, and whether it shall be expedient for the Philip to abide at the Wardhouse the returne of the Edward out of Russia, or getting that she may returne with the first good wind to England, without abiding for the Edward, and so to conclude & accord certainely among themselues vpon their arriuall, that the certaintie may (vpon good deliberation) be so ordered and determined betweene both ships, that the one may be assured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ship, according to such order as shall be taken betweene them.

18 Item, that Iohn Brooke our marchant for the Wardhouse take good aduise of the rest of our Agents, how to vse himselfe in al affaires, whiles the ship shalbe at the Wardhouse, he to see good order to be kept, make bargains aduisedly, not crediting the people vntill their natures, dispositions & fidelities shal be well tried, make no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be trusted then to trust. Note diligently what be the best wares for those parts, and howe the fishe falleth on the coast, and by what meane it is to bee bought at the most aduantage, what kindes and diuersities of sortes in fishes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caske. Note. Note.

19 Item, he to haue a diligent eye & circumspection to the beere, salt, and other liquid wares, and not to suffer any waste to be made by the companie, and he in all contracts to require aduise, counsel, and consent of the master and pilot, the marchant to be our housewife, as our special trust is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor customes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the company to be quiet, voide of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, absteine from all excesse of drinking as much as may bee, and in all to vse and behaue themselues as to quiet marchants doeth, and ought to apperteine.

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward shall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conueniently, & profitably prouided, bought, and laden in Russia, and the rest to be taken in at the Wardhouse, as by the Agents shall be accorded. But by all meanes it is to be foreseene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any forrein place, but to come home and bring with her all the whole aduertisements of the marchants, with such further aduise for the next yeeres prouision, as they shall giue.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inuiolably to be obserued, that when the good ships, or either of them (by Gods grace) shall returne home to the coastes of England, that neither of them shall stay or touch in any Hauen or Port of England, otherwise then wind and weather shall serue, but shall directly saile and come to the Port of the citie of London, the place of their right discharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, chest, fardell, trusse, barrel, fat, or whatsoeuer thing it shall be, be brought out of the shippe, vntill the companie shall giue order for the same, and appoint such persons of the companie as shall be thought meet for that purpose, to take viewe, and consider the shippe and her lading, and shall giue order for the breaking vp of the saide bulke, or giue licence by discretion, for things to be brought to land. And that euery officer shall shewe the inuoise of his charge to him first committed, and to examine the wastes and losses, and to deliuer the remainder to the vse and benefit of the company, according to such order as shall be appointed in that behalfe.

22 Item, the company exhorteth, willeth, and requireth, not onely all the said Agents, pilots, masters, marchants, clerkes, boatswaines, stewards, skafemasters, and all other officers and ministers of this present voyage, being put in charge and trust daily to peruse, reade, and studie such instructions as be made, giuen, & deliuered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Russia, Moscouia, Wardhouse, and other places, their dispositions, maners customes, vses, tolles, carriages, coines, weights, numbers, measures, wares, merchandises, commodities, and incommodities, the one to be accepted and imbraced, the other to be reiected and vtterly abandoned, to the intent that euery man taking charge, may be so well taught, perfited, and readily instructed in all the premisses, that by ignorance, no losse or preiudice may grow or chance to the company: assuring themselues, that for Note.

asmuch as the company hath trauelled and laboured so in these their instructions to them giuen, that euery man may bee perfect, and fully learned to eschew all losses, hurts and damages that may insue by pretence or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allow, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or iust cause of excuse, in that which shall be misordered by negligence, the burden whereof shall light vpon the negligent offending person, especially vpon such as of their owne heads, or temeritie, will take vpon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby preiudice may arise, without the commission of the Agents as aboue is mentioned, whereunto relation must be had.

23 Forasmuch as it is not possible to write and indite such prescribed orders, rules and commisions to the Agents and factours, but that occasion, time and place, and the pleasures of the princes, together with the operation or successe of fortune shall change or shift the same, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the said company doe commit to you their deare and intire beloued Agents and factors to doe in this behalfe for the commodity and wealth of this company, as by your discretions, vpon good aduised deliberations shalbe thought good and beneficiall. Prouided alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credite, and estimation of the same companie be conserued and preserued: which to confirme we beseech the liuing Lord to his glory, the publike benefite of this realme, our common profits, and your praises.

Finally for the seruice, and due accomplishment of all the premisses, euery Agent and minister of and for this voyage, hath not onely giuen a corporall othe vpon the Euangelists, to obserue, and cause to be obserued, this commission, and euery part, clause and sentence of the same, as much as in him lyeth, as well for his owne part as for any other person, but also haue bounde themselues and their friendes to the companie in seuerall summes of money, expressed in the actes and records of this societie, for the trueth and fidelities of them, for the better, and also manifester testification of the trueth, and of their othes, promises, and bands aforesaid, they haue to this commission subscribed particularly their seuerall hands, and the company also in confirmation of the same, haue set their seale. Yeuen the day, moneth, and yeeres first aboue mentioned.

The othe ministred to the seruants of the fellowship.

YE sweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye shal wel, faithfully and truely, and vprightly, and with all your indeuour, serue this right worshipfull company in that order, which by this fellowships Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperours of Russia, &c. shall bee vnto you committed, by commission, commandement, or other his direction. And that you shall bee obedient and faithfull to the same our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and vprightly according to the commission, charge, commandement, or other direction of the said Agent or Agents to you from time to time giuen and to be giuen, you shall prosecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme, commoditie, benefite and profite of the said fellowship: and you shall not directly or indirectly, openly or couertly doe, exercise or vse any trade or feate of marchandises for your owne priuate account, commodity, gaine or profite, or for the account of or for any other person or persons, without consent or licence of this said fellowship, first obtained in writing. And if you shall know or vnderstand any other person or persons to vse, exercise or doe any trade, traffike or feat of marchandise, to or for his or their own account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye shall truely and plainly disclose, open, vtter and reueale, and shew the same vnto this said fellowship, without fraude, colour, couin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth the companies first Agent in Moscouie, touching their interteinement in their second voyage. Anno 1555. the 27. of Nouember in Mosco.

Right worshipful, my duetie considered, &c. It may please your worship to vnderstand, that at the making hereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, saue onely William

our

our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the riuer out of the boate, and was drowned. And the 11. day of September wee came to Vologda, and there we laide all our wares vp, and sold very litle: but one marchant would haue giuen vs 12. robles for a broad cloth, & he said he would haue had them all, and 4. altines for a pound of sugar, but we did refuse it because he was the first, and the marchants were not come thither, nor would not come before Winter, trusting to haue more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithstanding we did for the best. And the house that our wares lie in costs from that day vntil Easter ten robles. And the 28. day of September we did determine with our selues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, Christopher Hudson, John Segewicke, Richard Iohnson, and Richard Iudde, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Prise, Robert Best and I should goe to Mosco. And we did lade the Emperours suger, with part of all sorts of wares to haue had to the Mosco with vs, but the way was so deepe, that we were faine to turne back, and leaue it stil at Vologda till the frost. And we went forth with poste horse, & the charge of euery horse being stil ten in number, comes to 10. s. 7. d. halfe penie, besides the guides. And we came to the Mosco the 4. day of October, and were lodged that night in a simple house: but the next day we were sent for to the Emperour his secretarie, and he bade vs welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes, and wee shewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he desired to see them all, and that they might remain with him, to haue them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and so we did: and then we were appointed to a better house: and the seuenth day the secretary sent for vs againe, & then he shewed vs that we should haue a better house: for it was the Emperour his will, that we should haue all things that we did lacke, and did send vs meade of two sorts, and two hens, our house free, and euery two dayes to receiue eight hens, seuen altines, and two pence in money, and meade a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our house, & to doe that whereunto we would set him. And wee had giuen many rewards before, which you shal perceiue by other, and so we gaue the messengers a reward with thanks: and the ninth day we were sent to make vs readie to speak with the Emperour on the morow. And the letters were sent vs, that wee might deliuer them our selues, & we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his presence we went thorow a great chamber, where stood many small tunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of siluer, I meane, like washing bowles, all parsel gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold, and then into the chamber where his grace sate, & there I thinke were more then in the other chamber also in cloth of gold, and we did our duety, & shewed his grace our Queenes graces letters, with a note of your present which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her cousin, saying that hee was glad that wee were come in health into his Realme, and we went one by one vnto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid vs goe in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his presence, and were set with our faces towards his grace, & none in the chamber sate with their backes towards him, being I thinke neere a hundred at dinner then, and all serued with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not sleader but very massy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, standing still on the cupboord, not moued: and diuers times in the dinner time his grace sent vs meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went vp to his grace, and receiued a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the same night his grace sent certaine gentlemen to vs with diuers sortes of wine and mede, to whome wee gaue a rewarde. And afterwarde we were by diuers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the copie of the priuiledges that we would desire to haue, for feare it should not be writte in the Russie tongue, as we did meane. So first a Russian did write for vs a breuiat to the Emperor, the tenour wherof was, that we did desire a stronger priuilege: & when the Secretary saw it, he did deliuer it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed vs to write our minds, and hee would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet wee haue no answere: but we haue byn required of his Secretary, and

Queene Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Russia.

The Italians counsell to our people.

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of the vnder Chancelor, to know what wares we had brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to haue, that are, or may bee had in this Realme: and we shewed them, and they shewed the Emperor therof. And then they said his graces pleasure was, that his best marchants of the Mosco should be spoken to, to meet and talk with vs. And so a day was appointed, and wee mette in the Secretarie his office, and there was the vnder Chancelor, who was not past two yeeres since the Emperors marchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the conclusion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed vs to bethinke vs, where we would desire to haue a house or houses, that wee might come to them as to our owne house, and for marchandize to be made preparation for vs, and they would know our prises of our wares and frise: and we answered, that for our prices they must see the wares before we coulde make any price thereof, for the like in goodnesse hath not bene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all sorts of our wares to come from Vologda, with the first sledway, and then they should see them, and then we would shew them the prices of them: and likewise we could not tell them what we would giue them inally, till we did knowe as well their iust weights as their measures: for in all places where we did come, al weights and measures did vary. Then the Secretary (who had made promise vnto vs before) saide, that we should haue all the iust measures vnder seale, & he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or sel with any other measure then that, the law was, that he should be punished: he said moreouer, that if it so happe that any of our marchants do promise by couenat at any time to deliuer you any certain sum of wares in such a place, and of such like goodnesse, at such a day, for such a certaine price, that then because of variance, we should cause it to be writte, according as the bargain is, before a iustice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe couenant & promise in all points, according to his couenant, that then looke what losse or hinderance we could iustly proue that we haue therby, he should make it good if he be worth so much: and in like case we must do to them: and to that we did agree, saue onely if it were to come ouer the sea, then if any such fortune should bee (as God forbid) that the ship should mischance or be robbed, & the proofe to be made that such kind of wares were laden, the English marchants to beare no losse to the other marchant. Then ỹ Chancelor said, me thinks you shall do best to haue your house at Colmogro, which is but 100. miles frō the right discharge of the ships, and yet I trust the ships shall come neerer hereafter, because the ships may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000. miles from Vologda by water, and all our marchants shall bring all our marchandize to Colmogro to you, and so shall our marchants neither go empty nor come empty: for if they lacke lading homeward, there is salt, which is good ware here, that they may come loden againe. So we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his saying: for we shal neuerthelesse, if we list, haue a house at Vologda, & at the Mosco, yea, & at Nouogrode, or where we wil in Rusland: But the three & twentieth of this present we were with the secretary, and then among other talke, we moued, that if we should tary at Colmogro with our wares, and should not come to Vologda, or further to seeke our market, but tary stil at Colmogro, and then the marchants of the Mosco and others should not come and bring their wares, and so the ships should come, and not haue their lading ready, that then it were a great losse and hinderance for vs: then saide hee againe to vs, that the marchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they should come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they should not find wares there sufficient to serue them, that then they should be at great losse and hinderance, they leaning their other trades to fal to that: and to that we did answere, that after the time that we do appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they should neuer come thither, but at the beginning of the yere, they should find that our marchants would haue at the least for a thousand robles, although the ships were not come: so that he saide, that then wee must talke further with the marchants: so that as yet I know not, but that we shall haue neede of one house at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then wee shalbe sure to buy some at Vologda, and to be out of bondage.

The diuersitie of weights & measures in Russia.

Colmogro.

Vologda.

And thus may we continue three or foure yeers, and in this space we shall know the countrey

trey and the marchants, and which way to saue our selues best, and where to plant our houses, and where to seeke for wares: for the Mosco is not best for any kind of wares for vs to buy, saue onely waxe, which we cannot haue vnder seuen pence the Russe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I haue bidden 6. pence for a pound. And I haue bought more, fiue hundred weight of yarne, which stands mee in eight pence farthing the Russe pound one with another. And if wee had receiued any store of money, and were dispatched heere of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we shalbe shortly (you know what I meane) then as soone as we haue made sale, I doe intend to goe to Nouogrode, and to Plesco, whence all the great number of the best tow flaxe Nouogrode. commeth, and such wares as are there I trust to buy part. And feare you not but we will do that may be done, if God send vs health, desiring you to prepare fully for one ship to be ready in the beginning of April to depart off the coast of England.

Concerning all those things which we haue done in the wares, you shal receiue a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth these from vs is a marchant of Terwill and he was caused to cary these by the commandement of the Emperour his secretarie, whose name is Iuan Mecallawich Weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it please The Russes secretary his name. you to send any letters to Dantiske to Robert Elson, or to William Watsons seruant Dunstan Walton to be conueyed to vs, it may please you to inclose ours in a letter sent from you to him, written in Polish, Dutch, Latine, or Italian: so inclosed, comming to the Mosco to his hands, he wil conuey our letters to vs wheresoeuer we be. And I haue written to Dantiske already to them for the conueyance of letters from thence.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men say that these hundred yeeres was neuer so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yesternight wee receiued a letter from Christopher Hudson from a citie called Yeraslaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceiue him, so that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sled did ouerthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was lost, which made vs all very sory.

I pray you be not offended with these my rude letters for lacke of time: but assoone as sales be made, I will finde the meanes to conuey you a letter with speed: for the way is made so doubtful, that the right messenger is so much in doubt, that he would not haue any letters of any effect sent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of these: and to say the truth, the way is not for him to trauell in. But I will make another shift beside, which I trust shall serue the turne till he come, if sales be made before he be readie, which is and shall be as pleaseth God: who euer preserue your worship, and send vs good sales. Written in haste.

By yours to commaund

GEORGE KILLINGWORTH

Draper.

A copie of the first Priuileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English Marchants in the yeere 1555.

Iohn Vasilinich, by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great duke of Nouogrode, Moscouia, &c. To all people that shall see, reade, heare or vnderstād these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted al realmes and dominions in the whole world with sundry cōmodities, so as the one hath neede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means thereof traffike is vsed from one to another, and amity therby increased: and for that as amongst men nothing is more to be desired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can liue in quietnes, so that it is as troublesome to be vtterly wanting, as it is perceiued to be grieuous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conseruation and maintenance thereof in health: considering

sidering also how needfull marchandize is, which furnisheth men of all that which is conuenient for their liuing and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other things conuenient and profitable for them, and that marchandize bringeth the same commodities from diuers quarters in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in euery place (where entercourse of marchandizes is receiued and imbraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the inioyers thereof be as men liuing in a golden world: Vpon these respects and other weighty and good considerations, vs hereunto mouing, and chiefly vpon the contemplation of the gracious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, &c. in the fauour of her subiects, merchants, the gouernour, consuls, assistants, and communaltie of merchants aduenturers for discouery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace speciall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, do giue and grant as much as in vs is and lieth, vnto Sebastian Cabota Gouernour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Consuls: Sir Iohn Gresham, &c. Assistants, and to the communaltie of the aforenamed fellowship, and to their successours for euer, and to the successours of euerie of them, these articles, graunts, immunities, franchises, liberties and priuileges, and euery of them hereafter following, expressed and declared. Videlicet:

1 First, we for vs, our heires and successors, do by these presents giue and graunt free licence, facultie, authority and power vnto the said Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, and communalty of the said fellowship, and to their successors for euer, that all and singular the marchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, atturneys, seruants, and ministers, and euery of them may at all times hereafter for euer more surely, freely and safely with their shippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatsoeuer saile, come and enter into all and singular our lands, countreis, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, portes, iurisdictions, and destraicts by sea, land or fresh waters, and there tary, abide and soiourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kind of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatsoeuer nation, rite, condition, state or degrees they be, and with the same or other ships, wares, marchandizes, goods & things whatsoeuer they be, vnto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleasure and liberty by sea, land or fresh waters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and euery part thereof freely and quietly without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, prest, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demaded, taxed, set, leuied or inferred vpon them or any of them, or vpon their goods, ships, wares, marchandizes and things, of, for or vpon any part or parcell thereof, or vpon the goods, ships, wares, merchandizes, and things of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall, ne speciall of vs, our heires or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subiect vnto vs.

2 Item, we giue and graunt to the said marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, marchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shal be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreyes, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our iurisdiction, at any time hereafter attached, staied, arrested ne disturbed for anie debt, duetie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or sureties, ne also, for any offence or trespasse committed, or that shall be committed, but onely for such as they or any of them shall actually commit, and the same offences (if any such happen,) shall bee by vs onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we giue and graunt, that the said Marchants shal and may haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, choose and assigne brokers, shippers, packers, weighers, measurers, wagoners, and all other meet and necessary laborers for to serue them in their feat of marchandises, and minister and giue vnto them and euery of them a corporall othe, to serue them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his

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or their othe, may punish and dismisse them, and from time to time choose, sweare and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, vexation or disturbance, either of vs, our heires or successors, or of any other our Iustices, officers, ministers or subiects whatsoeuer.

4 Item, we giue and graunt vnto the saide Marchants and their successours, that such person as is, or shalbe commended vnto vs, our heires or successors by the Gouernour, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship resiant within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor within this our empire and dominions, may and shal haue ful power and authoritie to gouerne and rule all Englishmen that haue had, or shall haue accesse, or repaire in or to this said Empire and iurisdictions, or any part thereof, and shal and may minister vnto them, and euery of them good iustice in all their causes, plaints, quarrels, and disorders betweene them moued, and to be moued, and assemble, deliberate, consult, conclude, define, determine and make such actes, and ordinances, as he so commended with his Assistants shall thinke good and meete for the good order, gouernment and rule of the said Marchants, and all other Englishmen repairing to this our saide empire and dominions, or any part thereof, and to set and leuie vpon all, and euery Englishmen, offender or offenders, of such their acts and ordinances made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine or imprisonment.

5 Item, if it happen that any of the saide Marchants, or other Englishman, as one or more doe rebell against such chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not dispose him or themselues to obey them and euery of them as shall appertaine, if the saide Rebels or disobedients doe come, and bee founde in our saide Empire and iurisdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promise and graunt, that all and euery our officers, ministers, and subiects shall effectually ayde and assist the saide chiefe Factour or Factours, and their deputies, and for their power shall really woorke, to bring such rebell or disobedient rebels, or disobedients to due obedience: and to that intent shall lende vnto the same Factour or Factours, and their deputies vpon request therefore to be made, prisons, and instruments for punishments from time to time.

6 Item, we promise vnto the saide Marchants, and their successours vpon their request to exhibite and doe vnto them good, exact and fauourable iustice, with expedition in all their causes, and that when they or any of them shall haue accesse, or come to or before any of our Iustices, for any their plaints mooued, and to bee mooued betweene any our subiects or other stranger, and them, or any of them, that then they shalbe first and forthwith heard, as soon as the party which they shal find before our Iustices shalbe depeached, which party being heard forthwith, and assoone as may be, the said English marchants shall be ridde and dispatched: And if any action shall be moued by or against any of the said Marchants being absent out of our saide empire and dominions, then such Marchants may substitute an Attorney in all and singular his causes to be followed as need shall require, and as shall seeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, and to their successours, that if the same Marchants or any of them shall bee wounded, or (which God forbid) slaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof giuen, Wee and our Iustices and other officers shall execute due correction and punishment without delay, according to the exigence of the case: so that it shall bee an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it shall chaunce the factors, seruants, or ministers of the saide Marchants or any of them to trespasse or offende, whereby they or any of them shall incurre the danger of death or punishment, the goods, wares, marchandizes, and things of their Masters shall not therefoore bee forfaited, confiscated, spoiled ne seised by any meanes by vs, our heires or successours, or by any our officers, ministers or subiects, but shall remaine to their vse, franke, free, and discharged from all punishment and losse.

8 Item, we graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, he shal not be laid in prison, so farre as he can put in sufficient suretie and pawne: neither shall any sergeant, or officer leade them or any of them to prison, before he shall haue knowen whe-

ther the chiefe Factor or factors, or their deputies shalbe sureties, or bring in pawne for such arrested: then the officers shal release the partie, and shall set him or them at libertie.

9 Moreouer, we giue, graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, that if any of their ships or other vessels shall bee spoyled, robbed, or damnified in sayling, ancboring or returning to or from our saide Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other person, whatsoeuer hee or they bee, that then and in such case, wee will doe all that in vs is to cause restitution, reparation, and satisfaction to bee duely made to the said English marchants by our letters and otherwise, as shall stand with our honour, and be consonant to equitie and iustice.

10 Item, for vs, our heires and successours, wee doe promise and graunt to performe, mainteine, corroborate, autenticate and obserue all and singular the aforesaide liberties, franchises, and priuiledges, like as presently we firmely doe intend, and will corroborate, autentike and performe the same by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to the commoditie and profite of the said English Marchants, and their successours for euer.

And to the intent that all and singuler the saide giftes, graunts and promises, may bee inuiolably obserued and performed, we the said Iohn Vasiliuich by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great Duke of Nouogrode, Mosco, &c. for vs, our heires and successors, by our Imperiall and lordly word in stead of an othe, haue and doe promise by these presents, inuiolably to mainteyne and obserue, and cause to be inuiolably obserued and mainteined all and singuler the aforesayde giftes, graunts and promises from time to time, and at all and euery time and times heereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof haue caused our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Castle of Mosco the 20. day of in the yeere.

The Charter of the Marchants of Russia, graunted vpon the discouerie of the saide Countrey, by King Philip and Queene Marie.

PHilip and Marie, by the grace of God King and Queene, &c. To all manner of officers, true Iurie men, ministers and subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme or elsewhere vnder our obeysance, iurisdiction, and rule, or otherwise vnto whome these our letters shall bee shewed, seene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right trustie, right faithfull, and welbeloued Counsailors, William Marques of Winchester Lord high Treasurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our housholde, Iohn Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our priuie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Howard of Effingham Lorde high Admirall of our saide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their owne aduenture, costs and charges, prouided, rigged, and tackled certaine ships, pinnesses, and other meete vessels, and the same furnished with all things necessary haue aduanced and set forward, for to discouer, descrie, and finde Iles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seignories vnknowen, and by our subiects before this not commonly by sea frequented, which by the sufferance and grace of Almightie God, it shall chaunce them sailing Northwards, Northeastwards, and Northwestwards, or any partes thereof, in that race or course which other Christian Monarches (being with vs in league and amitie) haue not heeretofore by Seas traffiqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their said aduenture, as well for the glorie of God, as for the illustrating of our honour and dignitie royall, in the increase of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our subiects of the same: And to this intent our subiects aboue specified and named, haue most humbly beseeched vs, that our abundant grace, fauour and clemencie may be gratiously extended vnto them in this behalfe: Whereupon wee inclined to the petition of the foresaide our Counsailours, subiects and marchants, and willing to animate, aduance, further and nourish them in their said godlie, honest, and good purpose, and, as we hope, profitable aduenture, and that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieue the same, Of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt, for vs, our heires and successours, vnto our said right trustie, and right faithfull, and right welbeloued Counsailours, and the other before named persons, that they

The discouerie principally intended for Gods glory.

by

by the name of marchants aduenturers of England, for the discouery of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seighiories vnknowen, and not before that late aduenture or enterprise by sea or Nauigation, commonly frequented as aforesaid, shalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowship and communaltie of themselues, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of lands, territories, Iles & seighiories vnknowen, and not by the seas, and Nauigations, before their saide late aduenture or enterprise by sea or Nauigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by these presents, and that the same fellowship or communalty from henceforth shalbe, and may haue one Gouernour of the saide fellowship, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers.

Sebastian Cabota first gouernour of the Muscouie companie.

And in consideration that one Sebastian Cabota hath bin the chiefest setter forth of this iourney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and constitute him the said Sebastian to be the first and present gouernour of the same fellowship and communaltie, by these presents. To haue and enioy the said office of Gouernour, to him the said Sebastian Cabota during his naturall life, without amoying or dimissing from the same roome.

And furthermore, we graunt vnto the same fellowship and communaltie and their successors, that they the saide fellowship and communaltie, and their successors after the decease of the saide Sebastian Cabota, shall, and may freely and lawfully in places conuenient and honest, assemble themselues together, or so many of them as will or can assemble together, as well within our citie of London, or elsewhere, as it shall please them, in such sort and maner, as other worshipfull corporations of our saide citie haue vsed to assemble, and there yeerely name, elect and choose one Gouernour or two of themselues, and their liberties, and also as well yeerely during the natural life of the said Sebastian Cabota now Gouernour, as also at the election of such saide Gouernour or gouernours before his decease, to choose, name and appoint eight and twentie of the most sad, discreete, and honest persons of the saide fellowship, and communaltie of Marchant aduenturers, as is aboue specified, and 4. of the most expert and skilfull persons of the same 28. to be named and called Consuls, and 24. of the residue, to be named and called Assistants to the saide Gouernour or gouernours, and Consuls for the time being, which shal remaine and stand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it shall fortune the saide Gouernour, Consuls, and assistants, or any of them so to be elected, and chosen as is aforesaid, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and so often, it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said fellowship, and communalty, to elect and choose of themselues other Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, in the place and steade of such as so shall happen to die, to serue out the same yeere.

Sir George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Husie, Iob. Suthcot, the first 4. Consuls.

And further we do make, ordeine, and constitute George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret Alderman of our saide Citie, Anthonie Husie, and Iohn Suthcot, to be the first and present 4. Consuls of the said felowship and communalty by these presents, to haue and enioy the said offices of Consuls to them the said George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Husie, & John Suthcot, for terme of one whole yere next after ye date of these our letters patents: And we doe likewise make, ordeine and constitute Sir John Gresham knight, Sir Andrew Iudde knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir John Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdson, John Hopkins, William Watson, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, John Ellot, John Sparke, Blase Sanders, & Miles Mording, to be the first and present 24. Assistants to the saide Gouernour or gouernours, and Consuls, and to the said fellowship and communaltie by these presents, to haue and enioy the said offices of assistants to them for terme of one whole yere, next after the date of these our letters patents. And further, we for vs, our heires and successors, as much as in vs is, wil & graunt by these presents vnto the saide Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship & company of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, & to their successors, that the said gouernour or gouernours, 4. Consuls, & 24. assistants, that now by these patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by

the saide fellowship & communaltie of marchants aduenturers, or the more part of them, which shalbe then present, so from time to time to be chosen, so that there be 15. at the least wholy agreed therof, the said Gouernour or gouernors, or one of them, and 2. of the said Consuls shalbe there, and 12. of the residue of the said number of 15. shall be of the saide assistants, and in the absence of such Gouernour, that then 3. of the said Consuls, and 12. of the saide assistants at the least for the time being shal & may haue, vse and exercise ful power and authority to rule and gouerne all and singuler the Marchants of the said fellowship and communaltie, and to execute and doe full and speedie iustice to them, and euery of them, in all their causes, differences, variances, controuersies, quarrels, and complaints, within any our realmes, dominions & iurisdictions onely moued, and to be moued touching their marchandise, traffikes, and occupiers aforesaid, or the good order or rule of them or any of them.

Also wee for vs, our heires and successours, so much as in vs is, doe likewise by these presents graunt, that the said Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie, and their successors shall and may haue perpetuall succession, and a common Seale which shall perpetually serue for the affaires and businesse of the saide fellowship and communaltie. And that they and their successours, shall and may bee for euer able persons, and capax in the lawe, for to purchase and possesse in fee and perpetuitie, and for terme of life or liues, or for terme of yeeres or otherwise, lands, tenements, rents, reuersions, and other possessions, and hereditaments whatsoeuer they bee, by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the Marchants aduenturers by Seas and Nauigations for the discouerie of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and before the saide last aduenture or enterprise by seas not frequented, as before is specified, and by the same names shall and may lawfully alien, graunt, let and set the same or any part thereof to any person or persons able in the lawe to take and receiue the same. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the same, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without speciall licence of vs, our heires or successours, first had and obtained.

Also wee for vs, our heires and successours haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt vnto the saide Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the saide Marchants and to their successours, that they and their successours, shall and may lawfully purchase vnto them and their successors for euer, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatsoeuer, of the cleare yeerely valuë of threescore sixe pounds, thirteene shillings & foure pence of lawful money of England and not aboue, as well of such lands, tenements and hereditaments, as bee holden or shall be holden of vs, our heires or successours, as of any other person or persons, the statutes prouided against alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any article or clause in them or any of them contained, or any other lawe, custome, statute or prouision to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that they by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, for the discouerie of lands territories, Isles, dominions and Seigniories vnknowen by the Seas and Nauigations, and not before the said late aduenture or enterprise by seas frequented as aforesaid, shall and may be able in the law to implead, and be impleaded, to answere, and to be answered, to defende, and to be defended before whatsoeuer Iudge or Iustice, temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court, or courts, and in all actions personall, reall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of nouel disseison, and also in all plaints, suites, quarels, affaires, businesses and demaunds whatsoeuer they bee, touching and concerning the saide fellowship and communaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same onely, in as ample manner and forme, as any other corporation of this our Realme may doe.

Moreouer, wee for vs, our heires and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt vnto the said Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaide, and to their successours, that the saide Gouernour, or Gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, shall haue full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make,

make, ordein, establish and erect all such statutes, actes and ordinaunces, for the gouernement, good condition, and laudable rule of the saide fellowship and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, as to them shall bee thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie, and also to admit vnto the saide Corporation and fellowship to be free of the same, such and as many persons, as to them shal bee thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie. And that euery such person or persons, as shall fortune hereeafter to bee admitted into the saide fellowshippe, communaltie and corporation, shal from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the same. And also wee will, and by these presents graunt for vs, our heires and successours, vnto the saide Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, and to their successours, that the Gouernour, or gouernors, Consuls and assistants of the same, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, and their successours for the time being, shall, and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents from time to time, as to them shal seeme good, to limite, set, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, & imprisonments, or any of them vpon any offender of the saide fellowship and communaltie, for any offence touching the same fellowship and communaltie, and also that all acts and ordinances by them or their successours to bee made, which time shall thinke not necessarie or preiudiciall to the saide fellowship or communaltie, at al times to reuoke, breake, foustrate, annihilate, repeale and dissolue at their pleasure and liberty. And further, wee will, that if any of the saide fellowship and communaltie shalbe found contrarious, rebellious, or disobedient to the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, and the said assistants for the time being, or to any statutes, acts or ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, and the saide assistants, in maner, forme, and number aboue specified, for the time being, shall and may by vertue of these presents, mulct, and punish euery such offender or offenders, as the quality of the offence requireth, according to their good discretions.

And further, we will that none of the saide offender or offenders shall decline from the power of the saide Gouernour, or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, in maner, forme, and number aboueside for the time being: so alwayes, that the saide actes, statutes and ordinances, doe onely touch and concerne the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, assistants, and the saide fellowship and communaltie of our before named Marchants aduenturers, or the men of the same fellowship and communaltie, and none other; And so alwayes, that such their acts, statutes and ordinances bee not against our prerogatiue, lawes, statutes, and customes of our realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the seuerall ductie of any our subiects towards vs, our heires and successours, nor contrarie to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by vs or any our progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by vs, our heires and successours to bee made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor also to the preiudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our Citie of London, nor to the preiudice of any person or persons, bodie politique, or corporate or incorporate, iustly pretending, clayming, or hauing any liberties, franchises, priuiledges, rightes or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of anie graunt, gift, or Letters patents, by vs, or anie our Progenitours, heeretofore giuen, graunted, or made.

Moreouer, we for vs, our heires, and successours, will, and by these presents, doe graunt vnto the said Gouernors, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of our Marchants aforesaid, that their said Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors for the time being, in maner, forme and number aboue rehearsed, shal haue full power and authoritie to assigne, constitute and ordaine one officer, or diuers officers as well within our aforesaide Citie of London, as also in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or else where within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the fellowship or communalty of the said marchants, and that the said sergeant or sergeants, shall and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents, to take, leuie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of euery person and persons, of the saide fellowship and communaltie

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conuict, and that shalbe conuicted, vpon or for breaking of any statutes, acts, ordinances, to bee made by the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants for the time being.

And further, we will and also graunt for vs, our heires and successours, that the saide officer or officers shall haue further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for disobedience in this behalfe (if neede be) to set hands and arrest aswell the bodie and bodies, as the goods and chattels of such offender, and offenders, & transgressers, in euery place and places not franchised. And if it shall fortune any such offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to be in any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other place franchised or priuiledged, where the said officer or officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, sh irifes, baylifes, and other head officers, or ministers, within euery such citie, borough, towne incorporate or place or places franchised, vpon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship, in number and forme aforesaid, vnder the common seale of the sayd fellowship and communaltie for the time being, shall and may attach & arrest the body or bodies of such offender or offenders, as also take, and seise the goods and chattels of all and euery such offender or offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and the same body and bodies, goods and chattels of all and euery such offender and offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and euery part therof so attached and seazed, shall according to the tenor and purport of the sayd precept, returne, and deliuer vnto the sayd officer or officers of the aforesaid fellowship, and communaltie.

And further, we will and grant for vs, our heires and successours by these presents, that all, and euery such Maior, shirife, baylife, or other head officers or ministers of any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other places franchised, shall not be impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any our court or courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said precept or precepts.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, & certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires, and successors, as much as in vs is, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and grant vnto the sayd gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and comminaltie of Marchants aduenturers, and to their successors, and to the Factor and Factors, assigne and assignes of euery of them, ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie and licence, and power to saile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Isles, Islands, and coastes of the sea, wheresoeuer before their late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, or by our Marchants and subiects by the seas not heretofore commonly frequented, vnder our banner, standerd, flags and ensignes, with their shippe, ships, barke, pinnesses, and all other vessels of whatsoeuer portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in such shippe or shippes, or other vessels at their owne and proper costs and expences, for to traffique, descrie, discouer and finde, whatsoeuer Isle, Islands, countreis, regions, prouinces, creekes, armes of the sea, riuers & streames, as wel of Gentiles, as of any other Emperor, king, prince, gouernor or Lord whatsoeuer he or they shalbe, and in whatsoeuer part of the world they be situated, being before the sayd late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, and by our Marchants and subiects not commonly frequented: and to enter and land in the same, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to be had or taken by anie our lawes, customes or statutes to our vse, or to the vse of our heires or successors for the same.

K. Phillip and Queene Mary hereby do confirmall Pope Alexanders diuision.

And we haue also granted, and by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, doe graunt vnto the sayd Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and comminalty, and to their successours, and to their Factors and assignes, and to euery of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and fasten our banners, standards, flags, and Ensignes, in whatsoeuer citie, towne, village, castle, Isle, or maine lande, which shall be by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforesayde, and that the sayd fellowship and comminalty, and their successors, Factors & assignes and euery of them shall and may subdue, possesse, and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Isles, and maine lands of infidelitie, which is or shall be by them, or any of them newly founde or descried, as our vassals and subiects, and for to acquire and

Conquest permitted.

get

get the Dominion, title, and iurisdiction of the same Cities, Townes, Castles, Villages, Isles, and maine landes, which shall bee by them, or any of them newly discouered or found vnto vs, our heires and successours for euer.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our subiects in this last ‖ yeere attempted by Anno 1554. Nauigation, towards the discouerie and disclosure of vnknowen places, Realmes, Islandes, and Dominions by the seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almighty God to cause one of the three shippes by them set foorth for the voyage, and purpose aboue mentioned, named the Edward Bonauenture, to arriue, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our cousin and brother, Lord Iohn Basiliuich Emperour of all Russia, Volodomer, great duke of Mosconie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our loue and zeale, did not onely admitte the Captaine, and marchants our subiects into his protection, and Princely presence, but also receiued and intertained them very graciously, and honourably, granting vnto them by his letters addressed vnto vs, franke accesse into all his Seigniories and dominions, with licence freely to traffique in and out with all his Subiects in all kinde of Marchandise, with diuers other gracious priuiledges, liberties and immunities specified in his sayde letters vnder his Signet: Know yee therefore that wee of our further royall fauour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and speciall grace, for vs our heires and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and grant vnto the same Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and comunalty aboue named, and to their successours, as much as in vs is, that all the mayne landes, Isles, portes, hauens, creekes, and riuers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great Duke of Mosco, &c. And all and singuler other lands, dominions, territories, Isles, Portes, hauens, creekes, riuers, armes of the sea, of al and euery other Emperor, king, prince, ruler and gouernor, whatsoeuer he or they before the said late aduenture or enterprise not knowen, or by our foresayd marchants and subiects by the seas not commonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcell thereof lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as is aforessyd, by sea shall not be visited, frequented nor hanted by any our subiects, other then of the sayd company and felowship, and their successours without expresse licence, agreement and consent of the Gouernour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowship and communaltie aboue named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforesayd, for the time being, vpon paine of forfeiture and losse, as well of the shippe and shippes, with the appurtenances, as also of all the goods, marchandises, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those our subiects, not being of the sayd felowship and communalty, which shall attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which bee, or hereafter shall happen to bee found, and trafliked vnto: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of vs, our heires and successors, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the sayd fellowship and communaltie. And if it shall fortune anie stranger or strangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the same marchants, their factors, deputies or assignes, or any of them in sailing, going or returning at any time in the sayd aduenture, or for to saile or trade to or from any those places, landes or coastes, which by the sayd marchants, their factors, deputies and assignes haue bene, or shall bee descried, discouered and found, or frequented, aswell within the coastes and limites of gentility, as within the dominions and Seigniories of the sayd mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and euery other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and gouernour whatsoeuer he or they be, before the sayd late aduenture or enterprise not knowen by any our said marchants and subiects, by the seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northwestwards or Northeastwards as aforesaid, then wee will and grant, and by these presents doe licence, and authorise for vs, our heires and successors, the said marchants, their factors, deputies, and assignes, and euery of them to doe their best in their defence, to resist the same their enterprises and attempts. Willing therefore, and straightly commanding and charging al and singular our Officers, Maiors, Sherifes, Escheators, Constables, Bailifes, and all and singuler other our ministers and liege men, and subiects whatsoeuer, to bee aiding, fauouring, helping & assisting vnto the sayd gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalty, and to their successeors and deputies, factors,

The Moscouites priuiledges vnto the English.

The largenes of the priuiledge of the Moscouite companie.

tors, seruants, and assignes, and to the deputies, factors and assignes of euery of them, in executing and enioying the premisses, as well on land as in the sea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you shall be thereunto required. In witnesse whereof, &c.

Anno 1555.

Apud Westmonasterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum nostrorum, primo & secundo.

CErtaine instructions deliuered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. for Russia, to euery Purser and the rest of the seruants, taken for the voyage, which may serue as good and necessary directions, to all other like aduenturers.

1 First you before the ship doth begin to lade, goe aboord, and shall there take, and write one inuentorie, by the aduise of the Master, or of some other principall officer there aboord, of all the tackle, apparell, cables, ankers, ordinance, chambers, shot, powder, artilleric, and of all other necessaries whatsoeuer doth belong to the sayd ship: and the same iustly taken, you shall write in a booke, making the sayd Master, or such officer priuie of that which you haue so written, so that the same may not be denied, when they shall call accompt thereof: that done, you shall write a copie of the same with your owne hand, which you shall deliuer before the shippe shall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be iustly answered the same, when time shall require: and this order to be seene and kept euery voyage orderly, by the Pursers of the companies owne ship, in any wise.

2 Also when the shippe beginneth to lade, you shall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter such goods as shall be brought aboord, to be laden for the company, packed, or vnpacked, taking the markes and numbers of euery packe, fardell, trusse, or packet, coronoya, chest, fatte, butte, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, firken, or other caske, maunde, or basket, or any other thing, which may, or shall be packed by any other manner of waies or deuise. And first, all such packes, or trusses, &c. as shal be brought aboord to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you shall doe the best to let that the same be not laden, and to enquire diligently to know the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the same is, that is so brought aboord to be laden: if you can not know the owners of such goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as also to send or bring word thereof to the Agent, and to some one of the foure Marchants with him adioined so speedily as you can, if it be here laden or to be laden in this riuer, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforesaid: and when the sayd shippe hath receiued in all that the companies Agent will haue laden, you shall make a iust copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of euery thing plainely, which you shall likewise deliuer to the sayd bookekeeper to the vse aforesayd.

3 Also when the ship is ready to depart, you shall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and shall shew him all such letters as you haue receiued of any person or persons priuately or openly, to be deliuered to any person or persons in Russia or el-swhere, and also to declare if you know any other that shall passe in the ship either master or mariner that hath receiued any letters to be priuily deliuered to any there, directed frō any person or persons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters so by you receiued, you shall not carie with you, without you be licensed so to doe by the Agent here, and some of the foure merchants, as is aforesaid: and such others as do passe, hauing receiued any priuie letters to be deliuered, you shal all that in you lieth, let the deliuerie of them at your arriuing in Russia: and also if you haue or do receiue, or shal know any other that doth or hath receiued any goods or ready money to be imployed in Russia, or to bee deliuered there to any person or persons from any person or persons, other then such as bee the companies goods, and that vnder their marke, you shall before the ship doeth depart, declare the same truely to the sayd Agent, and to some of the other merchants to him adioyned, as it is before declared.

4 Also when the shippe is ready to depart, and hath the master and the whole company aboord,

aboord, you shall diligently foresee and take heede, that there passe not any priuie person or persons, other then such as be authorized to passe in the said ship, without the licence and warrant of one of the Gouernours and of the assistants, for the same his passage, to be first shewed. And if there be any such person or persons that is to passe and will passe without shewing the same warrant, you shall let the passage of any such to the vttermost of your power: And for that there may no such priuie person passe vnder the cloke and colour of some mariner, you shall vpon the weying of your ships anker, call the master and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may see that you haue neither more nor lesse, but iust the number for the voyage.

5 Also you must haue in remembrance, that if it shall chance the shippe to bee put into anie harbour in this coast by contrary windes or otherwise in making the voyage, to send word thereof from time to time as the case shall require, by your letters in this maner. To master I. B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that which he must haue for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you shall do very well to keepe a dayly note of the voyage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally see that you forget not dayly in all the voiage both morning and euening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voiage will haue the better successe thereby, and the company prosper the better.

7 Also in calme weather and at other times when you shall fortune to come to anker in the seas during the voyage, you shall for the companies profite, and for the good husbanding of the victuals aboord, call vpon the Boateswaine and other of the company to vse such hookes and other engines as they haue aboord to take fish with, that such fish so taken may bee eaten for the cause aforesayd: and if there bee no such engines aboord, then to prouide some before you goe from hence.

8 And when God shall send you in safetie into the Bay of S. Nicholas at an anker, you shall goe a shore with the first boate that shall depart from the ship, taking with you such letters as you haue to deliuer to the Agent there: and if he be not there at your comming a land, then send the companies letters to Colmogro to him by some sure mariner or otherwise, as the master and you shall thinke best, but goe not your selfe at any hand, nor yet from aboord the ship, vnlesse it be a shore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ship that you be appointed in, which you shall applie diligently to haue done so speedily as may be. And for the discharging of the goods therein in the Bay, to be carried from thence, see that you doe looke well to the vnlading thereof, that there be none other goods sent a shore then the companies, and according to the notes entred in your booke as is aforesaid: if there be, inquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiuer of the sayd goods, in such sort that the company may haue the true knowlege thereof at your comming home.

9 Also there a shore, and likewise aboord, you shall spie and search as secretly as you may, to learne and know what bargaining, buying and selling there is with the master and the mariners of the shippe and the Russes, or with the companies seruants there: and that which you shall perceiue and learne, you shall keepe a note thereof in your booke secretly to your selfe, which you shall open and disclose at your comming home to the gouernours and assistants, in such sorte as the trueth of their secret trades and occupyings may be reuealed and knowen. You shal need alwayes to haue Argos eyes, to spie their secret packing and conueyance, aswell on land as aboord the shippe, of and for such furres and other commodities, as yeerely they doe vse to buy, packe and conuey hither. If you will bee vigilant and secrete in this article, you cannot misse to spie their priuie packing one with another, either on shore or aboord the shippe: worke herein wisely, and you shall deserue great thanks of the whole company.

10 Also at the lading againe of the shippe, you shall continue and abide abord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke all such goods and marchandises as shall be brought and laden, which you shall orderly note in all sortes as heretofore, as in the second

article partly it is touched: and in any wise put the Master and the company in remembrance, to looke and foresee substantially to the roomaging of the shippe, by faire meanes or threats, as you shall see and thinke will serue for the best.

11 Thus when the shippe is full laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a shore to the Agent for your letters, and dispatch away: you shall demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the trueth therof, you shal repaire to the companies storehouse there at S. Nicholas, to see if there be any goods left in the sayd storehouse: if there be, you shal demand why they be not laden, and note what kinde of goods they be that be so left: and seeing any of the shippes there not fully laden, you shall put the Agent in remembrance to lade those goods so left, if any such be to be laden, as is aforesayd. And thus God sending you a faire wind, to make speede and away.

12 Finally, when God shall send you to arriue againe vpon this coast in safetie, either at Harewich, or elsewhere, goe not you aland, if you may possibly, to the ende that when you be gone a shore, there may no goods be sent priuily a-shore to be solde, or else to be solde aboord the ship in your absence, but keepe you still aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the causes aforesaid, and write the company a letter from the shippe of your good arriuall, which you may conuey to them by land by some boy or mariner of the shippe, or otherwise as you shall thinke best: and likewise when God shall send you and the shippe into the riuer here, doe not in any wise depart out of the shippe that you be in, vntil the company doe send some other aboord the shippe, in your steede and place, to keepe the shippe in your absence.

The Nauigation and discouerie toward the riuer of Ob, made by Master Steuen Burrough, Master of the Pinnesse called the Serchthrift, with diuers things worth the noting, passed in the yere 1556.

WE departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April. Satturday being S. Markes
April 23. day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays.

27 The 27 being Munday the right worshipfull Sebastian Cabota came aboord our Pinnesse at Grauesende, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinnesse, and tasted of such cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on shore, giuing to our mariners right liberall rewards: and the good olde Gentleman Master Cabota gaue to the poore most liberall almes, wishing them to pray for the good fortune, and prosperous successe of the Serchthrift our Pinnesse. And then at the signe of the Christopher, hee and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in the company great cheere: and for very ioy that he had to see the towardnes of our intended discouery, he entred into the dance himselfe, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed most gently, commending vs to the gouernance of almighty God.

28 Tuesday we rode still at Grauesend, making prouision for such things as we wanted.

29 Wednesday in the morning we departed from Grauesende, the winde being at Southwest, that night we came to an anker thwart ouer Lady of Hollands.

30 Thursday at three of the clocke in the morning we weyed, and by eight of the clocke, we were at an anker in Orwell wannes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonauenture, where the worshipfull company of marchants appointed me to be, vntill the sayd good
Note. ship arriued at Wardhouse. Then I returned againe into the pinnesse.

May 15. Friday the 15 of May we were within 7 leagues of the shore, on the coast of Norway: the latitude at a South sunne, 58 degrees and a halfe, where we saw three sailes, beside our owne company: and thus we followed the shoare or land, which lieth Northnorthwest, North and by West, and Northwest and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat.

16 Saturday at an East sunne we came to S. Dunstans Island, which Island I so named. It was off vs East two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeast: the latitude this day at a South sunne 59 degrees, 42 minutes. Also the high round mountaine bare East of vs, at a south sunne: and when this hill is East of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land

lyeth

lyeth North and halfe a point Westerly, from this sayd South sunne, vnto a North sunne twenty leagues Northwest alongst the shoare.

Vpon Sunday at sixe of the clocke in the morning, the farthest land that we could see that lay Northnorthwest, was East of vs three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eastwards of the North, which headland I iudged to be Scoutsnesse. At seuen of the clocke we changed our course and went North, the wind being at Southsoutheast, and it waxed very thick and mistie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheast. At a South sunne we lost sight of the Serchthrift, because of the mist, making our way North. And when we lost sight of the shoare and pinnesse, we were within two leagues & a halfe of the shoare: the last land that we saw when this mist came vpon vs, which is to the Northwards of Scowtsnesse, lay Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and we made our way North vntill a west sunne fiue leagues. 17

From that vntill Munday three a cloeke in the morning ten leagues Northnortheast: and then we went North and by East, because the winde came at the Westsouthwest with thicke miste: the latitude this day at a South sunne sixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this season we had sight of our Pinnesse againe. 18

From that vntill Tuesday a South sunne Northnortheast fortie foure leagues, and then Northeast. From a South sunne vntill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeast. 19

From that vntill Wednesday a South sunne Northnortheast, except the first watch Northeast: then had we the latitude in sixtie seuen degrees, thirtie nine minutes. From that vnto a Northwest sunne eighteen leagues Northeast, & then we were within two leagues off the shore, and saw the high land to the Southwards of Lowfoot breake out through the mist, and then we went North and by east. 20

From the sayd Northwest sunne vntill foure of the clocke in the morning North and by East ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheast vntill a South sunne, the latitude being sixtie nine degrees, and a halfe. From that vntill halfe an houre past seuen of the clocke, Northnortheast eleuen leagues and a halfe, and then we went Northeast ten leagues. From that 3 leagues and a halfe Eastnortheast, and then we sawe the land through the cloudes and hazie thwart on the broad side of vs the winde being then at Southsouthwest. 21 22

From that vntil Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning Eastnortheast, and to the Northwards fortie eight leagues, and then the wind came vp at North, wee being aboord the shore, and thwart of the Chappel, which I suppose is called Kedilwike: then we cast the shippes head to the seawards, because the winde was verie scant: and then I caused the Pinnesse to beare in with the shore, to see whether she might find an harborough for the ships or not, and that she found and saw two roaders ride in the sound: and also they sawe houses. But notwithstanding, God be praysed, the winde enlarged vpon vs, that we had not occasion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinnesse bare her Myssen mast ouer boord with flagge and all, and lost the flagge: with the mast there fell two men ouer boord, but God be praised, they were saued: the flagge was a token, whereby we might vnderstand whether there were a good harbour there or not. 23

Kedilwike chappell.

At a North sunne the North cape (which I so named the first voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eastwards of the foresayd Chappel from the Eastermost point of it. The North cape so named by Steuen Burrowe.

June.

The sunday we weied in Corpus Christi Bay, at a Northeast and by East sunne: the Bay is almost halfe a league deepe: the headland which is Corpus Christi point, lyeth Southeast and by East, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race ouer the flood: the Bay is at the least two leagues ouer: so doe I imagine from the fayre foreland to Corpus Christi poynt ten leagues Southeast and by East: It floweth in this Bay, at a South and by West moone full sea. From that we went vntill seuen a cloeke at after noone twentie leagues Southeast and by South: and then we tooke in all our sailes, because it was then very mistie, and also we met with much ice that ran out of the Bay, and then wee went Southsoutheast with our foresayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of 7

of the Edward, which bade vs farewell, and then we shot off another piece, and bade her farewell: wee could not one see the other, because of the thicke miste: at a Northwest sunne it began somewhat to cleere, and then we sawe a head lande, and the shoare trended to the Southwestward, which I iudged to be about Crosse Island: it was off vs at a Northnorthwest sunne, Westsouthwest.

8 From this Northnorthwest sunne, vntill Munday, we went Southeast, and this morning we came at anker among the shoales that lie off of point Looke out, at a Northeast and by East sunne, the wind being at Eastsoutheast. At this poynt Looke out, a south Moone maketh a full sea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Isle of Crosses Southeast, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out lieth from Cape Good fortune Eastsoutheast, and betweene them are sixe leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Looke out Eastsoutheast, and halfe a point to the Southwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. There is betweene these two points, a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of shoales and dangers. At a Southeast sunne we weyed, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at East-southeast: and at a Southeast sunne, we came to an anker, being then a full sea, in fiue fadoms and a halfe water. It hieth at this place where we roade, and also at point Looke out, foure fadome
9 water. At a Westnorthwest sunne we weyed, and driued to the windewards, vntill Tuesday, a Northnortheast sunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the riuer Cola, in eight fadome water. Cape S. Bernard lyeth from S. Edmonds point, Southeast and by South, and betwixt them are sixe leagues, and also betwixt them is the Riuer Cola, into which Riuer wee went this euening.

10 Wednesday we roade still in the sayd riuer, the winde being at the north: we sent our skiffe
The latitude of Cola. aland to be dressed: the latitude of the mouth of the riuer Cola is sixtie fiue degrees, fortie and eight minutes.

11 Thursday at 6 of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of vs one of the Russe
A Russe Lodia. Lodiaes, rowing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twenty men in her. The master of the boate presented me with a great loafe of bread, and sixe ringes of bread, which they call Colaches, and foure dryed pikes, and a pecke of fine otemeale, and I gaue vnto the Master of the boate, a combe, and a small glasse: and he declared vnto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to drinke, the tide being somewhat broken, they gently departed. The Masters name was Pheodor.

Whereas the tenth day I sent our Pinnesse on shoare to be mended, because she was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter and three men more to helpe him, the weather chanced so, that it was Sunday before they could get aboord our shippe. All that time they were without prouision of victuals, but onely a little bread, which they spent by Thursday at night, thinking to haue come aboord when they had listed, but winde and weather denied them: insomuch that they were faine to eate grasse, and such weedes as they could finde then aboue grounde, but fresh water they had plentie, but the meate with some of them could scant frame by reason of their queazie stomackes.

14 From Thursday at afternoone, vntill Sunday in the morning, our barke did ride such a road sted that it was to be marueiled, without the helpe of God, how she was able to abide it.

In the bight of the Southeast shoare of the riuer Cola, there is a good roade in fiue fadome, or foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you shall haue no land Northnortheast of you then. I prooued with our pinnesse, that the depth goeth on the Southeast shoare.

18 Thursday we weyed our ankers in the Riuer Cola, and went into the Sea seuen or eight leagues, where we met with the winde farre Northerly, that of force it constrained vs to goe againe backe into the sayd riuer, where came aboord of vs sundry of their Boates, which declared vnto me that they were also bound to the northwards, a fishing for Morse, and Salmon, and gaue me liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

Lodies hauing 24 men a peice. As we roade in this riuer, wee sawe dayly comming downe the riuer many of their Lodias, and they that had least, had foure and twenty men in them, and at the last they grew to thirtie saile of them: and amongst the rest, there was one of them whose name was Gabriel, who shewed me very much friendshippe, and he declared vnto mee, they all they were bound

From Cola to Pechora is but 7 or 8 degres sayling.

to

to Pechora, a fishing for Salmons, and Morses: insomuch that hee shewed mee by demonstrations, that with a faire winde wee had seuen or eight dayes sailing to the Riuer Pechora, so that I was glad of their company. This Gabriel, promised to giue mee warning of shoales, as hee did indeede.

Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gaue me a barrell of Meade, and one of his speciall friends gaue me a barrell of beere, which was caryed vpon mens backs at least 2 miles. 21

Munday we departed from the riuer Cola, with all the rest of the said Lodias, but sailing before the wind, they were all too good for vs: but according to promise, this Gabriel and his friend did often strike their sayles, and taried for vs forsaking their owne company. 22 The curtesie of one Gabriel.

Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we were thwart of Cape S. Iohn. It is to be vnderstood, that from the Cape S. Iohn vnto the riuer or bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all sunke land, and full of shoales and dangers, you shall haue scant two fadome water, and see no land. And this present day wee came to an anker thwart of a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the sayd Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before night there were aboue 20 saile that went into the sayd creeke, the wind being at the Northeast. We had indifferent good landfang. 23 A good & secuaffe note.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboord with his skiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with vs ouer the shoales with two small iuory combes, and a steele glasse, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not vngratefull. But notwithstanding, his first company had gotten further to the Northwards.

Wednesday being Midsummer day, we sent our skiffe aland to sound the creeke, where they found it almost drie at a low water. And all the Lodias within were on ground. 24

Although the harborough were euil, yet the stormie similitude of the Northerly winds tempted vs to set our sayles, & we let slip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in such iourneis varieties do chance, when we came vpon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did shrink so suddenly vpon vs, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could haue slatted the shippe before the winde, we should haue bene on ground on the lee shore, so that we were constrained to let fall an anker vnder our sailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to haue warpt in. Gabriel came out with his skiffe, and so did sundry others also, shewing their good will to helpe vs, but all to no purpose, for they were likely to haue bene drowned for their labour, in so much that I desired Gabriel to lend me his anker, because our owne ankers were two big for our skiffe to lay out, who sent me his owne, and borrowed another also and sent it vs. Then we layd out one of those ankers, with a hawser which he had of 140 fadom long, thinking to haue warpt in, but it would not be: for as we shorted vpon y said warpe the anker came home, so that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we rushed in vpon the other small anker that Gabriel sent aboord, and layd that anker to seawards: and then betweene these two ankers we trauersed the ships head to seawards, and set our foresaile and maine sayle, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and tryed out al that day with our maine corse.

The Thursday we went roome with Cape S. Iohn, where we found indifferent good rode for a Northnortheast wind, and for a neede, for a North and by West winde. 25

Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the winde at Eastsoutheast, and plied for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawser: & as soone as we were at an anker, the foresaid Gabriel came aboord of vs, with 3 or foure more of their small boats, and brought with them of their Aquauitæ & Meade, professing vnto me very much friendship, and reioiced to see vs againe, declaring that they earnestly thought that we had bene lost. This Gabriel declared vnto me, that they had saued both the ankers and our hauser, and after we had thus communed, I caused 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gaue them figs, and made them such cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of the, there came another of their skiffes aboord with one who 26

was a Keril, whose name afterwards I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, & Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Cola, which is not far from the riuers mouth. This foresaid Keril said vnto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gaue him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene sufficient. And as I continued in one accustomed maner, that if the present which they brought were worth enterteinment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, & therefore I regarded him but litle. And thus we ended, & they took their leaue and went ashore. At their comming ashore, Gabriel and Keril were at vnconuenient words, and by the eares, as I vnderstand: the cause was because the one had better enterteinmēt then the other: but you shal vnderstand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, because there were 17 lodias of the Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company.

Twentie eight Lodias belonging to Cola.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former company and neighbours, which were in number 28 at the least, and all of them belonging to the riuer Cola.

27 And as I vnderstood Keril made reckoning that the hawser which was fast in his anker should haue bene his owne, and at first would not deliuer it to our boat, insomuch that I sent him worde that I would complaine vpon him, whereupon he deliuered the hawser to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I sent our boat on shore to fetch fresh water and wood, and at their comming on shore this Keril welcomed our men most gently, and also banketed them: and in the meane time caused some of his men to fill our baricoes with water, and to help our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his best silke coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, & brought his present with him: and thus hauing more respect vnto his present then to his person, because I perceiued him to be vainglorious, I bade him welcome, and gaue him a dish of figs: and then he declared vnto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to shew me pleasure, and not Gabriel, who was but a priests sonne.

After their departure from vs we weied, and plied all the ebbe to the windewards, the winde being Northerly, & towards night it waxed very stormie, so that of force we were constrained to go roome with Cape S. Iohn againe, in which storme wee lost our skiffe at our sterne, that wee bought at Wardhouse, and there we rode vntil the fourth of Iuly. The latitude of Cape S. Iohn is 66 degrees 50 minutes. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. Iohn is of height from the full sea marke, as I iudge, 10 fadomes, being cleane without any trees growing, & also without stones or rockes, and consists onely of blacke earth, which is so rotten, that if any of it fall into the sea, it will swimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the shore you shall not haue aboue 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

The latitude of Cape S. Iohn 66 degrees 50 minutes.

Earth swimming about water like wood.

Iulie.

28 SAturday at a Northnorthwest sunne the wind came at Eastnortheast, & then we weied, and plied to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues shot past the Cape, we saw a house standing in a valley, which is dainty to be seene in those parts, and by and by I saw three men on the top of the hil. Then I iudged them, as it afterwards proued, that they were men which came from some other place to set traps to take vermin for their furres, which trappes we did perceiue very thicke alongst the shore as we went.

5 Sunday at an East sunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Russes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiuing the most part of the Lodias to be gone we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed and spent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

6 Munday at a South sunne it was high water. All alongst the coast it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full sea: and as we were a weying we espied the Russe Lodias, which we first lost. They came out of a creeke amongst the sandy hilles, which hilles beginne 15 leagues Northnortheast from Cape S. Iohn.

7 Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheast frō the place where

where we saw the Russes come out: and there the Russes harboured themselues within a soonke banke, but there was not water enough for vs.

At a North sunne we weyed and plied to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, vntill a South sunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende those sandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie Northand by West, South and by East, and Northnorthwest, and to the Westwards, and there the water beginneth to waxe deepe. The latitude 68 degrees and a halfe.

At a Northwest sunne we came to an anker within halfe a league of the shore, where wee had good plenty of fish, both Haddocks and Cods, riding in 10 fadom water.

Wednesday we weyed, and plyed neerer the headland, which is called Caninoz, the wind being at East and by North. 8

Thursday the wind being scant we turned to windwards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degrees 40 minutes. 9

Friday we turned to the windward of the ebbe, but to no purpose: and as we rode at an anker, we saw the similitude of a storme rising at Northnorthwest, & could not tell where to get rode nor succor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: & that land which we rode vnder with that winde was a lee shore. And as I was musing what was best to be done, I saw a saile come out of a creeke vnder the fore-nayd Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forsooke his harborough and company, and came as neere vs as he might, and pointed vs to the Eastwards, & then we weyed and followed him, and went East and by South, the wind being at Westnorthwest, and very mistie. 10

Saturday we went East-southeast & followed Gabriel, and he brought vs into an harborough called Morgiouets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz. & we had vpon the barre going in two fadome and a fourth part: and after we were past in ouer the barre, it waxed deeper, for we had 5 fadoms, 4 and a half, and 3 fadom &c. Our barke being moored, I sent some of our men to shoare to prouide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of young foule, as Gulles, Seapies, and others, whereof the Russes would eate none, whereof we were nothing sory, for there came the more to our part. 11 Morgiouets an harborough. Drift wood.

Sunday our men cut wood on shoare, and brought it aboord, and wee balasted our shippe with stones. 12

This morning Gabriel saw a smoke on ȝ way, who rowed vnto it with his skiffe, which smoke was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northwest sunne he came aboord again, and brought with him a Samoed, which was but a young man: his apparell was then strange vnto vs, and he presented me with three young wild geese, and one young barnacle. A Samoed.

Munday I sent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought vs aboord 8 barricoes of fresh water: the latitude of the said Morgiouets is sixtie eight degrees and a terce. It floweth there at a Southsouthwest moone full sea, and hyeth two fadome and a halfe water. 13

At a Westnorthwest sunne we departed from this place, and went East 25 leagues, and then saw an Island by North and by West of vs eight leagues, which Island is called Dolgoieue: and from the Eastermost part of this Island, there lyeth a sand East and by South 7 leagues long. 14 Dolgoieue an Island.

Wednesday at a North and by East sunne Swetinoz was South of vs 5 leagues. This day at afternoone we went in ouer the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had vpon the barre but one fadome water. 15 Pechora.

Thursday we road still. 16

Friday I went on shoare and obserued the variation of the Compasse, which was three degrees and a halfe from the North to the West: the latitude this day was sixtie nine degrees ten minutes. 17 The variation of the Compas.

From two or three leagues to the Eastward of Swetinoz, vntill the entering of the riuer Pechora, it is all sandy hilles, and towards Pechora the sandie hilles are very low.

It higheth on the barre of Pechora foure foote water, & it floweth there at a Southwest moone a full sea.

20. Munday at a North & by East sunne, we weyed, and came out ouer the sayd dangerous barre, where wee had but fiue foote water, insomuch that wee found a foote lesse water comming out then wee did going in. I thinke the reason was, because when we went in the winde was off the sea, which caused the sands to breake on either side of vs, and we kept in the smoothest betweene the breaches, which we durst not haue done, except we had seene the Russes to haue gone in before vs: and at our comming out the winde was off the shoare, and fayre weather, and then the sands did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God that our ship did draw so little water.

When we were a seaboord the barre the wind scanted vpon vs, and was at Eastsoutheast, insomuch that we stopped the ebbes, and plyed all the floods to the windewards, and made our way Eastnortheast.

21 Tuesday at a Northwest sunne we thought that we had seen land at East, or East & by North of vs: which afterwards prooued to be a monstrous heape of ice.

Ice. Within a little more then halfe an houre after, we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull sight to see: for, for the space of sixe houres, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarse. And when we had past from the danger of this ice, we lay to the Eastwards close by the wind.

22 The next day we were againe troubled with the ice.

23 Thursday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had

The lat. 70 degrees 11 min. the latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minutes.

We had not runne past two houres Northwest, the wind being at Northnortheast and Northeast and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the seawards, and made way West 6 leagues.

24 Friday at a Southeast sunne we cast about to the Eastwards, the wind being at Northnortheast: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

25 On S. Iames his day bolting to the windewardes, we had the latitude at noone in seuenty degrees twentie minutes. The same day at a Southwest sunne, there was a monstrous Whale aboord of vs, so neere to our side that we might haue thrust a sworde or any other weapon in him, which we durst not doe for feare hee should haue ouerthrowen our shippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs shouted, & with the crie that we made he departed from vs: there was as much aboue water of his backe as the bredth of our pinnesse, and at his falling downe, he made such a terrible noyse in the water, that a man would greatly haue maruelled, except hee had knowen the cause of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him. And a little after we spied certaine Islands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and blacke oze: we came to an anker at a Northeast

S. Iames Island. sunne, & named the Island S. Iames his Island, where we found fresh water.

26 Sunday, much wind blowing we rode still.

27 Munday I went on shoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the va-

The variation of the Compas 7 degrees and a halfe. riation of the compasse was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the West.

Tuesday we plyed to the Westwards alongst the shoare, the wind being at Northwest, and as I was about to come to anker, we saw a sayle comming about the point, wherunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I sent a skiffe aboord of him, and at their comming aboord they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man said hee had bene in our company in the riuer Cola, and also declared vnto them that we were past the way which should bring vs to the Ob. This land, sayd he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to say, the New land: and then he came aboord himselfe with his skiffe, and at his comming aboord he told me the like, and sayd further, that in this Noua Zembla is the highest mountaine in the worlde, as he thought, & that Camen Boldshay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I saw it not: he made me also certaine demonstrations of the way to the Ob, and seemed to make haste on his owne way, being very lothe to tarie, because the

28

The relation of Lothok.

The way to the riuer of Ob.

A mighty hill in Noua Zembla.

yeere

yeere was farre past, and his neighbour had set Pechora, and not he: so I gaue him a steele glasse, two pewter spoones, and a paire of velnet sheathed knines: and then he seemed somewhat the more willing to tary, and shewed me as much as he knew for our purpose: he also gaue me 17 wilde geese, and shewed me that foure of their lodias were driuen perforce from Caninoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Loshak.

Loshak.

Wednesday, as we plied to the Eastwards, we espied another saile, which was one of this Loshaks company, and we bare roome, and spake with him, who in like sort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done. 29

Thursday, we plied to the Eastwards, the winde being at Eastnortheast. 30

Friday, the gale of winde began to increase, and came Westerly withall, so that by a Northwest sunne we were at an anker among the Islands of Vaigats, where we saw two small lodias, the one of them came aboord of vs, and presented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who seemed to be the chiefest among them in killing of the Morse. 31 The Islands of Vaigats.

There were some of their company on shoare, which did chase a white beare ouer the high cliffs into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboord of vs killed in our sight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we saw so much ice driuing a seaboord, that it was then no going to sea.

August.

SAturday I went ashore, and there I saw three morses that they had killed: they held one tooth of a Morse, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare skin at three robles & two robles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Island, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houses, but onely couerings made of Deers skins, set ouer them with stakes: they are men expert in shooting, and haue great plenty of Deere. 1 Samoeds.

This night there fell a cruell storme, the wind being at West.

Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of snow, and we rode with two ankers a head. 2

Munday we weyed and went roome with another Island, which was fiue leagues Eastnortheast from vs, and there I met againe with Loshak, and went on shore with him, and hee brought me to a heap of the Samoeds idols, which were in number aboue 300, the worst and the most vnartificiall worke that euer I saw: the eyes and mouthes of sundrie of them were bloodie, they had the shape of men, women and children, very grosly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was also sprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde sticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it. I saw much of the footing of the sayd Samoeds, and of the sleds that they ride in. There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I saw a deers skinne which the foules had spoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table whereon they offered their sacrifice: I saw also the instruments, whereupon they had roasted flesh, and as farre as I could perceiue, they make their fire directly vnder the spit. 3 The manner of the Samoeds.

Loshak being there present tolde me that these Samoeds were not so hurtful as they of Ob are, and that they haue no houses, as indeede I saw none, but onely tents made of Deers skins, which they vnderproppe with stakes and poles: their boates are made of Deers skins, and when they come on shoare they cary their boates with them vpon their backes: for their cariages they haue no other beastes to serue them, but Deere only. As for bread and corne they haue none, except the Russes bring it to them: their knowledge is very base, for they know no letter. The Samoeds of the Ob very hurtfull and shrewd people.

Tuesday we turned for the harborough where Loshaks barke lay, whereas before we road vnder an Island. And there he came aboord of vs and said vnto me: if God sende winde and weather to serue, I will goe to the Ob with you, because the Morses were scant at these Islands of Vaigats, but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he sayd hee would goe 4

Normany. to the riuer of Naramzay, where the people were not altogether so sauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee shewed me that they will shoot at all men to the vttermost of their power, that cannot speake their speech.

5 Wednesday we saw a terrible heape of ice approch neere vnto vs, and therefore wee thought good with al speed possible to depart from thence, and so I returned to the Westwards againe, to the Island where we were the 31. of Iuly.

6 Thursday I went a shoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and The latitude. the variation of the compasse was 8 degrees from the North to the West. The variation of the compas.

Loshak and the two small Lodias of Pechora departed from this Island, while I was on shoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I marualled why he departed so suddenly, and went ouer the shoales amongst the Islands where it was impossible for vs to follow them. But after I perceiued them to be weatherwise.

7 Friday we road still, the winde being at Northnortheast, with a cruel storme. The ice came in so abundantly about vs at both ends of the Island that we road vnder, that it was a fearefull sight to behold: the storme continued with snow, raine, and hayle plenty.

8 Saturday we road still also, the storme being somewhat abated, but it was altogether misty, that we were not able to see a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeast and by East.

9 Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Island, the winde being at Southeast, and as we were cleere a sea boord the small Islandes and shoales, it came so thick with mistes, that we could not see a base shotte from vs. Then we tooke in all our sailes to make little way.

At a Southeast sunne it waxed cleere, and then we set our sayles, and lay close by the wind to the Southwards alongst the Islands of Vaigats. At a west sunne we tooke in our sayle againe because of the great mist and raine. Wee sounded at this place, and had fiue and twenty fadomes water, and soft blacke oze, being three leagues from the shoare, the winde being at South and by East, but still misty.

10 Munday at an East sunne we sounded, and had 40 fadomes, and oze, still misty: at noone wee sounded againe, and had 36 fadome, still misty.

11 Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we let fall our anker in three and twenty fadome, the mist still continuing.

12 Wednesday at three of the clocke in the morning the mist brake vp, the wind being at Northeast & by East, and then we saw part of the Islands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went Eastsoutheast close by the winde: at a West sunne we were at an anker vnder They land vpon Vaigats. the Southwest part of the said Vaigats, and then I sent our skiffe to shoare with three men in her, to see if they might speake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie.

13 Thursday the wind came Westerly, so that we were faine to seeke vs another place to ride in, because the wind came a seaboord land, and although it were misty, yet wee followed the shoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of vs, we let fall our anker. At a West sunne the mist brake vp, so that we might see about vs, and then we might perceiue that we were entred into a sound.

The vncertainty of ebbing & flowing. This afternoone we tooke in two or three skiffes lading of stones to balast our shippe withall. It hath here foure foot water, and floweth by fits, vncertaine to be iudged.

14 Friday we road still in the sound, the wind at Southwest, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it waxed againe mistie.

15 Saturday there was much winde at West, and much raine, and then againe mistie.

16 Sunday was very mistie and much winde.

17 Munday very mistie, the winde at Westnorthwest.

18 Tuesday was also mistie, except at noone: then the sunne brake out through the mist, so that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minutes: the afternoone was misty againe, the wind being at Westnorthwest.

19 Wednesday at three of the clocke afternoone the mist brake vp, & the wind came at Eastnortheast,

northeast, and then we wevved, and went South & by East, vntil seuen of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to haue had sight of the sandie hilles that are to the Eastwards of the riuer Pechora. At a Northwest sunne we took in our maine saile, because the wind increased, & went with a foresaile Westnorthwest, the wind being at Eastnortheast: at night there grewe so terrible a storme, that we saw not the like, although we had indured many stormes since we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to bruke such monstrous & terrible seas, without the great helpe of God, who neuer fayleth them at neede, that put their sure trust in him.

Thursday at a Southsouthwest sunne, thanks be to God, the storme was at the highest, & then the winde began to slake, and came Northerly withall, & then I reckoned the Westermost point of the riuer Pechora to be South of vs 15 leagues. At a Westsouthwest sunne we set our maine sayle, and lay close by the winde, the winde being at Northwest and by North, making but little way, because the billow went so high: at midnight wee cast about, and the shippe caped Northnortheast, making little way. 20 They were within 15 leagues of Pechora.

Friday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minutes, and we sounded, and had 29 fadomes sand, and in maner stremy ground. At a West sunne we cast about to the Westwards, and a little after the wind came vp at West. 21

Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a terce, we sounded heere, and had nine and forty fadomes and oze, which oze signified that we drew towards Noua Zembla. 22

And thus we being out of al hope to discouer any more to the Eastward this yeere, wee thought it best to returne, and that for three causes.

The first, the continuall Northeast and Northerly winds, which haue more power after a man is past to the astwards of Caninoze, then in any place that I doe know in these Northerly regions. They returne the 22 of August.

Second, because of great and terrible abundance of ice which we saw with our eies, and we doubt greater store abideth in those parts: I aduentured already somewhat too farre in it, but I thanke God for my safe deliuerance from it.

Third, because the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his stormes: and therefore I resolued to take the first best wind that God should send, and plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to see if we might do any good the, if God would permitt it.

This present Saturday we saw very much ice, and were within two or three leagues of it: it shewed vnto vs as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might see from Northwest off vs to the Eastwards: and this afternoone the Lord sent vs a little gale of wind at South, so that we bare cleere off the Westermost part of it, thanks be to God. And then against night it waxed calme againe, and the winde was at Southwest: we made our way vntill Sunday noone Northwest and by West, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at Southwest: there was a billow, so that we could not discerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reasonable gesse. 24

Munday there was a pretie gale of wind at South, so that wee went West and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minutes: wee had little winde all day: a at Westnorthwest sunne we sounded, and had 29 fadoms blacke sandie oze, & then we were Northeast 5 leagues from the Northeast part of the Island Colgoieue. 25

Tuesday the wind all Westerly we plyed to the wind wards. 26

Wednesday the wind was all Westerly, and calme: wee had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minutes, we being within three leagues of the North part of the Island Colgoieue. 27

Thursday, we went roome about the Westermost part of the Island, seeking where we might finde a place to ride in for a Northwest wind, but could find none, and then we cast about againe to the seawards, and the winde came at Westsouthwest, and this morning we had plenty of snow. 28

Friday, the winde being at Southwest and by West, we plied to the windewards. 29

Saturday, thewinde being at South, we plyed to the Westwards, and at afternoone the mist brake vp, and then we might see the land seuen or eight leagues to the Eastwards of Caninoz:

Caninoz: we sounded a litle before and had 35. fadoms and oze. And a while after wee sounded againe, and had 19. fadome and sand: then we were within three leagues and a halfe of the shore, and towards night there came downe so much winde, that we were faine to bring our ship a trie, and laide her head to the Westwards.

30 Sunday, the winde became more calme, and when it waxed verie mystie: At noone wee cast about to the Eastwards, the winde beeing at South, and ranne eight houres on that boorde, and then we cast about and caped West southwest: we sounded and had 32. fathomes, and fough oaze like clay.

31 Munday, we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that we might kill some fish if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Nuse, which Nuses were there so plentie, that they would scarcely suffer any other fish to come neere the hookes: the said Nuses caried away sundrie of our hookes and leads.

A litle after at a West Sunne, the winde began to blow stormie at West southwest, so that we were faine to wey and forsake our fishing ground, and went close by the winde Southwest, and Southwest and by West, making our way South southwest.

September.

1 TUesday at a West Sunne we sounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeshels: I reckoned Canonize to be 24 leagues Northnortheast from vs.

11 The eleuenth day we arriued at Colmogro, and there we wintered, expecting the approch of the next Summer to proceede farther in our intended discouerie for the Ob: which (by reason of our imploiments to Wardhouse the next spring for the search of some English ships) was not accordingly performed.

Certaine notes vnperfectly written by Richard Iohnson seruant to Master Richard Chancelour, which was in the discouerie of Vaigatz and Noua Zembla, with
1556 Steuen Burrowe in the Serchthrift 1556. and afterwarde among the Samoedes, whose deuilish rites hee describeth.

Norway. First, after we departed out of England we fell with Norway, and on that coste lieth Northbern or Northbergen, and this people are vnder the King of Denmarke: But they differ in their speech from the Danes, for they speake Norsh. And North of Northbern lie the Isles
Roste & Lofoot. Finmarke. of Roste and Lofoot, and these Islands pertaine vnto Finmarke, and they keepe the lawes and speake the language of the Islanders. And at the Eastermost part of that land is a castle
Wardhouse. which is called the Wardhouse, and the King of Denmarke doeth fortifie it with men of warre: and the Russes may not goe to the Westward of that castle. And East Southeast from that castle is
Lappia. The Scrickfinnes. a lande called Lappia: in which lande be two maner of people, that is to say, the Lappians, and the Scrickfinnes, which Scrickfinnes are a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order: and these people liue in tents made of Deares skinnes: and they haue no certaine habitations, but continue in heards and companies by one hundred and two hundreds. And
The Lappians. they are a people of small stature, and are clothed in Deares skinnes, and drinke nothing but water, and eate no bread but flesh all raw. And the Lappians bee a people adioyning to them & be much like to them in al conditions: but the Emperour of Russia hath of late ouercome manie of them, and they are in subiection to him. And this people will say that they beleeue in the Russes God. And they liue in tents as the other doe. And Southeast and by
Corelia. South from Lappia lyeth a prouince called Corelia, and these people are called Kerilli. And
Nouogardia. The Russes. South southeast from Corelia lyeth a countrey called Nouogardia. And these three nations are vnder the Emperour of Russia, and the Russes keepe the Lawe of the Greekes in their Churches, and write somewhat like as the Greekes write, and they speake their owne language, and the y abhorre the Latine tongue, neither haue they to doe with the Pope of Rome, and they holde it not good to worshippe any caried Image, yet they will worshippe paynted Images on tables or boords. And in Russia their Churches, steeples, and houses are all of wood: and their shippes that they haue are sowed with withes and haue no nayles. The Kerilles,

Kerilles, Russians and Moscouians bee much alike in all conditions. And South from the Moscouians lye the Tartarians, which bee Mahumetans, and liue in tentes and wagons, and keepe in heardes and companies: and they holde it not good to abide long in one place, for they will say, when they will curse any of their children, I wouldo thou mightest tary so long in a place that thou mightest smell thine owne dung, as the Christians doe: and this is the greatest curse that they haue. And East Northeast of Russia lieth Lampas, which is a place where the Russes, Tartars and Samoeds meete twise a yeere, and make the faire to barter wares for wares. And Northeast from Lampas lieth the countrey of the Samoeds, which be about the riuer of Pechere, and these Samoeds bee in subiection to the Emperour of Russia, and they lie in tentes made of Deere skinnes, and they vse much witchcraft, and shoot well in bowes. And Northeast from the riuer Pechere lieth Vaygatz, and there are the wilde Samoeds which will not suffer the Russes to land out of the Sea, but they will kill them and eate them, as wee are tolde by the Russes: and they liue in heards, and haue all their carriages with deere, for they haue no horses. Beyond Vaygatz lyeth a lande called Noua Zembla, which is a great lande, but wee sawe no people, and there wee had Foule inough, and there wee sawe white Foxes and white Beares. And the sayde Samoeds which are about the bankes of Pechere, which are in subiection to the Emperour of Russia, when they will remoue from one place to another, then they will make sacrifices in manner following. Euerie kinred doeth sacrifice in their owne tent, and hee that is most auncient is their Priest. And first the Priest doeth beginne to playe vpon a thing like to a great sieue, with a skinne on the one ende like a drumme: and the sticke that he playeth with is about a spanne long, and one ende is round like a ball, couered with the skinne of an Harte. Also the Priest hath vpon his head a thing of white like a garlande, and his face is couered with a piece of a shirt of maile, with manie small ribbes, and teeth of fishes, and wilde beastes hanging on the same maile. Then hee singeth as wee vse heere in Englande to hallow, whope, or showte at houndes, and the rest of the company answere him with this Owtis, Igha, Igha, Igha, and then the Priest replieth againe with his voyces. And they answere him with the selfesame wordes so manie times, that in the ende he becommeth as it were madde, and falling downe as hee were dead, hauing nothing on him but a shirt, lying vpon his backe I might perceiue him to breathe. I asked them why hee lay so, and they answered mee, Now doeth our God tell him what wee shall doe, and whither we shall goe. And when he had lyen still a litle while, they cried thus three times together, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, and as they vse these three calles, hee riseth with his head and lieth downe againe, and then hee rose vp and sang with like voyces as hee did before: and his audience answered him, Igha, Igha, Igha. Then hee commaunded them to kill fiue Olens or great Deere, and continued singing still both hee and they as before. Then hee tooke a swoorde of a cubite and a spanne long, (I did mete it my selfe) and put it into his bellie halfeway and sometime lesse, but no wounde was to bee seene, (they continuing in their sweete song still) Then he put the sworde into the fire till it was warme, and so thrust it into the slitte of his shirte and thrust it through his bodie, as I thought, in at his nauill and out at his fundament: the poynt beeing out of his shirt behinde, I layde my finger vpon it, then hee pulled out the sworde and sate downe. This beeing done, they set a kettle of water ouer the fire to heate, and when the water doeth seethe, the Priest beginneth to sing againe they answering him, for so long as the water was in heating, they sate and sang not. Then they made a thing being foure square, and in height and squarenesse of a chaire, and couered with a gown very close the forepart thereof, for the hinder part stood to the tents side. Their tents are rounde and are called Chome in their language. The water still seething on the fire, and this square seate being ready, the Priest put off his shirt, and the thing like a garland which was on his head, with those things which couered his face, & he had on yet all this while a paire of hosen of deeres skins with § haire on, which came vp to his buttocks. So he went into the square seate, and sate down like a tailour and sang with a strong voyce or halowing. Then they tooke a small line made of deeres skinnes of foure fathoms long, and with a smal knotte the Priest made it fast about his necke, and vnder his left arme, and gaue it vnto two men standing on both sides of him, which held the ends together.

Tartaria.

Lampas a mart, or faire of the Russes, Tartars and Samoeds.

The Samoeds country.

Or, Pechora.

Vaigatz.

Noua Zembla.

Store of foule.

White Foxes.

White beares.

The maner of the Samoeds sacrifices, about the riuer of Pechere.

together. Then the kettle of hote water was set before him in the square seat, al this time the square seat was not couered, and then it was couered w a gown of broad cloth without lining, such as the Russes do weare. Then the 2. men which did hold ỹ ends of the line still standing there, began to draw, & drew til they had drawn the ends of the line stiffe and together, and then I hearde a thing fall into the kettle of water which was before him in the tent. Thereupon I asked them that sate by me what it was that fell into the water that stoode before him. And they answered me, that it was his head, his shoulder and left arme, which the line had cut off, I meane the knot which I sawe afterwarde drawen hard together. Then I rose vp and would haue looked whether it were so or not, but they laid hold on me, and said, that if they should see him with their bodily eyes, they shoulde liue no longer. And the most part of them can speake the Russe tongue to bee vnderstood: and they tooke me to be a Russian. Then they beganne to hallow with these wordes, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, many times together. And as they were thus singing & out calling, I sawe a thing like a finger of a man two times together thrust through the gowne from the Priest. I asked them that sate next to me what it was that I sawe, and they saide, not his finger; for he was yet dead: and that which I saw appeare through the gowne was a beast, but what beast they knew not nor would not tell. And I looked vpon the gowne, and there was no hole to bee seene: and then at the last the Priest lifted vp his head with his shoulder and arme, and all his bodie, and came forth to the fire. Thus farre of their seruice which I sawe during the space of certaine houres: but how they doe worship their Idoles that I saw not: for they put vp their stuffe for to remoue from that place where they lay. And I went to him that serued the Priest, and asked him what their God saide to him when he lay as dead. Hee answered, that his owne people doeth not know: neither is it for them to know, for they must doe as he commanded. This I saw the fift day of Ianuarie in the yere of our Lord 1556. after the English account.

A discourse of the honourable receiuing into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperor of Russia, in the yeere of Christ 1556. and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queene Marie, seruing for the third voyage to Moscouie. Registred by Master Iohn Incent Protonotarie.

IT is here recorded by writing and autenticall testimonie, partly for memorie of things done, and partly for the veritie to be knowen to posteritie in time to come, that whereas the most high and mightie Iuan Vasiliuich Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moscouia and Nouogrode, Emperor of Cassan, and of Astrachan, Lord of Pleskie, and great Duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permskie, Viatskie, Bolgarskie and Sibierskie, Emperour and great Duke of many others, as Nouogrode in the nether countries, Chernigoskie, Rezanskie, Polodskie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Rostoskie, Yeraslaueskie, Bealozarskie, Oudarskie, Obdorskie, Condenskie, and manie other countries, and lord ouer all those partes, in the yeere of our Lord God, folowing the account of ỹ Latin church, 1556. sent by the sea from the port of S. Nicholas in Russia, his right honorable ambassador sirnamed Osep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the most famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, & Brabant, counties of Hasparge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambassador & Orator with certaine letters tenderly conceiued, together with certain presents and gifts mentioned in the foot of this memorial, as a manifest argument and token of a mutual amity and friendship to be made and continued betweene their maiesties & subiects respectiuely, for the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Orator was the 20. day of July imbarked and shipped in, and vpon a good English ship named the Edward Bonauenture, belonging to the Gouernor, Consuls and company of English marchants, Richard Chancelor being grand Pilot, and Iohn Buckland master of the said ship. In which was laden at the aduenture of the foresaid Ambassador, and marchants at seuerall accounts, goods & merchandizes, viz. in waxe, trane oyle, tallow, furres, felts, yarne and such like, to the summe of 20000. li. sterling, together with

with 16. Russies attendant vpon the person of the said Ambassador. Other and aboue ten other Russies shipped within the said Bay of S. Nicholas, in one other good ship to the said company also belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the said Orators & merchants to the value of 6000. lib. sterling, as by the inuoises and letters of lading of the said seuerall ships (whereunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ships comming in good order into the seas, & trauersing the same in their iourney towards the coast of England, were by contrary windes and extreme tempests of weather seuered the one from the other, that is to say, the saide Bona Speranza with two other English ships also appertaining to the saide company, the one sirnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driuen on the coast of Norway, into Drenton water, where the saide Confidentia was seene to perish on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie persons seemed to winter there, whereof no certaintie at this present day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary arriued in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and seuen. The Edward Bonauenture trauersing the seas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of Nouember of the aforesaide yeere of our Lorde one thousand fiue hundred, fiftie and sixe, arriued within the Scottish coast in a Bay named Pettislego, where by outragious tempests, and extreme stormes, the said ship being beaten from her ground tackles, was driuen vpon the rockes on shoare, where she brake and split in pieces in such sort, as the grand Pilot vsing all carefulnesse for the safetie of the bodie of the sayde Ambassadour and his trayne, taking the boat of the said ship, trusting to attaine the shore, and so to saue and preserue the bodie, and seuen of the companie or attendants of the saide Ambassadour, the same boat by rigorous waues of the seas, was by darke night ouerwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the bodie of the said grand Pilot, with seuen Russes, but also diuers of the Mariners of the sayd ship: the noble personage of the saide Ambassadour with a fewe others (by Gods preseruation and speciall fauour) onely with much difficultie saued. In which shipwracke not onely the saide shippe was broken, but also the whole masse and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and rauenous people of the Countrey thereunto adioyning, rifled, spoyled and caried away, to the manifest losse and vtter destruction of all the lading of the said ship, and together with the ship, apparell, ordinance and furniture belonging to the companie, in value of one thousand pounds, of all which was not restored toward the costs and charges to the summe of fiue hundred pounds sterling.

Foure ships.

The Edward Bonauenture arriued in Scotland, in the Bay of Pettislego, Nouemb. 7. 1556.

Rich. Chancelor drowned.

As soone as by letters addressed to the said companie, and in London deliuered the 21st of December last past, it was to them certainely knowen of the losse of their Pilote, men, goods and ship, the same merchants with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes maiesties most gracious and fauourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the Councell of Scotland for the gentle comfortment and entertainment of the saide Ambassadour, his traine and companie, with preseruation and restitution of his goods, as in such miserable cases, to Christian pitie, princely honour and meere Iustice appertaineth, but also addressed two Gentlemen of good learning, grauitie and estimation, videlicet, Master Lawrence Hussie Doctor of the Ciuill Lawe, and George Gilpin with money and other requisites into the Realme of Scotland, to comfort, ayde, assist, and relieue him and his there, and also to conduct the Ambassadour into England, sending with them by poste a Talmach or Speachman for the better furniture of the seruice of the sayde Ambassadour, trusting thereby to haue the more ample and speedie redresse of restitution: which personages vsing diligence, arriued at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the saide moneth of December, who first visiting the saide Ambassadour, declaring the causes of their comming and Commission, shewing the letters addressed in his fauour, the order giuen them for his solace and furniture of all such things as hee wouldc haue, together with their daily and readie seruice to attend vpon his person and affaires, repaired consequently vnto the Dowager Queene, deliuering the letters.

Whereupon they receiued gentle answeres, with hope and comfort of speedie restitution of the goods, apparell, iewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene sent

first

first certaine Commissioners with an Harold of armes to Pettislego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all such persons (no degree excepted) as had any part of such goods as were spoyled and taken out or from the ship to bring them in, and to restore the same with such further order as her grace by aduise of her Councel thought expedient: by reason whereof not without great labours, paines and charges (after long time) diuers small parcels of Waxe, and other small trifling things of no value, were by the poorer sort of the Scottes brought to the Commissioners, but the iewels, rich apparell, presents, gold, siluer, costly furres, and such like, were conueyed away, concealed and vtterly embezelled. Wherupon, the Queene at the request of the said Ambassadour, caused diuers persons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called personally before her princely presence, to answer to § said spoile, & really to exhibit and bring in all such things as were spoiled and violently taken, & caried out of the same, whereof not onely good testimonie by writing was shewed, but also the things themselues found in the hands of the Scottish subiects, who by subtile and craftie dealings, by conniuence of the commissioners, so vsed or rather abused themselues towards the same Orator & his attendants, that no effectuall restitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendance and charges, the 14. day of Februarie next ensuing, distrusting any reall and effectual rendring of the saide goods and marchandizes and other the premisses, vpon leaue obtained of the saide Queene, departed towards England, hauing attending vpon him the said two English Gentlemen and others (leaning neuerthelesse in Scotland three Englishmen to pursue the deliuerie of such things as were collected to haue bene sent by ship to him in England: which being in Aprill next, and not before imbarked for London, was not at this present day here arriued) came the 18. day of Februarie to Barwike within the dominion and realme of England, where he was by the Queenes maiesties letters and commandement honourably receiued, vsed and interteined by the right honourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the East marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the dayly iourneys done ordinarily did lie, in such order, maner and forme, as to a personage of such estate appertaineth. He prosecuting his voyage vntil the 27. of Februarie approched to the citie of London within twelue English miles, where he was receiued with foursceore merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as wel in order of men seruants in one vniforme liuerie, as also in and vpon good horses and geldings, who conducting him to a marchants house foure miles from London, receiued there a quantitie of gold, veluet and silke, with all furniture thereunto requisite, wherewith he made him a riding garment, reposing himselfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the last day of Februarie, he was by the merchants aduenturing for Russia, to the number of one hundred and fortie persons, and so many or more seruants in one liuerie, as aboue said, conducted towards the citie of London, where by the way he had not onely the hunting of the Foxe and such like sport shewed him, but also by the Queenes maiesties commandement was receiued and embraced by the right honourable Viscount Montague, sent by her grace for his entertainment: he being accompanied with diuers lustie knights, esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horses led him to the North partes of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchants richly apparelled was presented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footcloth of Orient crimson veluet, enriched with gold laces, all furnished in most glorious fashion, of the present, and gift of the sayde merchants: where vpon the Ambassadour at instant desire mounted, riding on the way towards Smithfield barres, the first limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The Lord Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their skarlet did receiue him, and so riding through the Citie of London in the middle, betweene the Lord Maior and Viscount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable personages riding before, and a large troupe of seruants and apprentises following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and plausibilitie of the people running plentifully on all sides, and replenishing all streets in such sort as no man without difficultie might passe) into his lodging situate in Fanf church streete, where were prouided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, ouer and aboue the gallant furniture of the whole house, together with an ample and

His departure from Scotland towards England.

1553. Feb. 27.

His honorable receiuing into the citie of London.

and rich cupboord of plate of all sortes, to furnish and serue him at all meales, and other seruices during his abode in London, which was, as is vnderwritten, vntil the third day of May: during which time daily diuers Aldermen and the grauest personages of the said companie did visite him, prouiding all kind of victuals for his table and his seruants, with al sorts of Officers to attend vpon him in good sort and condition, as to such an ambassadour of honour doeth and ought to appertaine.

It is also to be remembred that at his first entrance into his chamber, there was presented vnto him on the Queenes Maiesties behalfe for a gift and present, and his better furniture in apparel, one rich piece of cloth of tissue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of golde raised with crimosin velues, a piece of crimosin velues in graine, a piece of purple velues, a piece of Damaske purpled, a piece of crimosin damaske, which he most thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreshing and preparing himselfe and his traine with things requisite he abode, expecting the kings maiesties repaire out of Flanders into England, whose highnesse arriuing the one and twentie of March, the same Ambassadour the fiue and twentieth of March being the Annunciation of our Ladie (the day twelue moneth he took his leaue from the Emperour his master) was most honourably brought to the King and Queenes maiesties court at Westminster, where accompanied first with the said Viscount and other notable personages, and the merchants, hee arriuing at Westminster bridge, was there receiued with sixe lords, conducted into a stately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treasurer, Priuie seale, Admirall, bishop of Elie, and other Counsellers, hee was visited and saluted: and consequently was brought vnto the Kings and Queenes maiesties presence, sitting vnder a stately cloth of honour, the chamber most richly decked and furnished, and most honourably presented. Where, after that hee had deliuered his letters, made his Oration, giuen two timber of Sables, and the report of the same made both in English and Spanish, in most louing maner embraced, was with much honour and high entertainement, in sight of a great confluence of people, Lordes and Ladies eftsoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by the assignement of the King and Queenes maiesties, repaired and conferred with him secretly two graue Counsellers, that is, the lord Bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretary to their Highnesse, who after diuers secret talkes and conferences, reported to their highnesse their proceedings, the grauitie, wisedome, and stately behauiour of the sayd Ambassadour, in such sort as was much to their maiesties contentations.

A league and articles of amitie concluded and confirmed vnder the great seale of England.

Finally concluding vpon such treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes maiesties most graciously vnder the great seale of England to him by the sayd counsellers deliuered, doth appeare.

The three and twentieth of April, being the feast of S. George, wherein was celebrated the solemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Westminster, the same lord ambassadour was eftsoones required to haue audience: and therefore conducted from the sayd lodging to the court by the right Noble the lords Talbot and Lumley to their maiesties presence: where, after his Oration made, and thanks both giuen and receiued, hee most honourably tooke his leaue with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, he was with special honour led into the chappell, where before the Kings and Queens maiesties, in the sight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a stately seate, wherein he accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lords last aboue mentioned, and many other honorable personages, was present at the whole seruice, in ceremonies which were to him most acceptable: the diuine seruice ended, he eftsoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and so repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people vniuersally as before.

Foure goodly ships of the merchants prouided for Russia, 1557.

The time of the yeere hasting the profection and departure of the Ambassador, the merchants hauing prepared foure goodly and well trimmed shippes laden with all kinds of merchandises apt for Russia, the same Ambassadour making prouision for such things as him pleased, the same ships in good order valed downe the riuer of Thames, from London to Graueseud, where the same Ambassadour with his traine and furniture was imbarked towards his voyage homeward, which God prosper in all felicitie.

It is also to be remembred, that during the whole abode of the sayd Ambassadour in England, the Agents of the sayde marchants did not onely prosecute and pursue the matter of restitution in Scotland, and caused such things to be laden in an English shippe hired purposely to conuey the Ambassadours goods to London, there to be deliuered to him, but also during his abode in London, did both inuite him to the Maior, and diuers worshipfull mens houses, feasting and banquetting him right friendly, shewing vnto him the most notable and commendable sights of London, as the kings palace and house, the Churches of Westminster and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and such like memorable spectacles. And also the said 29. day of April, the said merchants assembling themselues together in the house of the Drapers hal of London, exhibited and gaue vnto § said Ambassador, a notable supper garnished with musicke, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of wine being drunke to him in the name and lieu of the whole companie, it was signified to him that the whole company with most liberall and friendly hearts, did frankly giue to him and his all maner of costs and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London during his abode there, and vntill setting of saile aboord the ship, requesting him to accept the same in good part as a testimonie and witnes of their good hearts, zeale and tendernesse towards him and his countrey.

It is to be considered that of the Bona Speranza no word nor knowledge was had at this present day, nor yet of the arriuall of the ships or goods from Scotland.

The third day of May the Ambassadour departed from London to Grauesend, accompanied with diuers Aldermen and merchants, who in good gard set him aboord the noble shippe, the Primrose Admirall to the Fleete, where leaue was taken on both sides and parts, after many imbracements and diuers farewels not without expressing of teares.

The King and Queens seuall letters to the Emperour of Russia.

Memorandum, that the first day of May the Counsellers, videlicet, the Bishop of Elye, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes Maiesties repairing to the lorde Ambassadour did not onely deliuer vnto him their highnes letters of recommendations vnder the great seale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but also on their maiesties behalfe gaue and deliuered certaine notable presents to the Emperours person, and also gifts for the lord Ambassadours proper vse and behoofe, as by the particulars vnder written appeareth, with such further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly haue not bin heard, whereby it appeareth how well affected their honours be to haue and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their subiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes maiesties haue shewed of their princely munificences & liberalities, so haue likewise the merchants and fellowship of the Aduenturers, for and to Russia, manifested to the world their good willes, mindes and zeales borne to this new commensed voyage, as by the discourse aboue mentioned, and other the notable actes ouer long to be recited in this present memoriall, doeth and may most clearely appeare, the like whereof is not in any president or historie to bee shewed.

Forasmuch as it may bee doubted how the ship named the Edward Bonauenture suffered shipwracke, what became of the goods, howe much they were spoiled and deteined, how litle restored, what charges and expenses ensued, what personages were drowned, how the rest of the ships either arriued or perished, or howe the disposition of almightie God hath wrought his pleasure in them, how the same ambassadour hath bene after the miserable case of shipwracke in Scotland vnreuerently abused, and consequently into England receiued and conducted, there intertained, vsed, honoured, and finally in good safetie towards his returne, and repaire furnished, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly dismissed, to the intent that the trueth of the premisses may be to the most mightie Emperour of Russia sincerely signified in eschewment of all euents and misfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambassadours person, traine, and goods, this present memoriall is written, and autentikely made, and by the sayde Ambassadour his seruants, whose names be vnderwritten, and traine in presence of the Notarie, and witnesses vndernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Giuen the day, moneth, and yeere vnderwritten, of which

instrument

instrument into euery of the sayde Shippes one testimoniall is deliuered, and the first remaineth with the sayde Companie in London.

Giftes sent to the King and Queenes Maiesties of England by the Emperour of Russia, by the report of the Ambassadour, and spoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.

1 First, sixe timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3 Item, foure liuing Sables with chaines and collars.
4 Item, thirtie Luisarnes large and beautifull.
5 Item, sixe large and great skinnes very rich and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for woorthinesse.
6 Item, a large and faire white Ierfawcon for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Goose, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of siluer, the hoopes gilt, vsed for a lure to call the sayd Hawke.

Giftes sent to the Emperour of Russia by the King and Quéenes Maiesties of England.

1 First two rich peices of cloth of Tissue.
2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4 Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5 Item, a notable paire of Brigandines with a Murrian couered with crimson veluet and gilt nailes.
6 Item, a Male and Female Lions.

Giftes giuen to the Ambassadour at his departure, ouer and aboue such as were deliuered vnto him at his first arriuall.

1 First a chaine of golde of one hundred pound.
2 Item, a large Bason and Euer, siluer and gilt.
3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all such Russies as were attendant vpon the Ambassadour, at and before his departure out of England.

Isaak Fwesscheneke.
Demetre.
Gorbolones.
Symonde.
Yeroffia.
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord aboue mentioned, in the house of the worshipfull Iohn Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, situate within the famous Citie of London in the Realme of England, the abouenamed honourable Osep Gregorywich Napea, Ambassadour and Orator aboue mentioned, personally constituted and present, hauing declared vnto him by the mouth of the right worshipfull master Anthonie Hussie Esquire, the effect of the causes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Best his interpreter sworne, recognized, and knowledged in presence of me the Notarie & personages vnderwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, aswell for his owne person as for his seruants aboue named, who did not subscribe their names as is aboue mentioned, but onely recognized the same. In witnesse whereof, I Iohn Incent Notarie Publike, at the re-

quest of the said master Anthonie Hussie, and other of the Marchants haue to these presents vnderwritten set my accustomed signe, with the Subscription of my name, the day and yeere aboue written, being present the right Worshipfull,

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne. } Knights.
William Chester. }
Rafe Greeneaway. } Aldermen of London.
Iohn Mersh Esquier.
Iohn Dimnock.
Blase Sanders.
Hubert Hussie, and
Robert Best aboue mentioned.

The voyage of the foresaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from Colmogro to Wardhouse, which was sent to seeke the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

23 VPon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed with the Searchthrift from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compasse, 5. degrees, 10. minutes from the North to the East.

26 Wednesday we came to the Island called Pozanka, which Island is within foure leagues of the barre Berozoua. It floweth here at an East and by South moone full sea.

29 Saturday in the morning we departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berôzoua Gooba, whereupon wee came to anker at a lowe water, and sounded the said Barre with our two Skiffes, and found in the best vpon the shoaldest of the barre 13. foote water by the rule. It higheth vpon this barre, in spring streames 3. foote water: and an East Moone maketh a full sea vpon this barre.

30 Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berozoua, and plied along by the shoalds in fine fadome, vntill I had sight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee cast about to the Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coya Reca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and betweene them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coscaynos. Coscaynos & the middes of the Island called Mondeustoua estroue, which is thwart of the barre of Berozoua lieth South and by East, North and by West, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may say from the Seaboord part of the barre to Coscaynos are 3. leagues and a halfe.

Coia Reca.

31 Munday at a Northeast and by East sumne we were thwart of Coscaynos.

Dogs nose lieth from Coscaynos Northnorthwest, and betweene them are eight leagues: and Dogs nose sheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both sides of it: on the lowe point of Dogs nose there standeth a crosse alone.

Iune.

1 FRom Dogs nose to Foxenose are three leagues, North and by West.

2 The 2. day of Iune I went on shoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a shoare at this place, at an East moone full sea, and the shippe lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southsoutheast moone. So that it is to be vnderstoode, that when it is a full sea on the shoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compasse at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the East.

Dogs nose.
The variation of the Compasse 4. degrees.

3 This day the Northnorthwest winde put vs backe againe with Dogs nose, where a ship may ride thwart of a salt house, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a haife of water, and haue Land-

fange

fange for a North and by West winde: which Salt house is halfe a mile to the Southwards of Dogs nose.

Friday at a Southsouthwest Sunne, wee departed from this Salt house. It is to be noted that foure miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose there growe no trees on the banke by the water side: and the bankes consist of fullers earth. Ouer the cliffes there growe some trees: so that Dogs nose is the better to be knowen because it is fullers earth, and the like I haue not seene in all that Countrey. 4

A head of Foxe nose a league from the shoare there are 15. fadome: betwixt Foxe nose and Zolatitsa there are 6. leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Foxe nose. Foxe nose.

Sunday I sounded the barre of Zolatitsa, which the Russes told me was a good harborow, but in the best of it I found but 4. foote water. 6

Munday, I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecost sixe leagues South of vs. 7 Poynt Pentecost.

Wednesday I went on land at Crosse Island, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 24. minutes. 9 Crosse Island.

We being one league Northeast of Crosse Island, I sawe the land on the Eastside, which I iudged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eastsoutheast of vs 9. leagues. Cape good fortune.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeast from Crosse Island.

There are 2. Islands 5. leagues Northnortheast from Cape grace, the Southermost of them is a little long Island almost a mile long, and the Northermost a little round Island, and they are both hard aboord the shore. Cape grace.

Cape Race is from the Southermost Island North and by West, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that and halfe a league Northnorthwest, there is another poynt. Betweene which poynt and Cape Race, the Russes haue a Stanauish or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Westwards of the sayd poynt, there is a shoale bay. Cape Race.

Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, we had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within half a league of the shoare in this latitude I found it to be a full sea at a North and by East moone. I had where we roode, two and twentie fadoome, and the tallow which is taken vp is full of great broken shels, and some stones withal like vnto small sand congealed together. 10

From a South sunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by East, wee driued to the windwards halfe the ebbe, with the ships head to the Eastwards. And then when we cast her head to the Westwards, we sounded, and had 22. fadome broken shels, and gray sand; this present day was very mistie, with frost on the shrowds as the mist fell. Frost in June.

Friday in the morning at an East sunne, the mist brake vp a little, the winde being at North and by West a stiffe gale, our shrowdes and roapes ouer head being couered with frost, and likely to be a storme: I thought it good to seeke an harborow, and so plied roome with the Islands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within these Islands (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for vs. It higheth at these Islands two fadome water: it floweth in the harborow at this place at a South-southeast moone ful sea: and a sea boord it floweth at a Southsouthwest moone a full sea. The Russes call this Island, Tri Ostroue. Tri Ostroue.

You may come in betweene the little Island and the great Island, and keepe you in the mids of the Sound, and if you borrowe on any side, let it bee on the greatest Island, and you shall haue at a low water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, vntill that you be shot so farre in as the narrowest, which is betweene the Northermost point of the greatest Island, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right against it, and then hale to the Northwards with the crosse which standeth in the maine, and you shall haue at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire sand. And if you be disposed to goe through the Sound to the Southwards, keepe the Northwest shoare aboorde, for on the Island side after you be shotte so farre in as the crosse, it is a shoale of rockes halfe the sound ouer: which rockes do last vnto the Southerly part of the great Island, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be constrained to seeke a harbor for Northerly windes, when you come out of the

sea

sea hale in with the Southerly part of the great Island, giuing the Island a faire birth, and as you shoote towards the maine, you shall finde roade for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, fiue, sixe and seuen fadome, at a lowe water.

Also within this great Island (if neede bee) you may haue a good place to ground a ship in: the great Island is almost a mile long and a quarter of a mile ouer.

16 This storme of Northerly winde lasted vntill the 16. of this moneth, and then the winde came Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on shore at the crosse, and tooke the latitude, which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. seconds: the variation of the Compasse 3. degrees and a halfe from the North to the East.

Ice.

The variation.

17 Thursday being faire weather, and the winde at North we plied to the winde-wards with sailes and oares: wee stopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the shore, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke sand, and broken shels. And when the slake came wee wayed and made aboord to the shoare-wards, and had within two cables length of the shoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke sand: a man may finde roade there for a North winde, and so to the Westwards.

18 Two leagues to the Southward of Corpus Christi poynt, you may haue Landfang for a North and by East winde, and from that to the Westwards in 23. fadome almost a mile from shoare, and faire sand, and amongst the sand little yong small limpets, or such like as growe vpon muscles: and within two cables length and lesse of the shoare are eighteene fadomes, and the sounding aforesayd, but the yong limpets more plentifull. It was a full sea where we roade, almost a mile from shoare, at a South and by West moone: two leagues to the Southwards of Corpus Christi point is the vttermost land, which land and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to Westwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eastwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. Riding this day sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race,

19 the winde at Northnorthwest, with mist and frost, at noone the sunne appeared through the mist, so that I had the latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

21 Munday we were thwart of Corpus Christi point, two leagues and a halfe from shoare, or rather more, where we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and broken cocle shels, with brannie sand, but the broken shels very thicke.

Corpus Christi poynt.

22 Tuesday in the morning we were shotte a head of Cape gallant, which the Russes call Sotinoz. And as we were shot almost halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the wind came vp at the Northwest, and after to the Northwards, so that we were faine to beare roome to seeke a harbour, where we found good harbour for all windes, and the least 7. fadome water betweene S. Iohns Islands, and the maine.

Cape Gallant.

After that we came to an anere, we tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees 1. minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of snowe.

At a West Sunne there came aboord vs certaine Lappians in a boate, to the number of sixeteene persons, and amongst them there were two wenches, and some of them could speake the Russe tongue: I asked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the number of 100. men, besides women and children, but a litle from vs in the riuer Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to seeke meate among the rockes, saying, If wee get no meate, wee eate none. I sawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth grasse when shee is hungrie. I sawe them also eate foules egges rawe, and the yong birdes also that were in the egges.

I obserued certaine wordes of their language, which I thought good to set downe for their vse, that hereafter shall haue occasion to continue this voyage.

COwghtie coteat, what call you this.	Iomme lemaufes, I thanke you.
Poddythecke, come hither.	Passeuellie, a friend.
Auanchythocke, get the hence.	Olmuelke, a man.
Anna, farewell.	Captella, a woman.
Teyrue, good morrowe.	Alke, a sonne.

Neit,

Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyuie, a head.
Cyelme, an eye.
Nenna, a nose.
Nealma, a mouth.
Pannea, teeth.
Neughtema, a tongue.
Seaman, a beard.
Pealiee, an eare.
Teappat, the necke.
Voapt, the haire.
Keat, a hand.
Soarme, fingers.
Iowlkie, a legge.
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke, wollen cloth.
Lein, linnen cloth.
Payte, a shirt.
Tol, fire.
Keatse, water.
Murr, wood.
Vannace, a boate.
Arica, an oare.
Nurr, a roape.
Peyue, a day.
Hyr, a night.
Peyuezea, the Sunne.
Manna, the Moone.
Laste, starres.
Cozam volka, whither goe you.
Ottapp, sleepe.
Tallye, that.
Keiedde pieue, a weeke.
Iskie, a yeere.
Kesse, Sommer.
Talue, Winter.
Iowksam, colde.
Parox, warme.
Abrye, raine.
Youghang, yce.
Keatykye, a stone.
Sellowpe, siluer.
Solda, golde.
Tennae, tinne.

Ve-kue, copper.
Rowadt, yron.
Neybx, a knife.
Axshe, a hatchet.
Leabee, bread.
Ieauegoat, meale.
Pencka, the winde.
Iowte, A platter.
Kennie, a kettle.
Keestes, gloues.
Sapege, shoes.
Conde, a wilde Deare.
Poatsa, the labouring Deare.

Their wordes of number are these as followeth.

OFte,	1.
Noumpte,	2.
Colme,	3.
Nellye,	4.
Vitte,	5.
Cowte,	6.
Keydeem,	7.
Kaffts,	8.
Owghchte,	9.
Locke,	10.
Ostretumbelocke,	11.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	12.
Colmenombelocke,	13.
Nellynombelocke,	14.
Vittie nombelocke,	15.
Cowtenombelocke,	16.
Keydemnombelocke,	17.
Kafts nombelocke,	18.
Owght nombelocke,	19.
Cosstteylocke,	20.
Colmelocke,	30.
Nelly locke,	40.
Vitte locke,	50.
Cowtelocke,	60.
Keydemlocke,	70.
Kaffstelocke,	80.
Oughchetelocke,	90.
Tewet.	100.

25 Friday in the morning we departed from Saint Iohns Island: to the Westwards thereof, a mile from the shoare, we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie sand.

Iuana Creos. Iuana Creos is from Cape gallant Westnorthwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Island, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Iuana Creos, Northwest and by North, and almost the 3. part of a point to the Westwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

S. Georges Islands. The Eastermost of S. Georges Islands, or the 7. Islands, lyeth from Iuana Creos Northwest, & halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues & a halfe. The vttermost

Cape comfort. vttermost of the 7. Islands, & Cape comfort lieth Northwest, & by North, Southeast, and by South.

Vnder the Southermost Island you shall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northwest to the Northeast. From the Southeast part of the 7. Islands, vnto the Northwest part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

S. Peters Islands. From the Northwest part of the Islands aforesaid, vnto S. Peters Islands, are 11. leagues Northwest.

26 S. Peters Islands rise an indifferent low point, not seeming to be an Island, and as if it had a castle vpon it.

S. Pauls Islands. S. Pauls Islands lie from S. Peters Islands Northwest and to the Westwards, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within these Islands there is a faire sandy bay, and there may be found a good roade for Northerly windes.

Cape Sower beere. Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Islands Northwest and by West, and betweene them are 5. leagues.

Kildina. Cape comfort, which is the Island of Kildina, lieth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues West Northwest, and it is altogether a bay betweene them seeming many Islands in it.

Cape Bonauenture. From Cape Bonauenture, to Chebe Nauoloche are 10. leagues Northwest, and a litle to the Westwards. Chebe Nauoloche is a faire point, wheron standeth a certaine blacke, like an emptie butte standing a head.

Kegor. From Chebe Nauoloch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northwest, and halfe a poynt to the Westwards. Kegor riseth as you come from the Eastwards like 2. round homocks standing together, and a faire saddle betweene them.

27 It floweth where we road this Sunday to the Eastwards of Kegor, at a Southeast and by East moone, a full sea: we roade in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the shoare: at a Northwest Sunne the mist came downe so thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre

Domshaff. within lesse then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where we had 33. fadome, and the sounding like to the skurfe of a skalde head.

Wardhouse. 28 Munday at afternoone, wee came into the Sound of Wardhouse, although it were very mistie. Then I sent a man a shoare to know some newes, and to see whether they could heare

‖ Which were the Bona Esperanza, the Bona confidentia and the Philip and Marie. Whereof the two first were lost. any thing of our ‖ ships.

29 Tuesday I went on shoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himselfe was not as yet come from Bergen: they looked for him euery houre, and they said that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northwest and by North sunne we departed from Wardhouse, toward Colmogro.

30 Wednesday we came to Kegor, where we met with the winde at East Southeast, so that we were faine to go in to a bay to the Westwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. small ships, that shall not draw past 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an East Northeast winde is the worst. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds frō the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we saw there a barke which

‖ Or, Trondsm. was of ‖ Dronton, & three or foure Norway yeaghes, belonging to Northberne: so when I came a shoare, I met first with the Dutchmen, amongst whom was the Borrow-masters sonne

The Philip and Marie. The bona Confidentia cast away. of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in March: and withall he shewed me that the Confidence was lost, and that he had bought her sailes for his ship. Then the Dutch-men caried me to their Boothe, and made me good cheere, where I sawe the Lappians chepen of the said Dutchmen, both siluer platters and dishes, spoones, gilt rings, ornaments for girdles of siluer & gilt, and certaine things made to hang about the necke, with siluer chaines belonging to them.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie strong beere, I am certaine that our English double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would last.

Here I sawe the Dutchmen also haue course cloth, both blew, greene and redde, and sad horsefleish colour. And hither they bring also Ottars cases and foxe cases, both blacke and redde: our English foxe cases are but counterfaits vnto them.

They would not let me vnderstand any of their prises, but as I otherwise vnderstood they bartered

bartered 2. load of siluer for 100 of stockfish, and 2. loade is a doller. And the Dutchmen told me, that they had made a notable good yeere this present yeere 1557. They tolde me that they should be faine to goe to Wardhouse with one lading, and lay it on land there, and so come againe and fetch another. The Borrowmasters sonne told me, that he would go to Amsterdam with his lading of stockfish, who gaue me a barrell of strong beere, and brought it in aboord our ship himselfe.

After this I went among the Russes and Kerils, who offered me fish to sell, and likewise the Lappians desired me to looke vpon their fish. I made them answere, that I had nowe no wares nor money to barter with them, and said that I came only to see if I might meete with our English ships. Then they desired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I said to them, If I should come the next yeere, I think here would not be fish ynough to serue the Dutchmen and vs also. They answered me, that if more ships did resort thither, there would more people labour to kill and make fish: and further they said, that some of them came thither a fishing 8. weekes iourney with Deere, which Deere will trauaile more speedily then horses will. A grieefull trade of fishing at Kegor.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils and Lappians, the Emperour of Russia his deputie (who was there to gather the tribute of the Lappians) sent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar salutations, made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our ships came thither. I answered him, because we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire that was kept there. Then said he, If you will come hither, here would more people resort to kill fish, I thinke it good (said he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one English ship should come thither.

Because I sawe the seruants of the king of Denmarke there also gathering the tribute, I asked Vasilie Pheodoruich the Russie deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to vs, if we should come to this Kegor. And he said, no, they should not: for this land is my kings, and therefore he bolde to come hither.

The Keris and the Lappians solde no fish, vntill the said deputie had looked vpon it, and had giuen them leaue to sell. I asked him what wares were best for vs to bring thither, and he said, siluer, pearles, cloth, blewe, red, and greene, meale, strong beere, wine, pewter, foxe cases, and gold. Commodities fit for Kegor.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Russia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He tolde me that the Riuer Cola is little more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we should haue great plentie of salmon, if corne were any thing cheape in Russia: for then poore men would resort thither to kill salmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it because they could not sell all their fish, and that which they sold was as pleased the Dutchmen, and at their own price. I asked the Kerils at what price they sold their fish to the Russes, & they said good cheape: wee sell 24. fishes for 4. altines. I thinke they solde little aboue 20. pence, the 25. fishes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the best stockfish is made at Kegor. I sawe at Vasilies tent 7. or 8. iauelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, with their budgets of arrowes, & likewise swords with other weapons: Otherwise I sawe no weapons there.

I was also conueyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I sawe a paire of bilbowes: and I asked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they said no, but onely for their owne company if they should chance to be vnruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be trusted, for they will steale as well as the Russes, if they may conueniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, because the winde was scant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eastwards of the poynt Kegor, and sent to land, and baked two batches of bread in the ouens that the Kerils haue for their prouision.

Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners to be obserued in and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1577. toward the Bay of S. Nicolas in Russia, for this present Race to be made & returne of the same by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right discharge, as in the Articles ensuing is deduced.

FIrst, it is accorded and agreed betweene the seuerall proprietaries and owners, masters and companies of the foure ships, surnamed the Primrose, the Iohn Euangelist, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Consuls, assistants and companie of the Marchant aduenturers, that the aboue named foure ships shall in good order and conduct, saile, passe, and trauaile together in one flote, ging, and conserue of societie, to be kept indissolubly and not to be serued, but vnited within continuall sight, so farre foorth as (by winde & weather) by possibilitie shall or may be without any separation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ship named the Primerose, shalbe Admirall of this flote, and that Anthonie Ienkinson Gentleman, shalbe captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ships shall ensue and follow her in all courses, and that no course nor waying (in harborough especially) shall be made without aduice, consent and agreement of the sayd Captaine, the Master, his mate, and two other officers of the said ship, or of three of them at the least.

3 Item, that the said Anthonie is and shalbe reputed & taken for Captaine general of the said flote together with all such orders, preeminences, priuiledges and preferments as by the order of seas is due and accustomed to a Captaine during his abode and exercise of the same.

4 It is also ordeined, that if any one or moe of the said 3. ships shalbe out of sight either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the rest of the ships shall tacke or take off their sailes in such sort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the consortment exactly in all poynts.

5 It is constituted, that if any ships shalbe seuered by mist or darke weather, in such sort as the one cannot haue sight of the other, then and in such case the Admiral shall make sound and noise by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwise or meanes, that the ships may come as nigh together, as by safetie and good order they may.

6 It is also to be obserued, that euery day once the other three shippes shall send and come aboord the Admirall, and there consult and determine of such matter and things as shall be for the assurance of their Nauigation, and most expedition of the same.

7 Item, that notes & entries be daily made of their Nauigations put in writing & memory, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & caused to learne and obserue the same.

8 It is accorded that the said Captaine shall haue the principall rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but also all other the sailers, shalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reason appertaineth.

9 Also that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be spilt vpon the balast, or other place of the ship, whereby any anoyance, stinke, or other vnsauorinesse shall growe in the shippe to the infection or hurt of the persons in the same.

10 Item, that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time dissship any artificer or English seruingman or apprentice out of the Primrose into any of the other three ships, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke conuenient and most meete to serue the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great respect be had to the Gunners and Cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eschewed and auoyded.

12 Item, that singular care and respect be had to the ports of the ship, aswell in Nauigation as in harborow, and especially in lading and vnlading of the shippes, that nothing be lacking

lacking or surcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred and made to agree in eschuement of such losses, as may ensue.

13 Special foresight is to be had, that at the Wardhouse no trecherie, inuasion, or other peril of molestation be done or procured to be attempted to our ships by any kings, princes, or companies, that do mislike this new found trade by seas to Russia, or would let & hinder the same; where of no small boast hath bene made: which giueth occasion of more circumspection and diligence.

14 If the winde and weather will serue, it is thought good rather to goe by the Wardhouse then to come in and ancre there, lest any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted against vs, our goods and ships as aboue.

15 It is thought good that Richard Iohnson, late seruant to M. Chanceler, shall be sent home in this next returne, to instruct the company of the state of the Countrey, and of such questions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertisements and resolutions, in such doubts as shall arise here: and that he shall haue the roome of the Captaine in such sort, as Master Ienkinson is in this present cocket assigned vnto. And if Iohnson can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the said place, then any other person to be preferred thereunto, as by the discretion of our said Captaine, with consent of our Agents, shall be thought meete and apt to supply the same.

16 Prouided alway, that the ships returning be not disfurnished of one such able man, as shall occupie the Captainship in like order, as is, and hath bene in such case appoynted, as reason and good order requireth.

17 Item that all other former orders, rules, and deuises, made and prouided for the good order of our ships, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrary or diuerse, to these articles, and the contents of the same, shall be, and stand in full force and effect, to be in all respects obserued and kept of all and euery person and persons, whom the same doth or shall touch or concerne.

In witnesse of the premisses faithfully to be obserued and kept, the owners and Masters of the said foure ships, together with the said Captaine, to these seuenteene articles, contained in two sheetes of paper, haue subscribed their hands. Giuen in London, the third of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primerose.
Andrewe Iudde.
William Chester.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Casteline.
¶ Owners of the Iohn Euangelist.
Andrew Iudde.
William Chester.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
Iohn Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

A letter of the Company of the Marchants aduenturers to Russia vnto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane their Agents there, to be deliuered in Colmogro or els where: sent in the Iohn Euangelist.

AFter our heartie commendations vnto you and to either of you: your generall letter and other particular letters with two bookes of the sale and remainders of our goods, and the buying of ware there with you, we receiued about the ende of Nouember out of the Edward, with heauie newes of the losse of the sayde good shippe and goods at Petslego in Scotland, with the death of Richard Chanceler and his Boy, with certaine of the Embassadours seruants, and he himselfe with nine of his seruants escaped very hardly onely by the power of God: but all his goods and ours in maner were lost and pilfred away by the Scots, and that that 1557.

is saued is not yet come to our hands, but we looke for it daily, and it will skant pay the charges for the recouering of it. No remedy but patience: and to pray to God to send vs better fortune hereafter. As touching the receiuing and entertaining of the Embassadour and his retinewe since his comming to England at the king and Queenes Maiesties handes, with the Counsell & Lords of this Realme, and the Marchants that be free in Russia with feasting and beneuolence giuen him, wee referre it to his report and others. The like we thinke haue not bene seene nor shewed here of a long time to any Ambassadour. The Philip and Marie arriued here tenne dayes past: she wintered in Norway. The Confidence is lost there. And as for the Bona Esperanza, as yet we haue no newes of her. We feare it is wrong with her. By your billes of lading receiued in your generall letters we perceiue what wares are laden in them both. Your letters haue no date nor mention where they were made, which were written by Henry Lane, and firmed by you George Killingworth, and Richard Gray: both it and the other Letters and Bookes came so sore spoyled and broken with water that we cannot make our reckoning by them. You shall vnderstand we haue fraighted for the parts of Russia foure good shippes to be laden there by you & your order: That is to say, The Primerose of the burthen of 240. Tunnes, Master vnder God Iohn Buckland: The Iohn Euangelist of 170. Tunnes, Master vnder God Laurence Roundal: The Anne of London of the burthen of 160. tunnes, Master vnder God Dauid Philly, and the Trinitie of London of the burthen of 140 Tunnes, Master vnder God Iohn Robins, as by their Charter parties may appeare: which you may require to see for diuers causes. You shall receiue, God willing, out of the said good ships, God sending them in safety for the vse of the Company, these kinds of wares following, all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth.

Wares sent into Russia out of England.

25. fardels containing 207. sorting clothes, one fine violet in graine, and one skarlet, and 40. cottons for wrappers, beginning with number 1. and ending with number 52. The sorting clothes may cost the first peny 5. li. 9. s. the cloth, one with the other. The fine violet 18. li. 6. s. 6. d. The skarlet 17. li. 13. s. 6. d. the cottons at 9. li. 10. s. the packe, accompting 7. cottons for a packe, more 500. pieces of Hampshire kersies, that is 400. watchets, 43. blewes, 53. reds, 15. greenes, 5. ginger colours, and 2. yelowes which cost the first penny 4. li. 6. s. the piece, & 3. packes containing 21. cottons at 9. li. 10. s. the packe: and part of the clothes is measured by Arshines. More 9. barrels of Pewter of Thomas Hasels making, &c. Also the wares bee packed and laden as is aforesayde, as by an Inuoyce in euery Shippe more plainely may appeare. So that when it shall please God to send the said good ships to you in safetie, you are to receiue our said goods, and to procure the sales to our most aduantage either for ready money, time or barter: hauing consideration that you doe make good debts, and giue such time, if you giue any, as you may employ and returne the same against the next voyage: and also foreseeing that you barter to a profit, and for such wares as be here most vendible, as wexe, tallowe, traine oyle, hempe and flaxe. Of furres we desire no great plentie, because they be dead wares. And as for Felts, we will in no wise you send any. And whereas you haue prouided tarre, and as as we suppose, some hempe ready bought, our aduise is, that in no wise you send any of them hither vnwrought, because our fraight is 4. li. a tunne or little lesse: which is so deare, as it would not beare the charges: and therefore we haue sent you 7. ropemakers, as by the copies of their conenants here inclosed shall appeare. Whom we wil you set to worke with al expedition in making of cables & ropes of al sorts, from the smallest rope to xii. inches: And that such tarre and hempe as is already brought to the water side, they may there make it out, and after that you settle their worke in Vologhda or Colmogro as you shall thinke good, where their stuffe may be neerest to them: at which place and places you doe assigne them a principall ouerseer aswell to see the deliuerie of the stuffe vnwrought, as also to take charge of the stuffe wrought, & to foresee that neither the yarne be burnt in tarring, nor the hempe rotted in the watering: and also to furnish them so with labourers, workemen and stuffe, as hereafter when these workmen shall come away, we be not destitute of good workmen, and that these may dispatch as much as possibly they may, doing it substantially: for we esteeme it a principal commoditie, and that the Counsel of England doth well allowe. Let all diligence

The Arshine is a Russe measure.

7. Ropemakers sent into Russia.

Cables and Ropes a principall commoditie.

gence be vsed, that at the returne of these shippes we may see samples of all ropes & cables if it be possible, and so after to continue in worke, that we may haue good store against the next yeere. Therefore they haue neede to haue a place to worke in, in the winter: and at any hand let them haue helpe ynough to spinne their stuffe: for seeing you haue great plentie of hempe there, and at a reasonable price, we trust we shalbe able to bring as good stuffe from thence, and better cheape then out of Danske: if it be diligently vsed, and haue a good ouerseer. Danske the old chiefe place for Cables.

Let the chiefest lading of these foure shippes be principally in wexe, flaxe, tallowe and traine oyle. And if there be any more wares then these ships be able to take in, then leaue that which is least in valew and grossest in stouage vntill the next shipping: for wee doe purpose to ground our selues chiefly vpon these commodities, as wexe, cables and ropes, traine oyle, flaxe and some linen yarne. As for Masts, Tarre, Hempe, Feathers, or any such other like, they would not beare the charges to haue any, considering our deere fraight. We haue sent you a Skinner to be there at our charges for meate, drinke and lodging, to viewe and see such furres as you shall cheape or buye, not minding neuerthelesse, that you shall charge your selues with many, except those which bee most vendible, as good martens, miniuers, otherwise called Lettis and Mynkes. Of these you may send vs plentie, finding them good and at a reasonable price. As for Sables and other rich Furres, they bee not enery mans money: therefore you may send the fewer, vsing partly the discretion of the skinner in that behalfe. Commodities not bearing the charges of long fraight. Furres most vendible.

Wee heare that there is great plentie of steele in Russia and Tartarie, whereof wee would you sent vs part for an example, and to write your mindes in it what store is to be had: for we heare say there is great plentie, and that the Tartars steele is better then that in Russia. And likewise we be informed that there is great plentie of Copper in the Emperours Dominions: we would be certified of it what plentie there is, and whether it be in plates or in round flat cakes, and send vs some for an example. Also we would haue you to certifie vs what kinde of wollen cloth the men of Rie and Reuel, and the Poles and Lettoes doe bring to Russia, and send the skantlings of them with part of the lists, and a full aduise of the lengths and breadths, colours and prices, and whether they be strained or not: and what number of them may be vttered in a yeere, to the intent we may make prouision for them for the like sortes, and all other Flemish wares which they bring thither and be most vendible there. And to certifie vs whether our set clothes be vendible there or not: and whether they be rowed and shorne: because ofttimes they goe vndrest. Moreouer, we will you send vs of euery commoditie in that Countrey part, but no great quantitie other then such as is before declared. And likewise euery kinde of Lether, whereof wee bee informed there is great store bought yeerely by the Esterlings and Duches for hie Almaigne and Germanie. Steele. Copper. Wollen cloth of Rie and Reuel, of Poland and Lettowes. Russian lether.

More, that you doe send vs for proofe a quantity of such earth, hearbes, or what thing soeuer it be, that the Russes do die and colour any kinde of cloth linen or wollen, Lether or any other thing withall: and also part of that which the Tartars and Turkes doe bring thither, and how it must be vsed in dying and colouring. Moreouer, that you haue a speciall foresight in the chusing of your Tallowe, and that it may be well purified and tried, or els it will in one yeere putrifie & consume.

Also that you certifie vs the trueth of the waights and measures, and howe they doe answere with ours, and to send vs 3. robles in money, that we may trie the iust value of them.

Also we doe send you in these ships ten yong men that be bound Prentises to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt euery of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete, some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and Commission, and some to send abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for vnderstanding and knowledge. And we will you send vs aduertisement from time to time as well of the demeanours of our Prentises which we doe send now, as also of such other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remisse, negligent, or otherwise misuse themselues and will not be ruled, that then you doe send him home, and the cause why. Ten yong men sent into Russia.

And because we doe perceiue the Countrey to be large, and that you haue three houshold, Henry Lane Agent.

we

we doe appoynt Henry Lane to be one of our Agents, and to ioyne with you in all your doings, and to haue like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray haue: not doubting but you three will so conferre together, as both our Prentises and others may be appoynted and diuided euery of them to his office, and to that he can best skill of: and you also so diuide your selues euery of you to an house, as by aduertisement one from another, our businesse and trafficke may take good successe. And for diuers considerations, to auoyde many troubles and businesse that might happen, wee haue appoynted that hee which shall abide at Colmogro (which we doe thinke to bee most meetest Henry Lane) shall haue with him there such of our yong men, as can best skill in keeping of accompts after the maner of Marchants, that is, by Debitor and Creditor: And that there shall be the place, where our bookes shalbe kept: because it is nearer the sea side, where our goods shalbe discharged and our ships laden. And the said Henry Lane to be charged with all such goods as we shall discharge there out of our ships, according to our Inuoyces. Which goods are to be sent from Colmogro to Vologhda or to Mosco, or to any other place where you three or two of you do appoynt thē to be sold, so that Henry Lane be one. And so frō time to time immediatly as any thing is sold, doe you certifie the same to Henry Lane, that he may enter it into the Bookes as appertaineth: otherwise he should be too farre behinde in his Bookes at the comming of our ships, when he should send vs the accompt of the whole yeere passed. And we will also that you George Killingworth and Richard Gray doe in the fine of April next send either of you vnto Henry Lane a whole, perfit, & iust accompt firmed with your owne hands of all the goods you haue solde and bought vntill that time, and what remaineth vnsolde: and also the accompt of all maner costs of wares, and charges of you and the yong men vnder you particularly in such sort as the said accompt may bee with him in Colmogro at the fine of May at the furthest: to the intent that hee may make all our accompts perfite against the comming of our ships: and in any wise to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it selfe, and not mingle one voyage with another at no hand. And as we will haue you to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it selfe, euen so wee would haue all the whole costes and charges of euery yeere put into the voyage of that yeere. As the charges of all the last yeere must be put to the accompt of the third voyage: and the charges of this yeere present, must in the fine of April next, be put to the fourth voyage. Not doubting but your wisedome is such, that you will not take it in euill part, that wee doe appoynt Henry Lane to take the accompt of the rest. For we doe it for none other cause, but to keepe a good order in our bookes, that his bookes and ours may by this meanes agree: and hee being the yonger man, may best take paines: and that you doe keepe accompt of euery kinde of wares by it selfe, to the intent wee may perceiue wherein is our most gaine. And also in the making of your returne, in any wise name in your billes of lading, letters, and accompts, what wares doe appertaine to the first, second, and third voyage: and that wee may knowe the same by the numbers or otherwise as you shall thinke good by your wisedomes, putting the charges of the saide wares vnto them, as nigh as you can. And all such money as shall bee made of your goods in any place, wee referre that to your discretion, where it shall remaine vntill it bee employed, either at Vologhda, Mosco, or els where. And likewise wee will that Henry Lane doe make in a readinesse about the beginning of Iune euery yeere our whole accompt of the voyage in that yeere passed: in such sort that wee may receiue the same by our shippes: and that wee may plainely perceiue what sales are made, and what remaineth of the first, second, third, and fourth voyage, and what charges haue bene layde out for the sayd voyages, and what wares bee bought, and laden, and what they cost, and for what voyage euery parcell thereof is: and to send vs a copie of the same accompt in euery shippe. And also forasmuch as at this time we haue sent you but small store of wares in comparison of that we haue hope will bee vttered in short space, and yet neuerthelesse much more then you wrote for, whereby there shall not be sufficient to make any ample returne: and vnderstanding that there is great quantitie of goods stayed for our trade there by the Emperour, wee haue mooued the Embassador that you may haue credite for such quantitie as shall seeme good to you to prouide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine,

The fourth voyage.

or

or otherwise haue, we would you bought as much Wexe principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey so great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the best commoditie we may haue: for hauing that wholly in our hands, we may serue our owne countrey and others. Therefore seeing the Emperour doth minde, that such commodities as bee in his dominions shall not passe to Rie and Reuel and Poland as they haue done, but bee reserued for vs: therefore we must so lay for it, that it may not ly vpon their hands that haue it to sell, alwayes hauing consideration in the price and time as our next dispatch may correspond. Whereof you may send a certaine aduise, as well what you shall receiue of credit, and to what quantitie, as also what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well considered, you may aduertise vs as well for how many hundreth tonnes we must prouide fraight against the next yeere, as also what sortes, quantities and qualities of wares we shall send you, as well to pay your credite, as also to furnish the next aduenture after. Of this we would be answered largely. For we trust by this time you are able to giue full instructions of the state of the countrey: according to the articles of your first Commissions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewise what of our comodities haue most vtterance there, and what prices will be giuen for them there: and all other things requisite and necessary to be knowen.

The olde traffike of Russia to Rie, Reuel and Poland turned to Saint Nicholas.

The articles of their first Commission giuen 1555.

Also we doe vnderstand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the riuer of Pechora is great quantitie of Yewe, and likewise in the Countrey of Vgory, which we be desirous to haue knowledge of, because it is a speciall commoditie for our Realme. Therefore wee haue sent you a young man, whose name is Leonard Brian, that hath some knowledge in the wood, to shew you in what sorte it must be cut and clouen. So our minde is if there be any store, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe prouide a good quantitie against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes: and if there can bee found none that will serue for our purpose, then you may set the sayd Leonard Brian to any other businesse that you shall finde most fittest for him, vntill the returne of our ships the next yeere. For he is hired by the yeere onely for that purpose. We doubt not but that hee shall doe you good seruice there. For hee hath good knowledge of wares of that Countrey: for his bringing vp hath bene most in Danske, and hath good vnderstanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Also we doe send you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readinesse all such caske as shalbe needfull for traine oyle, tallowe, or any thing else. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleue such Yewe as he shall like there. And because we be not sure what timber they shall finde there to make Caske, we haue laden in these ships 140. tunnes emptie Caske, that is 94. tunnes shaken Caske and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thousand hoopes, & 480. wrethes of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can prouide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They haue an example with them of the bignesse of the Caske they shall make. Neuerthelesse, all such Buttes and Hoggesheads as may be found to serue we will shalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

Leonard Brian sent to search out Yewe in the North parts of Russia.

2. Coopers sent into Russia.

Also we charge you that you suffer no goods nor marchandies of any persons being not free of the Company, and of the accompt of the Company to be laden in any wise in our ships either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Embassadour minde to send any thing to the King and Queenes Maiesties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Companie: Nor likewise that you suffer any goods that goe in these ships to be brought on land there, except the Ambassadours goods, and the Physitions & Apothecaries, and others that hee hath with him, who carie no Marchandise. And because our ships be freighted by the great, it shalbe very needefull that you do appoynt certaine to see the romaging of the ships, and to giue the master or Boatswaine, or him that will take vpon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to see the goods well romaged. If it be iii d. or iiii. d. the tunne, it shall not be a misse. For if it be not substantially well looked vnto, it may bee a great deale of money out of our wayes.

Also because we reckon that from the Moseo will bee alwayes better conueyance of letters to vs by land: our minde is that from time to time as occasion shall serue, our Agents shall

shall write to him that shall lie at Mosco of all things that shall passe, that bee may giue vs large instructions, aswell what is solde and bought, as also what lading we shall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we shall send. For hitherto we haue had but a slender aduise, more like a bill to serue a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to serue a kingdome. For we must procure to vtter good quantitie of wares, especially the commodities of our Realme, although we affoord a good penyworth, to the intent to make other that haue traded thither, wearie, and so to bring our selues and our commodities in estimation, and likewise to procure to haue the chiefe commodities of that countrey in our hands, as waxe and such others, that other nations may bee serued by vs and at our hands. For wee doe vnderstand that the greatest quantitie of waxe that commeth to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, commeth out of Russia. Therefore if wee should buy part, and they also buy, it would raise the price there, and would bee little woorth here. And all such letters of importance and secrecie as you doe send by land for any wares or otherwise, you must write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke sent you in the shippes: alwayes taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may vnderstand them by the same booke heere, and to send them in such sort, that we may haue them here by Christmas or Candlemas, if it be possible. And because you cannot so certainly aduertise vs by letters of your doings, but some doubt may arise, whereof we would most gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with these ships you send vs home one such yong man as is most expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can best certifie vs in such questions as may be demanded, whome we will remit vnto you againe in the next ships. We thinke Arthur Edwards wilbe fittest for that purpose: neuerthelesse vse your discretion in that matter.

The marchits letters ouer land written in cyphers.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfred out of our ships at Colmogro and Vologda we trust by this time they are restored againe, and the malefactors so punished that other may take example for doing the like, otherwise it will be an euill president. Moreouer, wee doe perceiue that Richard Gray doeth buy mastes to send into England, they will not quit the costes, except we had a ship of purpose for them. And likewise that Steuen Burrow is returned from his discouerie with the Serchthrift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to set forth in the beginning of June next to seeke the riuer of Ob. We pray God to speede him well, and trust to haue him here in England this yeere to bring vs good newes.

The voyag of Steuen Burrowe for the discouerie of the riuer of Ob.

We doe perceiue there is a riuer found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteen foot vpon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will bee a great pleasure vnto vs. We will that Steuen Burrowe doe proceed on his voiage to discouer. Also we haue sent you one Anthonie Ienkinson Gentleman, a man well trauelled, whom we mind to vse in further trauelling, according to a Commission deliuered him, subscribed by master Anthonie Huse and others. Wherefore we will you deliuer him one or more of such painfull young men as he shal thinke meetest for his purpose: and likewise such money and wares as he shal think best to take with him. He must haue fourty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he wil demaund it of you, so let him haue it from Easter last. Also the prices of wares here at this present are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, towe flaxe twentie eight pound the hundred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, waxe at foure pound the hundred, tallow at sixteene shillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no shippes come out of Danske.

M. Anthonie Ienkinson his first trauaile intended for Cathay by the Caspian sea and Boghar.

Kept vntill the tenth day of this present. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recouered out of the Edward Bonauenture: and nowe we doe perceiue that the caske that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our minde is, that you shall lade it all in such barrels of the bigger sort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrels nor small. And that caske that wee haue sent may serue for the Tallowe or anie other ware that is not leakage. Neuerthelesse, this voyage you must take such as you can get.

Good caske made in Russia.

Also if the Emperour bee minded to deliuer you any summe of money, or good Waxe at

at as reasonable a price as you may buye for readie money, wee will that you shall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our aduenture, and hee to bee payed at the returne of the shippes in Veluets, Sattens, or any other kinde of silke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tissue, or according as his Commission shall bee that hee shall sende vs in the shippes, and according to such paternes as hee shall send. Wee doe not finde the Ambassadour nowe at the last so conformable to reason as wee had thought wee shoulde. Hee is very mistrustfull, and thinketh euerie man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you haue to doe with him or with any such, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to set them downe in writing. For they bee subtill people, and doe not alwaies speake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themselues. Therefore we would haue none of them to send any goods in our shippes at any time, nor none to come for passengers, vnlesse the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you, as is aforesaid, for his owne person.

Also we charge you not to suffer any of our nation to send any wares to their wiues or friends in any of our ships; but to take their money there to be paied heere by the companie and not otherwise: and to haue consideration how you doe take the roble. For although we doe rate it after sixteene shillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not worth past 12. or 13. shillings sterling. Moreouer, you had neede to sende newe accomptes, for them that came in the Edward bee marred and torne, so that we can make no reckoning by them: and likewise to write vs a perfect note of all the goodes which you receiued the last voyage out of the Edward, and heerein not to faile.

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne.
Anthonie Huse.
William Garrard.
William Chester.

A Letter of Master Thomas Hawtrey to the worshipfull Master Henrie Lane Agent at Colmogro, written in Vologda the 31. of Ianuarie 1557. 1557.

WOrshipfull Sir, heartie commendations premised. These may bee to aduertise you, that yesterday the thirtieth of this present came hither Robert Best, and brought with him two hundred robles, that is, one hundred for this place, and one hundred for you at Colmogro. As for hempe which is here at two robles and a halfe the bercouite, master Gray hath written to buy no more at that price: for Iohn Sedgewicke hath bought for sixe or seuen hundred robles worth at Nouogrode for one roble and a halfe the bercouite, and better cheape: and white Nouogrode flaxe is there at three robles the bercouite. I trust hee will doe much good by his going thither. As I doe vnderstand, Richard Iohnson is gone to Nouogrode with money to him, I doubt not but Master Gray hath aduertised you of all their doings, both at the Mosco and at Nouogrod. And touching our doings heere, you shall perceiue that wee haue solde wares of this fourth voyage for one hundred and fourtie robles, besides fiftie robles of the second and third voyage since the giuing vp of my last account, and for wares of the Countrey, you shall vnderstand that I haue bought tried and vntried for 77. robles foure hundred podes of tried tallowe, besides foure hundred podes that I haue giuen out money for, whereof God graunt good receipt when the time commeth, which is in lent. And in browne flaxe and hempe I haue bought seuenteene bercouites, sixe podes and sixteene pound, which cost 28. robles, eleuen altines two pence. And as for other kindes of wares I haue bought none as yet. And for mastes to bee prouided, you shall vnderstand that I wrote a letter to Totma the 28. of this present for fiftie mastes, to wit, for 25. of fifteene fathoms, and 25. of fourteene fathoms, to be an arshine and a halfe at the small ende. And more, I haue written for 30. great trees to be two arshines and a halfe at the small end, and for the other that were prouided the last yeere, I trust they shall be sent downe in the spring of the yeere. And as concerning the Ropemakers, you shall vnderstand that their abiding place shall bee with you at Colmogro, as I doe thinke Master Gray hath aduertised you. For, as Roger Bontinge

Iohn Sedgewick at Nouogrode.

Masts of 30 yards.

An Arshine is 3. quarters of a yard or more.

A rope house erected at Colmogro

Master of the woorkes doeth say, there is no place more meete for their purpose then with you: and there it will be made with lesser cost, considering that the pale is the one halfe of it: which is to set one pale more to that, and so for to couer it ouer, which as they say, will be but little cost. They doe pray that it may bee made sixeteene foote broade, and one hundred and eightie fathoms long; and that in the midde way twentie foote from the pale towarde the water side there may be a house made to tarre in, standing alone by it selfe for danger of fire. The Tarre house that they woulde haue made, is to bee fifteene fathoms long, and ten fathoms broade, and they would that house should be made first: for I thinke they will not tarre before they come there. And farther they desire that you will prouide for as much tarre as you may, for heere wee haue small store, but when the time commeth that it shoulde be made, I will prouide as much as I can here, that it may bee sent downe when the Nasade commeth. The stuffe that they haue readie spunne is about fiue thousand waight, and they say that they trust to haue by that time they come downe yarne ynough to make 20. cables. As concerning a copie of the Alphabet in ciphers Master Gray hath written hither that Robert Austen had one, which he willed that he shoulde deliuer to you. Thus I surcease, beseeching God to preserue you in health, and to send you your hearts desire.

A tarre house.

Robert Austen.

By yours to command to his power,
Thomas Hawtrey.

A Letter of master Richard Gray one of the first Agents of the Moscouie companie to Master Henrie Lane at Mosco, written in Colmogro the 19. of Februarie 1558.

1558.

WOrshipfull Sir, after heartie commendations &c. You shall vnderstand that this Lent commeth to Lampas such a number of men of diuers nations with wares, as hath not bene seene these ten yeeres. Thither come many out of Vgori: therefore I would haue bene there my selfe, and also haue receiued such money as is owning vs in wares by Kerill his brother and Osep Boscouo. For as you well know, thence they will go with their wares to the Mosco, and make vs payment with delayes, as they haue done these other yeeres past. Colobone and his partner be departed towards Lampas with seuen sleddes laden with victuals. Others also are gone to that Mart. As touching the bringing of money with you, it will bee good, for I assure you since our comming to this countrey haue not so many persons gone to the Sea, as will doe this yeere. Trusting that God will send good store of traine oyle, I will cause as much caske to bee in a readinesse as I can, if you shall thinke it meete to send some money before. All our olde hempe is spunne and wrought in tenne cables from fifteene ynches to ten the least, and thirteene Hausers from sixe ynches to three ynches: and all may weigh white eight and twenty thousande pounde weight and vpwarde. There is in hempe ockam fiue thousand pound two hundred weight in twelue sackes at the least: the flaxe that came downe in the Nassadaes with those seuen podes that came last is all spunne with a good part of that hempe that came last. God send more shortly, for all that is here and that is comming in the three other sleddes, will bee dispatched by the fourth weeke in Lent. Within these few dayes I bought thirteen podes, seuen pound of hempe that cost two robles, twenty eight altines, foure pence, which together with that that was bought before, shall bee laide in dipping and sounding lines, for it is very good. There are spent aboue fiftie barrels of tarre alreadie: you shall vnderstand that these eight workemen will spinne and lay aboue fourescore and tenne thousand pound of hempe, so it bee dressed readie to their hands, hauing two to turne the wheeles, and two to winde vp. Therefore I haue agreed with these two boyes to serue the worshipfull companie foure yeeres a piece. One of them windeth vp and is very apt to spinne: therefore I will haue two other young men Russes to spinne, if they can finde good sureties for their trueth. I haue bene in hand with these two yong men that came out of the Trinitie, and they with me, but vnder seuen pound a yeere they will not serue, nor Thomas Bunting that was Roger Bunting his seruant. Therefore I would haue three Russes at the least to spinne, fiue of them will be as good as these three, and

Lampas a great mart for the Samoeds in the North.

What quantitie of hempe 8. workmen will worke in a yeere.

and will not be so chargeable all, as one of these would be. I thinke it were good that our Nassada were somewhat strengthented in her floore on both sides with plankes of fiue or sixe ynches thicke, from the steuine to the sterne, as I haue written to Thomas Hawtrey at Vologda. Also if you shall so thinke meet, your waxe and tallowe shall be laden in two Doznickes, for they bee meete to goe aboord the shippes: I doe intend to set vp an house at Boroseua ouer against the place whereas the shippes shall ride, your aduise therein I expect, it shall not cost aboue three robles, and yet if we will, there shall be two warme roomes in it. As for other matter at this present I haue not to trouble you withall, and if it would please you I would be glad to heare some good newes of Master Ienkinson. Thus Iesus be with you and be his guide.

Postcriptum.

As for these our Hawkes they bee not white, but white and mayled, but indeede are Iarfawkons. These dayes past our Olen died. So this yeere our Masters of the companie are like to haue none, nor any white beares. Neither may any passe out of the realme without a special licence from the Emperour. White hawkes & white beares prohibited without licence.

I intend God willing to goe to Lampas, if I doe I will take foure or fiue kerseys with me, but as for money there is small store here to carie. Master Grayes money to Lampas

Yours, Richard Gray.

A letter of Thomas Alcocke to the worshipfull Richard Gray, and Henrie Lane Agents in Moscouia from Tirwill in Polonia, written in Tirwill the 26. of Aprill 1558. 1558.

MY duety premised vnto your worships, with cõmendations &c. It may please you to be aduertised, y my last I sent frõ Smolesco, which I trust you haue receiued w other letters to diuers of our Englishmen, wherein I certified you of my long retayning there, as also of my departure from thence, and howe that I had hired a Totar to bring mee to Danske. We came to a certaine village on Satterday the sixe and twentieth of Februarie, and there remained that night and Sunday to refresh our horses, intending to haue gone away on Munday earely. But on Saterday at night one of his neighbours departed to Tirwill, and there declared to the Captaine howe that at such a place there was a Dutch man that was come from the Mosco, and woulde ride to Danske, saying, for the one, I cannot tell what he is. The Captaine incontinent ridde to the King to shewe him thereof, so that without any delay there was sent out for mee one of the Gentlemen of the Kings house, and one of the Mesnickes of the Towne with sixe Officers to take mee. They came thither in the night about midnight, and there apprehended mee and tooke all that I had from me: they left me nothing but my clothes to put on my backe, and so brought mee to Tirwill to the Captaines house, where before I dyned, I had a payre of fetters clapped on my legges, wherewithall I sate vntill it was Munday in the Easterweeke. On which day, after long and earnest calling to the Captaine as he ridde by the windowe, hee commaunded the Marshall that mine yrons shoulde be taken off, but no worde I could heare when I should be deliuered out of captiuitie till it was Saint George his day: on which day I was had before the Marshall, who declared vnto me that the Kings Maiestie had shewed his mercie and goodnesse towardes mee: for his pleasure was that I should be deliuered out of prison to depart into England, but no way else. So after I had giuen thankes for the Kings Maiesties goodnesse shewed vnto me, I desired him that he woulde be a meane that I might haue the remaynder of such thinges as were taken from me restored vnto me againe. Hee made me answere, that I might thanke God that I escaped with my head, and that if euer there came any more of vs through the land, they should not so doe. The weeke before Easter they deliuered mee my Corobia againe with all thinges that were therein. They tooke from mee in money nine Hungers gylderns in golde, fiue shillings foure pence in Lettoes money, fourtie Altines in Russe money, whereof twentie and more were for tokens, halfe an angell and a quarter of Master Doctour Standishes, with his golde ring. Your two pieces of money (Master Gray) that you sent to your wife and Doctor Standish the Emperours Phisition.

daughter, with my two pieces of Boghary money. Of all this I had eight Hungers gilderns deliuered mee the thirde wecke of mine imprisonment to paye for my charges, which stoode mee in a Dollar a wecke. So that at the day of my deliuerie I had but three gylderne left me. For the rest I made a supplication to the Captaine and had the like answere giuen mee as the Marshall gaue me. So that all the rest of the thinges before written are lost, and no recouerie to bee had, which grieueth me more for the tokens sakes then doeth mine eight weeks imprisonment. They haue also my sword, my bootes, my bowe and arrowes that I bought at Smolensco, which cost me foure marks, my sled, my felt, the combold, a booke of the Flowres of godly prayers, and my booke wherein my charges were written. Of all these I can get nothing againe, not so much as my two bookes.

After I had remayned there fiue and thirtie dayes, I was had before the Captaine vp into a great chamber to bee examined for letters and of the cause of my comming through the Countrey. In the Captaines companie was one of the Lordes of Danske. They demaunded of mee where my letters were, I declared vnto them that I had none: your Officers (sayd I) tooke me when I was in my bedde, they searched mee and tooke all that I had from mee, if there be any they shall finde them among my stuffe which they haue. They asked mee then, for what cause I went home ouer lande? I declared vnto them, that the Winter beeing a warme season, and hauing intelligence that The frozen Sea was not much frozen, and supposing this Sommer it would be nauigable, I was onely sent to prouide a Shippe to be sent to passe the sayde Seas to discouer Catuia: which if God graunted wee might doe, it woulde not onely bee a commoditie to the Realme of Englande, but vnto all Christian landes, by the riches that might be brought from thence, if the histories bee true that are written thereof. Much other communication I had with them concerning the same voyage. Then he demaunded of mee what wares wee brought into Russia, and what we carried from thence. I declared the same vnto them. Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thousandes of ordinance, as also of harneis, swordes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them answere, that wee had brought thither about one hundred shirtes of mayle, such olde thinges newe scowred as no man in Englande woulde weare. Other talke they had with mee concerning the trade of Moscouia too long to commit to writing.

An attempt to hinder our trade to Moscouia by the Hans townes & Easterlings.

At my comming hither heere were Ambassadours from the townes of Danske, Lubeck, and Hamburgh, as also out of Liefland to desire this king to bee their Captaine and head in their intended voyage, which was to stoppe all such shippes as shoulde goe out of England for Moscouia. Whereunto the King graunted, and immediatly they departed to prepare their shippes. So that I am afraide that either these our enemies, or the great warres that we haue with France and Scotland will be an occasion that you shall haue no shippes at Colmogro this yeere.

To conclude, although I haue no tokens to deliuer them, that the tokens taken from me were sent vnto, yet I will declare vnto them that I had tokens for them, with the mischance. And thus I commit you to Almightie God with the rest of the companie, who keepe you in health to his holy will and pleasure.

By yours to commaund

THOMAS ALCOCKE.

A Letter of Master Anthonie Ienkinson vpon his returne from Boghar to the worshipful Master Hentie Lane Agent for the Moscouie companie resident in Vologda, written in the Mosco the 18. of September, 1559.

1559.

Matter Ienkinsons voyage intended for Cathay.

WOrshipfull Sir, after my heartie commendations premised with most desire to God of your welfare and prosperous successe in all your affaires. It may please you to bee aduertised that the fourth of this present I arriued with Richard Iohnson and Robert Iohnson all in health, thankes bee to God. Wee haue bene as farre as Boghar, and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, had it not bene for the vnceassant and continuall warres,

warres, which are in all these brutall and wilde countreys, that it is at this present impossible to passe, neither went there any Caruaan of people from Boghar that way these three yeeres. And although our iourney hath bene so miserable, dangerous, and chargeable with losses, charges and expenses, as my penne is not able to expresse the same: yet shall wee bee able to satisfie the worshipfull Companies mindes, as touching the discouerie of The Caspian Sea, with the trade of merchandise to bee had in such landes and countreyes as bee thereabout adiacent, and haue brought of the wares and commodities of those Countries able to answere the principall with profite: wishing that there were vtterance for as great a quantitie of kersies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the sales of a small quantitie, (all such euill fortunes beeing escaped as to vs haue chaunced this present voyage,) for then it woulde be a trade woorthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I trust you will be here shortly (which I much desire) I will deferre the discourse with you at large vntill your comming, as well touching my trauel, as of other things. Sir, Iohn Lucke departed from hence toward England the seuenth of this present, and intendeth to passe by the way of Sweden, by whom I sent a letter to the worshipfull Companie, and haue written that I intend to come downe vnto Colmogro to be readie there at the next shipping to imbarke my selfe for England, declaring that my seruice shal not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to serue their worships in greater affaires then they haue heere to doe, so farre as I perceiue. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudsons letters, for that I am but newly arriued. Hauing here but litle businesse to doe, I send you Richard Iohnson to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giuing you most heartie thanks for my wench Aura Soltana, I commend you to the tuition of God, who send you health with hearts desire.

The discouery of the Caspian sea.

Passage to and from Moscouia by Sweden.

This was a yong Tartar girle which he gaue to the Queene afterward.

Your assured to command,
Anthonie Ienkinson.

A Letter of the Moscouie companie to their Agents in Russia, Master Henrie Lane, Christopher Hudson, and Thomas Glouer sent in their seuenth voyage to Saint Nicholas with three ships, the Swallowe, the Philip and Marie, and the Iesus the fifth of May, 1560.

AFter our heartie commendations to you. The twelfth day of the last moneth here arriued in safety, thanks be to God, our two ships, & by them we receiued your letters & inuoices very well perceiuing what you haue laden in them. The tallowe came euill conditioned and broken, by reason it came in Corrobias, wee lose and spoyle more then the Casse will cost, and much of this tallowe is verie euill, blacke, soft and putrified. Touching the Waxe, as yet wee knowe not howe the weight will rise, by reason that some of it was lost in the barkes. The weight of the last yeeres waxe did not rise so well as the other yeeres before it did. There had neede good heede to bee taken in the weighing. Also much of this Waxe had a great foote and is not so faire waxe as in times past wee haue had. You must cause the foote to bee taken off before you doe weigh it, or else you must seeke to haue a good allowance for it. The traine Oyles which you laded this yeere came well conditioned, and the caske was good and of a good sise. But if they were made a little bigger, it were the better, for they be not hogsheads. You haue written to vs to send you caske which is not heere to be had, neither doe wee thinke it so best if it were heere, considering it must goe either shaken and bounde vp, or else emptie, which will bee pesterable, and likewise will shrinke and drie, and not be fitte to lade oyles in. Therefore our minde is, you shall cause so much caske to bee made there of the sise of hogsheads as will serue both for your oyles and tallowe, and let them be well trimmed with pitch on the heads and seames, and stand full of water three or foure dayes before you put Oyles in them. Your Cowper may bee ouerseer to them that make them, that they be well hooped and cleere tymber without knottes, the woorst caske you may put the tallowe in. Hee that seeth the filling of the oyles had neede to looke well to it, for there was much water in this that came nowe. Wee perceiue you haue bought and haue in a readinesse one hundred and fourtie tunnes of oyles, and that if neede be you may haue

Tallow.

Wax.

Traine oyles.

more

more store. Wherefore we doe minde to send you shipping for three hundred tunnes and vpwards, because we would haue this next Sommer as great a returne as you can of the commodities of that Countrey, as also such of our wares as you haue that are not vendible, or will not be solde or bartered, because we would haue a ful knowledge and state of our accounts. The Sables which you sent this yeere be very base, among them all we could not make one principall timber: we haue alwayes written vnto you to send them that bee good or else none. The Woluerings were indifferent, and some of the wolues, the rest verie base, the Lusernes but meane, the Lettes not so large skinnes as we haue had: the best is, they were of a new death. As for the Ermines, they cost more there with you, then we can sell them for here. Therefore buy no more of them, nor of Squirels, for wee lost the one halfe in the other. The wares that we would haue you prouide against the comming of the shippes are, Waxe, Tallowe, trayne Oyles, Flaxe, Cables and Ropes, and Furres, such as we haue written to you for in our last letters by the shippes: and from hencefoorth not to make any great prouision of any rich Furres except principall Sables & Lettes: for now there is a Proclamation made that no furres shall be worne here, but such as the like is growing here within this our Realme. Also we perceiue that there might be a great deale of tallowe more prouided in a yeere then you send. Therefore our minde is, you should enlarge somewhat more in the price, and to send vs if you can three thousand podes a yeere: for we doe most good in it. And likewise the Russes, if you would giue them a reasonable price for their wares, woulde be the willinger to buy and sell with you, and not to carie so much to Nouogrode as they doe, but woulde rather bring it to Vologda to you, both Waxe, Tallowe, Flaxe, Hempe, and all kinde of other wares fitte for our Countrey. Our minde is you should prouide for the next ships fine hundred Losh hides, of them that be large and faire, and thickest in hand, and to be circumspect in the choosing, that you buy them that bee killed in season and well dryed and whole. If they be good we may sell them here for sixteene shillings and better the piece, wee would haue the whole skinnes, that is, the necke and legges withall, for these that you sent now lacke their neckes and legges. Neuerthelesse for this time you must sende them as you may get them: if you coulde finde the meanes that the haire might bee clipped off them, they woulde not take so much roome in the shippes as they doe. We perceiue by your letters that the prices of Waxe doe rise there with you, by reason that the Poles and Lifelanders doe trade into Russia by licence: which, if there shoulde bee peace betweene them, woulde bee an occasion that all other commodities in Russia woulde rise to a bigger price, and not bee sufficient to serue them and vs too, and likewise woulde bring downe there the prices of our commodities. Therefore we thinke it good you shoulde make a supplication to the Emperour in the name of The Companie to returne the trade from Rye and Reuel to vs, especially for such wares as wee doe buy: promising that wee will bee bounde to take them at a reasonable price, as wee haue bought them in times past: and likewise that wee will bring to them such wares of ours, as are thought fitte for the Countrey, and to sell them at such reasonable prices as wee haue done. If this shoulde not come to passe, wee might be out of hope of doing any good by the trade there: but that we haue a further hope of some good trade to be found out by Master Antonie Ienkinson: by reason we doe perceiue by your letters, that raw silke is as plentifull in Persia, as flaxe is in Russia: beside other commodities that may come from thence. Wee vnderstand by your letters that you be at a point with the Russe for the Waxe, Tallow, and traine oyles that he shipped the last yere for 311 robles 20 altines, which is well: although much be not gotten by it, but because they should not vnderstand our reckonings. We much maruel what you mean to buy Seale skins and tanne them. All that you haue sent in times past lie here vnsold, and will yeelde no money. If you send 100 of them tawed with the haire on, they will bee solde, or else not. In our shippe we will send you such things as you write to haue for the ropers: and wee would they should make more store of small cables and ropes, as cables of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. inches. For these great cables be not for euery man: and the greatest cables bee not best laded: and likewise small ropes for shroudes, sholes, and other small tackeling: and that you looke better to the spinning of their yarne that it be euen and well tarred. The sables that

Sables.

Woluerings. Luserns Lettes. Ermines.

Squirels.

Flaxe. Cables and ropes.

A proclamation against forrein Furres.

3000. podes of Tallowe a yere.

500. Losh hides.

Note.

Hope of trade to be found by master Antonie Ienkinson.

Seale skinnes tawed.

Small cables best vendible.

that you doe mind to send vs let them be principall and fayre, and not past foure or fiue timbars. For they will not be so commonly worne here as they haue bin with noble men: and likewise of Lasserns send fewe and principal good. We mind to send you in our shippes 100 tunnes of salte. And because we perceiue that balast is hardly to be had at our lading place there with you, we would you shoulde haue in a readinesse 100 tunnes of the white stones whereof you sent vs home an example two yeres past. And likewise to haue in a readinesse maste*s* of all sortes for our shippes: for we know not what necde wee shall haue of them. The bringer hereof is Thomas Alcock, he could not be suffered the last yeare to passe through Poland. And as we wrote vnto you in our shippes, hee is our seruant for yeares: And for that we know him to be honest, true and painefull, our mind is he shalbe placed where he may do best seruice. He doth know the commodities and discommodities of all kinde of wares which you doe send vs. Therefore we would you should credite his sayings both in quantitie of wares and goodnes, as also wherin is most our profit. We see by your letters that your opinion is that the ropemakers should remaine there two yeres more; and that you haue prouided great plentie of hempe, which we are content withall. But as yet we haue solde none of our cables nor halsers, neither is the proofe of them knowen: because the first you sent vs were made of flaxe, which are worth no money: for after they be once wet they will rotte and moulder away like mosse. And those which you sent vs now last, by misfortune there with you at the lading were wette and fretted in many places, and haue lost their colour: by meanes whereof they be not so vendible as if they had come well conditioned. Of an hard beginning we trust God will send vs a good ending. We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Master Antonie Ienkinson. We perceiue by his letters that Astracan is not so good a Mart towne as the fame hath gone of it: and maruell much that round pewter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. And whereas you write that you wil come for England in our next shippes, we would gladly haue you to remaine there vntill the next yere following, for the better instruction of our seruants there; who haue not had so long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey, and wares as you haue had. Neuerthelesse if you will needs come away, we haue no doubt, but that you will leaue good order with our seruants there, namely with Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glouer, whom we appoint to remaine there as Agents in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will vse themselues so discreetely and wisely in all their doings, as shall be to the worship and benefite of this company. And as we haue a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: so haue we no lesse hope in all the rest of our seruants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (considering what roome they be in) but also will be carefull, painefull, diligent, and true euery one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the company: That hereafter in the absence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elsewhere. And if you find any to be disobedient and stubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you shall send him home in our shippes: who shall find such small fauour and friendship during the time that he hath to serue, as by his disobedience and euill seruice hee hath deserued. And whereas Christopher Hodson hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cause, considering the death of his father and mother: yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife were his special friends in his absence, we doubt not but that he wil remain in the roome, which we haue appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his seruice and paines hee shall be considered, as reason is, as friendly as if his friends were liuing. Thus we trust you will take such order the one to remaine at the Mosco, and the other at Colmogro, or elsewhere, as most necde is. Thomas Alcocke is desirous to be in the Mosco: neuerthelesse you shall find him reasonable to serue where he may doe most good. The 62 robles which you receiued of Iohn Boucher we haue payed him here, and also the 8 robles, which you receiued the yere before of Christopher Rose, and the money which you receiued more of George Burton, for the which we haue you our debtors. Thus we rest, referring that which is here omitted to the report of the bringer: and so God

Masts of all sorts to be prouided.

Astracan no great good marte.

Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glouer appointed Agents 1560.

haue

haue you in his keeping. Also we we would that you should send vs in our shippes 200 horse-clothes more. The things before written wee would that you should let our seruants see and reade, to the intent they may perceiue our mindes.

Another letter to the foresaid parties. 1560.

This letter before written is the copie of one sent you by Thomas Alcock, trusting that hee was with you long since. The 26 day of the last moneth we receiued a letter from him, dated in Stockholme in Sweden the 14 day of Ianuary, and we perceiue by his letter that hee had talked with a Dutch man that came lately from the Mosco, who informed him that our friend Master Antony Ienkinson was returned to the Mosco in September last past, but how farre he had beene, or what he had done, he could not tell. Also he wrote that one Iohn Lucke a loyner was taken by the Liefelanders, and put in prison. As yet wee haue not heard from the said Iohn Lucke, nor know not whether he be released out of prison or not. We suppose that by him you wrote some letter which as yet is not come to our hands: so that we thinke hee is yet in prison, or otherwise dispatched out of the way. The fifteenth day of December wee receiued a letter from Christopher Hodson, dated in the Mosco the 29 of Iuly, by the way of Danske: which is in effect a copie of such another receiued from him in our shippes. You shal vnderstand that we haue laden in three good shippes of ours these kind of wares following: to wit, in the Swallowe of London, Master vnder God Steuen Burrow, 34 fardels N° 136 broad short clothes, and foure fardels N° 58 Hampshire Kersies: and 23 pipes of bastards and seckes, and 263 pieces of raisins and 4 hogsheds N° 154 pieces of round pewter, and ten hogsheds and poncheons of prunes, and one dryfatte with Almonds. And in the Philip and Marie, Master vnder God Thomas Wade, 25 fardels N° 100 broad clothes, and three fardels N° 42 Hampshire Kersies and thirtie pipes of seckes and bastards, and 100 pieces of raisins. And in the Iesus of London, Master vnder God Arthur Pette, 10 fardels N° 40 broade shorte clothes, and twenty seuen pipes of bastards and seckes, as by the Inuoices herewith inclosed may appeare: Also you shall receiue such necessaries as you did write to bee sent for the rope makers: trusting that you shall haue better successe with them which you shall send vs in these ships, then with the rest which you haue sent vs yet: for we as yet haue sold none of them. And whereas we wrote vnto you in our former letter, that we would send you a hundred tunnes of salte, by reason it is so deare here we doe send you but nine tunnes and a halfe, for it cost here tenpence the bushell the first penie: namely in the Swallow 6 tunnes and a halfe, in the Philip and Marie one tunne and a halfe, and in the Iesus one tunne and a halfe. The 4 hogsheads of round pewter goe in the Swallow and in the Philip and Marie N° 154 pieces, as is aforesaid. We send you three ships, trusting that you haue prouided according to our former writing good store of lading for them. If yee haue more wares then will lade the ships, let it be Traine oyles that you leaue behinde: the price is not here so good as it was: it is worth here 9 pound the tunne. We thinke it good you should let the smaller ship bring as much of the traine as she can cary: And that the masters of the ships do looke wel to the romaging, for they might bring away a great deale more then they doe, if they would take paine in the romaging: and bestowe the traine by it selfe, and the waxe and tallowe by it selfe: for the leakage of the traine doth fowle the other wares much. As for Allard the skinner, if you thinke good he may come home in these shippes. We haue no doubt but that you Henrie Lane, if you minde to come home now in these ships as you requested, will leaue such good order there with our seruants as shall bee for our most profite and their preferment, if they doe their duelies diligently and truely. If our friend Master Antonie Ienkinson bee returned, and meane to come away in these ships to declare his mind and opinion of his trauaile, if need require and he be so minded he may returne thither by land and be there by the fine of Ianuarie or before. But as we be vncertaine whether he be returned or not: so we know not what he hath done, nor what benefite may rise hereafter of his trauaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to his and your good discretions. Wee send you Thomas Hawtrey which is our seruant for yeeres: our minde is he should be placed, where he may doe best seruice.

Also we send you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres: our

Stockholme.

Iohn Lucke taken prisoner in Liefelande.

The Swallow.

The Philip and Marie.

The Iesus.

Nicholas Chancelour.

our minde is hee should be set about such businesse as he is most fit for: he hath been kept at writing schoole long: he hath his Algorisme, and hath vnderstanding of keeping of bookes of reckonings. We send you now but 100 Kersies: but against the next yeere, if occasion serue, wee will send you a greater quantitie, according as you shal aduise vs: One of the pipes of seckes that is in the Swallow, which hath 2 round compasses vpon the bung, is to be presented to the Emperour: for it is special good. The nete waight of the 10 puncheons of prunes is 4300. 2 thirds 1 pound. It is written particularly vpon the head of euery puncheon: and the nete weight of the falte of almonds is 500 li. two quarters. The raisins, prunes, and almonds you were best to dispatch away at a reasonable price, and principally the raisins, for in keeping of them will be great losse in the waight, and the fruit will decay. We thinke it good that you prouide against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes 20 or 30 bullockes killed and salted, for beefe is very deare here. Therefore you were best to saue some of this salt that we doe send you in these ships for the purpose. The salte of that countrey is not so good. In this you may take the opinion of the masters of the shippes. Foxe skins, white, blacke, and russet will be vendible here. The last yere you sent none: but there were mariners that bought many. If any of the mariners doe buy any trifling furres or other commodities, we will they shall be registred in our pursers bookes, to the intent we may know what they be. We desire to know how the Emperour tooke the letter which we sent in our ships, as an answere to the letter that came in his name and vnder his seale for the sixe thousand dallers. Thus wee rest, committing you to God, from London the fift day of May 1560.

The salt of Russia is not so good as Bay salte.

Foxe skinnes white, blacke and russet vendible in England.

May 5. 1560.

For lacke of time the gouernours haue not firmed this letter: which is the copie of the other two letters firmed by them.

Yours, William Mericke.
Yours, Blase Sanders.

The maner of Iustice by lots in Russia, written by Master Henrie Lane, and executed in a controuersie betweene him and one Sheray Costromitskey in Mosco. 1560.

AFter the comming home into Russia of Ioseph Napea the first ambassadour to Queene Marie, I remaining the Agent there, sundrie Russian marchants by Iosephs procurement obtained letters from the Emperour to freight goods and passe in our ships for England: which thing vpon good consideration I answered and refused. They were then driuen to credite vs and compound in value vntill the next returne. At which time, notwithstanding good accompt in the value of 600 robles, there grewe question by their double demand. So in April Anno 1560. before my comming from Moscouia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to haue their summe double, or as I proffered 600 robles. For combatte I was prouided of a strong willing Englishman, Robert Best, one of the companies seruants: whome the Russes with their Champion refused. So that we had the words of our priuiledge put in effect, which were to draw lots. The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperour at his castle in his palace and high Court of Moscouia was thus. The Emperours two Treasurers, being also Chancelours and chiefe Iudges, sate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, & the other, through the great presse within the rayle or barre, and permitted me to sit downe some distance from them: the aduerse parties being without at the barre. Both parties were first perswaded with great curtesie, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Russes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithstanding that I protested my conscience to be cleere, and their gaine by accompt to bee sufficient, yet of gentlenes at the magistrates request I made proffer of 100 robles more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintifes not accepted. Then sentence passed with our names in two equall balles of waxe made and holden vp by the Iudges, their sleeues stripped vp. Then with standing vp and wishing well to the trueth attributed to him that should be first drawen, by both consents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, saying: Thou with such a coate or cap, come vp: where roome with speede was made. He was commanded to hold his cappe,

Triall by combat or lot.

wherein they put the balles, by the crowne vpright in sight, his arme not abasing. With like circumspection, they called at aduenture another tall gentleman, commanding him to strip vp his right sleeue, and willed him with his bare arme to reach vp, and in Gods name seuerally to take out the two balles: which he did, deliuering to either Iudge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball first taken out was mine: which was by open sentence so pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true parte. The chiefe plaintifes name was Sheray Costromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the summe by me appointed. Out of which for their wrong or siuñe, as it was termed, they payd tenne in the hundred to the Emperor. Many dayes after, as their maner is, the people took our nation to be true and vpright dealers, and talked of this iudgement to our great credite.

Note.

The former letters dated 1558, 1559, and 1560, should all followe M. Ienkinsons voyage to Boghar.

The first voyage made by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, from the Citie of London toward the land of Russia, begun the twelfth of May, in the yeere 1557.

First by the grace of God the day and yeere aboue mentioned, I departed from the sayd Citie, and the same day at Grauesend embarked my selfe in a good shippe, named the Primerose, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe captaine of the same, and also of the other 3 good ships, to say, the Iohn Euangelist, the Anne, and the Trinitie, hauing also the conduct of the Emperour of Russia his ambassadour named Osep Nepea Gregoriwich, who passed with his company in the sayde Primerose. And thus our foure tall shippes being well appointed, aswell for men as victuals as other necessarie furniture, the saide twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the saide Grauesend, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Easterly, and fayre weather, the 13 day we came a ground with the Primerose, vpon a sand called the blacke taile, where we sate fast vntill the 14 day in the morning, and then God be praysed, she came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Easterly, & there remayned vntill the 20 day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balsey slade, and so into Orwel wands, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the sayd Goldemore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the said gate, and was like to be bilged and lost. But by the aide of God, at the last she came off againe, being very leake: and the 21 day the Primerose remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three shippes bare into Orwel hauen where I caused the sayd Trinitie to be grounded, searched, and repaired. So we remayned in the said hauen, vntill the 28 day: and then the winde being Westerly, the three shippes that were in the hauen, weyed and came forth, and in comming forth the Iohn Euangelist came on ground vpon a sand, called the Andros, where she remained one tide, and the next full sea she came off againe without any great hurt, God be praised.

The 29 day in the morning all foure ships weied in the Wands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordnesse, where we came to an anker, because the wind was Northerly: And about sixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the Southwest and we weyed anker, and bare cleere of the nesse, and then set our course Northeast & by North vntill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth sands. Then we winded North and by West, and Northnorthwest, vntill the first of Iune at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued so vntill the second day at noone: then the winde came at Northwest, with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped Northnortheast, and Northeast and by North, as the winde shifted, and so continued vntill the third day at noone: then the wind vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the wind vered to the Northwest againe and blew a fresh gale, and so continued vntill the seuenth day in the morning, we lying with all our shippes close by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the wind vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the

Fune.

the coast of England againe, and fell querthwart Newcastle, but went not into the hauen, & so plied vpon the coast the eight day & the ninth.

The tenth day the winde came to the Northnorthwest, & we were forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntill the seuenteenth day. Then the winde came faire; and we weyed, and set our course North and by East, and so continued the same with a merry winde vntill the 21 at noone, at which time we tooke the sunne, and had the latitude in sixty degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went Northnorth east, and Northeast and by North, vntill the 25 day. Then we discouered certaine Islands, called Heilick Islands, lying from vs Northeast, being in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees, 40 minutes. Then we went North and by West, because we would not come too nigh the land, and running that course foure houres, we discouered, and had sight of Rost Islands, ioining to the main land of Finmarke. Thus continuing our course along the coast of Norway and Finmark, the 27 day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre shot as Lofoot, and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the same day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a rainebow, like a semicircle, with both ends vpwarde. Note that there is between the said Rost Islands & Lofoot, a whirle poole called Malestrand, which from halfe ebbe vntill halfe flood, maketh such a terrible noise, that it shaketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitants houses of the sayd Islands tenne miles off. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pitifull crie. Moreouer, if great trees be caried into it by force of streams, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughs of them haue bene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of hempe that is bruised. Note, that all the coaste of Finmarke is high mountaines and hils, being couered all the yere with snow. And hard aboord the shoare of this coast, there is 100 or 150 fadomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sailing forward, we fell with an Island called Zenam, being in the latitude of 70 degrees. About this Island we saw many Whales, very moſtrous, about our ships, some by estimation of 60 foot long: and being the ingending time they roared and cried terrible. From thence we fell with an Island, called Kettelwicke.

Heilick Islds is 66 degrees 40 minutes.

Rost Islands.

Malestrand a strange whirle poole.

Zenam Id. nd.

Kettelwike Island.

This coast from Rost vnto Lofoot lieth North and south, and from Lofoot to Zenam Northeast and southwest, and from Zenam to Kettelwike Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest. From the said Kettelwike we sailed East and by North 10 leagues, and fell with a land called Inger sound, where we fished, being becalmed, and tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coast, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermost land that wee passe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71 degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger sound East, and to the Northwards 15 leagues. And being at this North Cape the second day of Iuly, we had the sunne at North 4 degrees aboue the Horizon. The third day wee came to Wardhouse, hauing such mists that we could not see the land. This Wardhouse is a Castle standing in an Island 2 miles from the maine of Finland, subiect to the king of Denmarke, and the Eastermost land that he hath. There are two other Islands neere adioining vnto that, whereon the Castle of Wardhouse standeth. The inhabitants of those three Islands liue onely by fishing, and make much stockefish, which they dry with frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they haue none, but such as is brought them from other places. They haue small store of cattell, which are also fed with fish. From Wardhouse we sailed Southsoutheast ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called Kegor, the Northermost part of the lande of Lappia. And betweene Wardhouse, and the said Cape is a great Bay, called Dommeshaff, in the South part whereof is a Monasterie of Monkes of the Russes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and sayling along the coast of the said land of Lappia, winding Southeast, the fourth day through great mists and darkenes we lost the company of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, vntill the seuenth day, when we fell with a Cape or head land called Swetinoz, which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great stone, to the which the barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that vnlesse they did so, their barkes or vessels should there perish, as it hath bene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mistie. Note that the sixt day we passed by the

Inger sound.

The North Cape.

Wardhouse.

Cattell fed with fish.

The Monastery of Pechinchow.

Arzina rea the riuer where sir Hugh Willoughbie was frozen.

place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his company perished, which is called Arzina rea, that is to say, the riuer Arzina.

The Lappians couered all saning their eies.

The land of Lappia is an high land, hauing snow lying on it commonly all the yere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the summer time neere the sea side, and vse to take fish, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remoue vp into the countrey into the woods, where they vse hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Foxes, and other beasts, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skinnes apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eies. They haue none other habitation, but onely in tents, remouing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting, which they exercise dayly, as well men as women, and kill such beasts as serue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coast from Swetinoz aforesaid, the ninth day of July wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66 degrees and 45 minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land there is 20 or 30 fadoms water, and sundry grounds good to anker in.

The current at Cape grace.

The current at this Cape runneth Southwest and Northeast. From this Cape wee proceeded along vntill we came to Crosse Island, which is seuen leagues from the sayd Cape Southwest: and from this Island, wee set ouer to the other side of the Bay, and went Southwest, and fell with an head land called Foxenose, which is from the sayd Island 25 leagues. The entring of this Bay from Crosse Island to the neerest land on the other side is seuen leagues ouer. From Foxenose proceeding forward the twelfth day of the sayd moneth of July, all our foure ships arriued in safetie at the road of Saint Nicholas in the land of Russia, where we ankered, and had sailed from London vnto the said roade seuen hundred and fifty leagues. The Russian ambassadour and his company with great ioy got to shore, and our ships here forthwith discharged themselues: and being laden againe, and hauing a faire winde, departed toward England the first of August. The third of the sayd moneth I with other of my company came vnto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64 degrees 25 minutes. I tarried at the said Colmogro vntill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate vp the great riuer of Dwina, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of a riuer called Pinego, leauing it on our lefte hand fifteene verstes from Colmogro. On both sides of the mouth of this riuer Pinego is high land, great rockes of Ahblaster, great woods, and Pineapple trees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lien there since Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a towne called Yemps, an hundred verstes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and ashes of Aspen trees. From thence I came to a place called Vstiug, an ancient citie the last day of August. At this citie meete two riuers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforesaid riuer of Dwina. The riuer Iug hath his spring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, ioining to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Vstiug, and passing by the riuer Succana, we came to a towne called Totma. About this place the water is verie shallow, and stonie, and troublesome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they call Nassades, and Dosneckes, to passe that way: wherein marchandise are transported from the aforesayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. These vessels called Nassades, are very long builded, broade made, and close aboue, flatte bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none iron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde serueth, they are made to sayle. Otherwise they haue many men, some to hale and drawe by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the sayd boats, and some set with long poles. There are many of these barks vpon the riuer of Dwina: And the most part of them belongeth vnto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the said boates with carying of salte from the sea side vnto the sayd Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came vnto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the riuer passeth through the midst of the same. The houses are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioyned one with another, and round without: the houses

The entering of the Bay of S. Nicholas is seuen leagues broad at the least.

August.

Pinego riuer.

The towne of Yemps.

Vstiug.

The description of their Nassades.

are

are foure square without any iron or stone worke, couered with birch barkes, and wood ouer the same: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery parish, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer.

On the toppes of their houses they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are sore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59 degrees, eleuen minutes, and is from Colmogro, 1000 verstes.

All the way I neuer came in house, but lodged in the wildernesse, by the riuers side, and caried prouision for the way. And he that will trauell those wayes, must carie with him an batchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and seethe meate, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, vnlesse it be in townes. Good counsell for trauellers.

The first day of December, I departed from Vologhda in poste in a sled, as the maner is in Winter. And the way to Moscua is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27 verstes, so to Olmor 25 verstes, so to Teloytske 20 verstes, so to Vre 30 verstes, so to Voshansko 30 verstes, then to Yeraslaue 30 verstes, which standeth vpon the great riuer Volga, so to Rostoue, 50 verstes, then to Rogarin 30 verstes, so to Peraslaue 10 verstes, which is a great towne, standing hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnay 30 verstes, so to Godoroke 30 verstes, so to Owchay 30 verstes, and last to the Mosco 25 verstes, where I arriued the sixt day of December. December.

There are 14 postes called Yannes betweene Vologhda and Mosco, which are accompted 500 verstes asunder.

The 10 day of December I was sent for to the Emperors Castle by the sayd Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretary, who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were translated, I was answered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I desired.

The 25 day, being the day of the natiuitie, I came into the Emperours presence, and kissed his hand, who sate aloft in a goodly chaire of estate, hauing on his heade a crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of gold in his hand, all apparelled with golde, and garnished with precious stones.

There sate distant from him about two yardes his brother, and next vnto him a boy of twelue yeares of age, who was inheritor to ⅓ Emperor of Casan, conquered by this Emperor 8 yeares past. Then sate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with gold and stone. And after I had done obeisance to the Emperour, he with his own mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at sixe of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a fayre great hall, in the midst whereof was a pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were diuers tables set, and at the vppermost part of the hall, sate the Emperour himselfe, & at his table sate his brother, his Vncles sonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Casan, and diuers of his noble men, all of one side. There were diuers Ambassadors, & other strangers, as well Christians as heathens, diuersly apparelled, to the number of 600 men, which dined in the sayd hall, besides 2000 Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themselues to the Emperour, & were appointed to serue him in his wars against the Liefflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was set at a litle table, hauing no stranger with me, directly before the Emperors face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent me diuers bowles of wine, and meade, & many dishes of meat from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table serued all in gold and siluer, and so likewise on other tables, there were set bowles of gold, set with stone, worth by estimation 400 pounds sterling one cup, besides the plate which serued the tables.

There was also a cupbord of plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not vsed: among the which, was a piece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with towers, and dragons heads, also diuers barrels of gold and siluer, with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the hall throughout was serued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called me by name, & gaue me drinke with his own hand, & so I departed to my lodging.

Note,

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the company stand vp, and at euery time he drinketh or tasteth of a dish of meate he blesseth himselfe. Many other things I sawe that day, not here noted.

The 4 of Ianuary, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all most richly appareled with gold, pearles, precious stones, and costly furres, with a crowne vpon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in procession, with the Metropolitan, and diuers bishops and priests. That day I was before the Emperour again in Russe apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancelor answered yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came he out of the church, and went with the procession vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there standing bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie and seruice, and did cast of the sayd water vpon the Emperors sonne and the Nobility. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water to carie home to their houses, and diuers children were throwen in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars christened: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best horses, to drink at the sayd hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his palace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and sate in a woodden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue 300 strangers, and I sate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread and drinke sent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Mosco is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of yron, which serue for summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperors lodging is in a faire and large castle, walled foure square of bricke, high, and thicke, situated vpon a hill, 2 miles about, and the riuer on the Southwest side of it, and it hath 16 gates in the walles, & as many bulwarks. His palace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going north and south, to the riuer side. In his palace are Churches, some of stone and some of wood, with round towers fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the sayd Castle, and for sundry things sundry markets, and euery science by it selfe. And in the winter there is a great market without the castle, vpon the riuer being frozen, and there is sold corne, earthen pots, tubs, sleds, &c. The castle is in circuit 2900 pases.

The countrey is ful of marish ground, & plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as wel of the Liefflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, & Gentiles, called Samoeds, hauing thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great subiection: all matters passe his iudgement, be they neuer so small. The law is sharpe for all offenders

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himselfe listeth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. They vse the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many images painted on tables, and specially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Priests be maried, but their wiues being dead, they may not marie the second time, and so become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrofetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many sortes of meats and drinkes, when they banket and delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fishe. Before they drinke they vse to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great talkers and lyers, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, & are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperors tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impauned himselfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the highway, and beates him vpon the legges: then they that passe

passe by, knowing the cause, and hauing peraduenture compassion vpon him, giue the money, and so he is ransomed.

In euery good towne there is a drunken Tauerne called a Cursemay, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, & sometimes bestoweth for a yeare or two on some duke or gentleman, in recompense of his seruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the towne, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then he being growen rich, is taken by the Emperor, and sent to the warres againe, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vse sadles made of wood & sinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, & the seat couered with cloth, sometimes of golde, and the rest Saphian leather, well stitched. They vse little drummes at their sadle bowes, by the sound whereof their horses vse to runne more swiftly.

The Russe is appareled in this maner: his vpper garment is of cloth of golde, silke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of siluer, or els laces of silke, set on with brooches, the sleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Vnder that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing vp of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silk, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Vnder his shirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legs, a paire of hose without feete, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of siluer, gold, pearle, or stone, and vnder it a blacke Foxe cap, turned vp very broad.

When he rideth on horsebacke to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same maner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of kniues, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a fish, called the Morse.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with sleds, in towne and countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man vpon it 400 miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and trauelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his house in the winter, but vpon his sled, and in Summer vpon his horse: and in his sled he sits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawen with a horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tailes at his necke, & is conducted by a litle boy vpon his backe: his seruants stand vpon the taile of the sled &c.

The voyage, wherein Osep Napea the Moscouite Ambassadour returned home into his countrey, with his entertainement at his arriuall, at Colmogro: and a large description of the maners of the Countrey.

THe twelfth of Maye, in the yeare of our Lorde 1557 there departed from Graues end, foure good shippes well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Baye of S. Nicholas in Russia: with which shippes was transported, or caried home, one Osep Gregoriwich Napea, who was sent Messenger from the Emperour and great Duke of Moscouia. The foure ships were these, whose names follow, viz.

The Primerose Admirall.
The Iohn Euangelist Viceadmirall.
The Anne and the Trinitie Attendants.

The 13 of July, the foresayd foure shippes came to an anker in the Baye of S. Nicholas, befor an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the sayde Messenger, Osep Gregoriwich Napea went a shoare, and as many English men as came to serue the Emperour remained with him at the Abbey for the space of sixe daies, vntill he had gotten all his things a shoare, and laden the same in barkes, to goe vp the riuer Dwina, vnto Vologhda, which is by water 1000 verstes, and euery verste is about three quarters of an English mile.

The 20 of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24 of the same, we came to Colmogro,

Presents vsed in Russia are all for the most part of victuals.

mogro, where we remained eighe daies: and the sayd Messenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had presents innumerable sent vnto him, but it was nothing but meate, and drinke. Some sent white bread, some rie bread, and some buttered bread & pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter fishes, swannes, geese, duckes, hennes, and all maner of victuals, both fish and flesh, in the best maner, that the rude people could deuise: for among them, these presents are highly esteemed.

The 29 of Iuly, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14 of August we came to Vstiug, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes or boates.

The 27 of August, we came to Vologhda, where we remained 4 dayes vnlading the barkes, and lading our chestes and things in small waggons, with one horse in a piece, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with these Telegoes they caried our stuffe from Vologhda vnto the Mosco, which is 500 verstes: and we were vpon the same way 14 daies: for we went no faster then the Telegoes.

There are three great townes betweene the Mosco and Vologhda, that is to say, Yeraslaue, Rostaue, & Pereslaue. Vpon one side of Yeraslaue runneth a famous riuer, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caspian sea, and it diuideth it selfe before it come into the Mare Caspium, in 50 parts or more, and neere vnto the same sea there stands a great Citie, called Boghar, the inhabitants of the which are called by the same name.

The citie of Boghar.

The people of the said Citie doe traffique vnto the Citie of Mosco: their commodities are spices, muske, ambergreese, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring also many furres which they buy in Siberia comming towards the Mosco: the sayd people are of the sect of Mahomet.

They arriued at Mosco.

The 12 of September we came vnto the citie of Mosco, where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large house, where euery one of vs had his chamber appointed.

The 14 of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediately after our comming we were brought into his presence, vnto whom each of vs did his duetie accordingly, and kissed his right hand, his maiestie sitting in his chaire of estate, with his crowne on his head, and a staffe of goldsmiths worke in his left hand well garnished with rich and costly stones: and when we had all kissed his hand and done our dueties, his maiestie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, & therupon willed vs to dine with him: that day we gaue thanks vnto his maiestie, and so departed vntill the dinner was readie.

When dinner time approached, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were set on one side of a table that stoode ouer against the Emperours table, to the end that he might wel behold vs al: and when we came into the foresayd chamber, we found there readie set these tables following.

First at the vpper end of one table were set the Emperour his maiestie, his brother, & the Emperour of Cazan, which is prisoner. About two yardes lower sate the Emperour of Cazan his sonne, being a child of fiue yeeres of age, and beneath him sate the most part of the Emperors noble men.

And at another table neere vnto the Emperours table, there was set a Monke all alone, which was in all points as well serued as the Emperour. At another table sate another kind of people called Chirkasses, which the Emperour entertaineth for men of warre to serue against his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforesayde were couered onely with salt and bread, and after that we had sitten a while, the Emperour sent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were giuen and deliuered vnto euery man seuerally by these words: The Emperour and great Duke giueth the bread this day, and in like manner three or foure times before dinner was ended, he sent vnto euery man drinke, which was giuen by these words, The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee to drinke. All the tables aforesayd were serued in vessels of pure and fine golde, as well basons and ewers, platters, dishes and sawcers, as also of great pots, with an innumerable

innumerable sorte of small drinking pottes of diuers fashions, whereof a great number were set with stone. As for costly meates I haue many times seene better: but for change of wines, and diuers sorts of meade, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time so much void roome on the table, that one cuppe more might haue bin set, and as far as I could perceiue, all the rest were in the like maner serued.

In the dinner time there came in sixe singers which stood in the midst of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperour, who sang there before dinner was ended three seuerall times, whose songs or voyces delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer purteth morsell of meate in his mouth, but he first blesseth it himselfe, & in like maner as often as he drinketh: for after his maner he is very religious, & he esteemeth his religious men aboue his noble men.

This dinner continued about the space of fiue houres, which being ended, and the tables taken vp, we came into the midst of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperors maiestie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his own hands a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantity thereof, we were licenced to depart, & so ended that dinner. And because the Emperour would haue vs to be merry, he sent to our lodging the same Euening three barrels of meade of sundry sortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogshed.

The 16 day of September the Emperour sent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horse to ride from place to place as we had occasion, for that the streetes of Mosco are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

The 18 of September there were giuen vnto master Standish doctor in Physick, and the rest of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and gold, and some of red damaske, of which master Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the rest were furred some with white Ermine, and some with gray Squirel, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beauer. M. Standish doctor of Phisicke.

The 1 of October in the morning we were commanded to come vnto the Emperors court, and when we came thither, we were brought vnto the Emperor vnto whom we did our duties accordingly: whereupon he willed vs to dine with him that day, and so with thanks vnto his maiestie, we departed vntill dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables couered with bread and salt as at the first: & after that we were all set vpon one side of the table, the Emperors maiestie according to his accustomed maner sent vnto euery man a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14 of September we were serued in vessels of gold, we were now serued in vessels of siluer, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold: they brought drinke vnto the table in siluer boles which conteined at the least sixe gallons a piece, and euerie man had a smal siluer cuppe to drinke in, & another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with meade, which when we had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whensoeuer the Emperors pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, he doth send for them in the morning, and when they come before him, he with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwaies obserueth.

The 10 of October the Emperour gaue vnto M. Standish 70 rubles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupations 30 rubles apiece.

The 3 of Nouember we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were serued as before.

The 6 of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscouites hold: we were serued in siluer vessels and ordered in all points as before, and it was past 7 of the clocke at night before dinner was ended. Long dinners.

The Emperors maiestie vseth euery yeare in the moneth of December, to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of Mosco caried into the field which is without the Suburbs of the citie, and there to haue it planted and bent vpon two houses of Wood filled within with earth: against which two houses there were two faire white markes set vp, at which markes they

discharge all their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may see what his Gunners can doe. They haue faire ordinance of brasse of all sortes, bases, faulcons, minions, sakers, culuerings, cannons double and royall, basiliskes long and large, they haue sixe great pieces whose shot is a yard of height, which shot a man may easily discerne as they flee: they haue also a great many of morter pieces or potguns, out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.

Ordinance in Russia.

A goodly triumph.

The 12 of December the Emperors Maiestie and all his nobility came into the field on horseback, in most goodly order, hauing very fine Iennets & Turkie horses garnished with gold & siluer abundantly. The Emperors maiestie hauing on him a gowne of rich tissue, & a cap of skarlet on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones: his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. and before them there went 5000 harquebusiers, which went by 5 and 5 in a rank in very good order, euery of them carying his gun vpon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foresayd ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperors maiestie came into the field, there was a certaine stage made of small poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about threescore yardes off from the stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foot thicke, and sixe foote high set vp, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles, and as soone as the Emperors maiestie came into the field, the harquebusiers went vpon the stage of poles where they setled themselues in order. And when the Emperors maiestie was setled where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot off, the harquebusiers began to shoot off at the banke of iee, as though it had bin in any skirmish or battel, who ceased not shooting, vntill they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they shot off their wild fire vp into the aire, which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this, they began to discharge the smal pieces of brasse, beginning with the smallest and so orderly bigger and bigger, vntill the last and biggest. When they had shot them all off, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them al off 3 times after the first order, beginning with the smallest and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2 houses that they shot vnto were beaten in pieces, & yet they were strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30 foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the same order that he came foorth into the field. The ordinance is discharged euery yeare in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Maiestie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were serued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, we neuer saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperors presence aboue 500 strangers, and two hundred Russes, and all they were serued in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another vpo the tables. Besides this there were foure cupbords garnished with goodly plate both of gold & siluer. Among the which there were 12 barrels of siluer, conteining aboue 12 gallons a piece, and at each end of euery barrell were 6 hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about sixe houres.

The following of the riuer of Mosco.

Euery yeare vpon the 12 day they vse to blesse or sanctifie the riuer Moscua, which runneth through the citie of Mosco, after this maner.

First they make a square hole in the ice about 3 fadoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the sides & edges with white boords. Then about 9 of the clocke they come out of the church with procession towards the riuer in this wise.

First and foremost there goe certaine young men with waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the crosse, then the images of our Lady, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carie vpon their shoulders: after the images follow certaine priests to the number of 100 or more: after them the Metropolitane who is led betweene two priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne vpon his head, and after his maiestie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the procession vnto the water, & when they came vnto the hole that was made, the priests

priests set theselues in order round about it. And at one side of the same poole there was a scaffold of boords made, vpon which stood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours maiestie stood vpon the ice.

After this the priests began to sing, to blesse and to sense, and did their seruice, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a litle thereof in his hands, and cast it on the Emperour, likewise vpon certaine of the Dukes, & then they returned againe to the church with the priests that sate about the water: but that preasse that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was wonderful to behold, for there came aboue 5000 pots to be filled of that water: for that Moscouite which hath no part of that water, thinks himselfe vnhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the preasse was a litle gone, the Emperours leonets and horses were brought to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their horses thither to drinke, and by that means they make their horses as holy as themselues.

All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were serued in vessels of siluer, and in all other points as we had bene beforetime.

The Russes begin their Lent alwaies 8 weekes before Easter: the first weeke they eate egs, milke, cheese & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and such other things, one friend visiting another, & from the same Sunday vntil our Shrofesunday there are but few Russes sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accompted for no reproch or shame among them. The Russes Lent.

The next weeke being our first weeke of Lent, or our clensing weeke, beginning our Shrofesunday, they make and keepe a great fast. It is reported, and the people do verily beleeue that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the space of seuen dayes, and they say that there are many religious men which doe the like.

The Emperors Maiestie eateth but one morsel of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houses during that time, so that the strectes are almost void of company, sauing a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other sixe weeks they keepe as we do ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheese, egs or milke.

On Palme sunday they haue a very solemne procession in this maner following.

First, they haue a tree of a good bignesse which is made fast vpon two sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raisins, figs and dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midst of ỹ same tree stand 5 boyes in white vestures, which sing in the tree before the procession: after this there followed certaine yong men with waxe tapers in their hands burning, & a great lanterne that al the light should not go out: after them followed two with long banners, & sixe with round plates set vpon long staues: the plates were of copper very ful of holes and thin: then followed 6 carying painted images vpon their shoulders, after the images followed certaine priests to the number of 100 or more, with goodly vestures, whereof 10 or 12 are of white damaske set and imbredered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as pease, and among them certaine Sapphires and other stones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then commeth the Emperors maiestie and the Metropolitane, after this maner.

First, there is a horse couered with white linnen cloth down to ỹ ground, his eares being made long with the same cloth like to an asses eare. Vpon this horse the Metropolitane sitteth sidelong like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldsmiths worke vpon the couer which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a crosse of gold, with which crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30 men which spread abroad their garments before the horse, and as soone as the horse is past ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and run before, and spred them againe, so that the horse doth alway go on some of them. They which spred the garments are all priests sonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments. The Emperour leadeth ỹ Metropolitans horse in procession.

One of the Emperors noble men leadeth the horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe

selfe going on foote leadeth the horse by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands he had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the rest of the Emperours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the castle, about the distance of two flights shot: and so returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their service. Which being done, the Emperours maiestie and certaine of his noble men went to the Metropolitane his house to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The rest of this weeke vntill Easter day they kept very solemnely, continuing in their houses for the most part, and vpon Munday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes vse to receiue the Sacrament, and so doe most of his nobles.

Vpon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vse euery yere on good Friday to let loose a prisoner in the stead of Barrabas. The night following they go to the Church where they sleepe vntill the next morning, & at Easter they haue the resurrection, & after euery of the Lents they eat flesh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Easter which they alwaies obserue, and that is this: euery yere against Easter to die or colour red with Brazell a great number of egs, of which euery man and woman glueth one vnto the priest of their Parish vpon Easter day in the morning. And moreouer the common people vse to carie in their hands one of their red egs, not onely vpon Easter day, but also three or foure dayes after, and gentlemen and gentlewomen haue egs gilded which they cary in like maner. They vse it as they say for a great loue, and in token of the resurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meete during the Easter holy dayes, they come & take one another by the hand: the one of them sayth, the Lord or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so of a truth, and then they kisse and exchange their egs both men and women, continuing in kissing 4 dayes together.

Kissing vsed in the Greeke church.

The 12 of Aprill being Tuesday in the Easter weeke, Master Ienkinson and Master Graie, and certayne other of vs English men dined with the Emperor, where we were serued as we had bin before time. And after diner the Emperours maiestie gaue vnto master Ienkinson and vnto M. Gray, and so orderly vnto euery one of vs a cup of Mead, according to his accustomed maner which when euery man had receiued and giuen thanks, M. Ienkinson stepped into the midst of the chamber before the Emperours maiestie, and gaue thankes to his highnesse for his goodnesse vnto him extended, desiring his grace to licence him to depart, and in like maner did Master Gray. His maiestie did not onely licence them to depart, but also graunted vnto Master Ienkinson his letters vnder his great seale, vnto all princes through whose dominions master Ienkinson should haue occasion to passe, that he might the sooner and quietlier passe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, master Ienkinson and Gray lowly submitted themselues, thanking his maiestie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cuppe of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleasure in Gods peace.

With these letters M. Ienkinson tooke his voyage the same Aprill to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were ready to depart towards England, the Chancellors sent vnto vs and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they shewed vs a great number of the Emperors iewels, and rich robes, willing vs to marke and beholde them well, to the end that at our arriuall into England, we might make report what we had seene there.

The Emperours wardrobe.

The chiefest was his maiesties crowne, being close vnder the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workmanship of so much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious stones abundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which stood a handfull higher then the top of the crown vpon a small wier, it was as big as a good beane: the same crown was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. robles.

Wee sawe all his maiesties robes which were very richly set with stones, they shewed vs manie other great stones of diuers kindes, but the most part of them were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they doe more esteeme the greatnesse of stones, then the proportion of them.

We saw two goodly gownes which were as heauie as a man could easily carrie, all set with pearles

pearles ouer and ouer: the gards or borders round about them were garnished with saphires and other good stones abundantly. One of the same gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round and orient: as for the rest of his gownes and garments, they were of richtissme and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had sufficiently perused all these things, they willed master Gray at his arriuall in England, to prouide if he could, such iewels and rich clothes as he had scene there, and better if he could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly bestow his money vpon such things.

So we tooke our leaue the same time, and departed towards Vologda immediatly.

The maners, vsages, and ceremonies of the Russes.

Of the Emperour.

THe Emperours name in their tongue is Ivan Vasiliuich, that is as much to say, as Iohn the sonne of Vasilie and by his princely state hee is called Otesara, as his predecessors haue bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word Otesara his maiesties interpreters haue of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, so that now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Russia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but onely Ruese Velike, that is to say, great Duke. And as this Emperor which now is Ivan Vasiliuich, doeth exceede his predecessors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen so much by report he doeth exceede them in stoutnesse of courage and valiantnesse, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larks.

= Or, Ballius.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the most part are these: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Lifland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a stoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vseth great familiaritie, as wel vnto all his nobles and subiects, as also vnto strangers which serue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his presence, and besides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloued of his nobles and commons, but also had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, so that I thinke no prince in Christendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he giue any euil or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maiesties presence againe of a long time if he be not sent for, but will faine him to be very sicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperors displeasure: for when they be in their prosperity, they account it a shame to weare long haire, in consideration whereof, they vse to haue their heads shauen.

His maiesty heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giueth sentence, and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly vnto the Metropolitane. Note.

His maiestie retaineth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serue him, and especially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or musicke, but setteth all his whole delight vpon two things: First, to serue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuoute in his religion, and the second, howe to subdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and siluer in his owne handes or treasurie: but the most part of his know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are so much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth 2. 3. or 4. grotes, is a rich man.

Of their religious men.

THe Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Lady and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperors

rors maiestie iudgeth & affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himselfe; for that, saith he, he is Gods spirituall officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his maiestie submitteth himselfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horse vpon Palme sunday, and giuing him leaue to sitte on a chaire vpon the 12. day, when the riuer Mosco was in blessing, his maiestie standing on the yce.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitane, he heareth the causes and giueth sentence as himselfe listeth, and is authorized so to doe, whether it be to whip, hang or burne, his will must needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monks, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great & rich monasteries: they keepe great hospitalitie, and doe relieue much poore people day by day. I haue bene in one of the monasteries called Troietes, which is walled about with bricke very strongly like a castle, and much ordinance of brasse vpon the walles of the same. They told me themselues that there are seuen hundred brethren of the which belong vnto that house. The most part of the lands, towns, and villages which are within 40. miles of it, belong vnto the same. They shewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the Church round about, and euen the roofe of the church was painted ful of images. The chiefe image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with gold, rubies, saphirs and other rich stones abundantly. In the midst of the church stood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathom about in bignesse, & there stands a kettle full of waxe with about 100. weight, wherein there is alwayes the wicke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They shewed me a coffin couered with cloth of gold which stoode vpon one side within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate or dranke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleeued them) that he healeth many diseases, and giueth the blind their sight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of belief because I saw him worke no miracle whilest I was there.

After this they brought me into their sellers, and made me taste of diuers kinds of drinks, both wine and beere, mead and quassic, of sundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of drink as they haue in their sellers, I doe suppose few princes haue more, or so much at once.

Their barrels or vessels are of an vnmeasurable bignes & sise: some of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more brood in their heads: they conteine 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they haue none in their sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vautes which are full of those barrels which are seldome remooued: for they haue trunks which come downe through the roofe of the vautes in sundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, hauing the caske right vnder it to receiue the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the stayres.

The hospitalitie of their monasteries.

They giue bread, meat and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but also when they depart, to serue them by the way.

There are a great number of such monasteries in the Realm, and the Emperors maiesty rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. daies together.

The same monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Russia, and doe occupy buying and selling as much as any other men, and haue boats which passe too and fro in the riuers with merchandize from place to place where any of their countrey do traffike.

They eate no flesh during their liues as it is reported: but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday it is lawfull for them to eate egges, butter, cheese and milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and so doe none other in all the lande, but at that abbey onely.

Want of preachers cause of great ignorance and idolatry.

They haue no preachers no not one in al the land to instruct the people, so that there are many, & the most part of the poore in the countrey, who if one aske them how many gods there be, they wil say a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the countrey and the Empefours maiesty himselfe wil blesse and bowe, and knocke their

heads

heads before their images, in so much that they will crie earnestly vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. Al men are bound by their law to haue those images in their houses, and ouer euery gate in all their townes and cities are images set vp, vnto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or crosse they do in like maner. And when they come to any house, they blesse themselues 3. or 4. times before they will salute any man in the house.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keep them very daintily, and rich men deck them ouer and about with gold, siluer and stones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The priestes are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcaps, which is cloth of some sad colour, being round, & reacheth vnto the eares: their crownes are shauen, but the rest of their haire they let grow, as long as nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their shoulders: their beards they neuer shaue: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They minister the Communion with bread and wine after our order, but he breaketh the bread and putteth it into the cup vnto the wine, and commonly some are partakers with them: and they take the bread out againe with a spoon together with part of the wine, and so take it themselues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the same maner.

Their ceremonies are al as they say, according to the Greeke Church vsed at this present day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their sacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they assemble, doe bowe and knocke their heads, as I haue before said, that some will haue knobbes vpon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

All their seruice is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other praiers but this, *Ghospodi Iesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe.* That is to say, O Lorde Iesus Christ, sonne of God haue mercy vpon vs: and this is their prayer, so that the most part of the vnlearned know neither Pater noster, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor scarcely vnderstand the one halfe of their seruice which is read in their Churches. Al their seruice is in their mother tongue.

Of their Baptisme.

WHen any child is borne, it is not baptized vntil the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it must tary vntil the second Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth formost, carying the childe, & the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small table ready set, and on it an earthen pot ful of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, settle themselues: then the clearke giueth vnto euery of them a smal waxe candle burning, then commeth the priest, and beginneth to say certaine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers must answere word for word, among which one is, that the childe shal forsake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesseth the water which is in the pot, and doth breathe ouer it: then he taketh al the candles which the gosseps haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe, and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a small tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the childs head.

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as anoynting eares and eyes with spittle, and making certaine crosses with oyle vpon the backe, head, and brest of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Ladie, &c. and speaketh vnto

vnto the images, desiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a paire of sheares and clippeth the yong and tender haires of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, whereunto euery of the Godfathers & Godmothers lay a hand: then the priest chargeth them, that the childe be brought vp in the faith & feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege and bow to the images, and so they make an end: then one of the Godfathers must hang a crosse about the nerke of the childe, which he must alwayes weare, for that Russe which hath not a crosse about his necke they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that we are no Christians, because we do not weare crosses as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

THeir matrimonie is nothing solemnized, but rather in most points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wise following.

First, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man sendeth vnto the woman a small chest or boxe, wherein is a whip, needles, threed, silke, linnen cloth, sheares, and such necessaries as shee shall occupie when she is a wife, and perhaps sendeth therwithall raisins, figs or some such things, giuing her to vnderstand, that if she doe offend, she must be braten with the whip, & by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that she should apply her selfe diligently to sowe, and do such things as shee could best doe, and by the raisins or fruites he meaneth if she doe well, no good thing shalbe withdrawn from her, nor be too deare for her: and she sendeth vnto him a shirt, handkerchers, and some such things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they shall goe towardes the Church, the bride will in no wise consent to go out of the house, but resisteth and striueth with the that would haue her out, and faineth her selfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered close, because of her dissimulatiō, that it should not be openly perceiued: for she maketh a great noise, as though she were sobbing and weeping, vntil she come at the Church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they cary with them to the church a great pot with wine or mead: then the priest coupleth them together much after our order, one promising to loue and serue the other during their liues together, &c. which being done, they begin to drinke, and first the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, hasting immediatly to tread vpon it, and so doth she, and whether of them tread first vpon it must haue the victorie and be master at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readiest to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himselfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face being vncouered. The boyes in the streetes crie out and make a noyse in the meane time, with very dishonest wordes.

When they come home, the wife is set at the vpper end of the table, and the husband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they bee all drunke, they perchance haue a minstrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church daunce naked a long time before all the companie. When they are wearie of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certain money both golde and siluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and then sitteth down in the chamber, crossing his legges, and then the bride must plucke off one of his boots, which she will, and if she happen on the boote wherein the money is, she hath not onely the money for her labor, but is also at such choyse, as she need not euer from that day forth to put off his boots, but if she misse the boot wherin the money is, she doth not onely loose the money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three daies following, being accompanied with certaine of their frends, and during the same three daies he is called a Duke, & shee a dutches, although they be very poore persons, and this is as much as I haue learned

of

of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongst them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, she will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, & the women say, that if their husbands did not beate them, they should not loue them.

They vse to marry there very yong, their sonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or yonger: they vse to keepe their wiues very closely, I meane those that be of any reputation, so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when she goeth to church at Christmas or at Easter, or els going to visite some of her friends.

The most part of the women vse to ride a stride in saddles with styropes, as men do, and some of them on sleds, which in summer is not commendable.

The husband is bound to finde the wife colours to paint her withall, for they vse ordinarily to paynt themselues: it is such a common practise among them, that it is counted for no shame; they grease their faces with such colours, that a man may discerne them hanging on their faces almost a flight shoote off: I cannot so well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of meale, but their eye browes they colour as blacke as ieat. The women of Russia paint their faces.

The best propertie that the women haue, is that they can sowe well, and imbroder with silke and golde excellently.

Of their buriall.

WHen any man or woman dieth, they stretch him out, and put a new paire of shooes on his feete, because he hath a great iourney to goe: then doe they winde him in a sheet, as we doe, but they forget not to put a testimonie in his right hand, which the priest giueth him, to testifie vnto S. Nicholas that he died a Christian man or woman. And they put the coarse alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the friends and kinsemen of the partie departed carrie in their hands small waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or such like, haue no testimonie with them: how they are receiued into heauen, it is a wonder, without their pasport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of sustenance, which is a pitifull case to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a small time, within these two yeeres, aboue 80. persons young and old, which haue died onely for lacke of sustenance: for if they had had straw and water enough, they would make shift to liue: for a great many are forced in the winter to drie straw and stampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the least they eate it in stead of bread. In the summer they make good shift with grasse, herbes and rootes: barks of trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I suppose, that liue so miserably as do the pouerty in those parts: and the most part of them that haue sufficient for themselues, and also to relieue others that need, are so vnmerciful that they care not how many they see die of famine or hunger in the streets. Bread made of straw. The vnmercifulnesse of the Russes toward the poore.

It is a countrey full of diseases, diuers, and euill, and the best remedie is for anie of them, as they holde opinion, to goe often vnto the hote houses, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which hee heateth commonly twise euery weeke, and all the housholde sweate, and wash themselues therein. Stoues or baths vsuall with the Moscouites.

The names of certaine sortes of drinkes vsed in Russia, and commonly drunke in the Emperours Court.

THe first and principall meade is made of the iuice or liccour taken from a berrie called in Russia, Malieno, which is of a maruelious sweete taste, and of a carmosant colour, which berry I haue seene in Paris. Reported by Thomas Bulley.

The second meade is called Visnoua, because it is made of a berry so called, and is like a black gooseberrie: but it is like in colour and taste to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, short, of a small berry much like to the small rezin, and groweth in great plentie in Russia.

The fourth meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is also a delicate drinke drawn from the root of the birch tree, called in the Russe tongue Berozeuites, which drinke the noble men and others vse in Aprill, May, and Iune, which are the three moneths of the spring time: for after those moneths, the sappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

The voyage of Master Anthony Ienkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yeere 1558: written by himselfe to the Merchants of London of the Moscouie companie.

THe 23. day of April, in the yeere 1558. (hauing obtained the Emperor of Russia his letters, directed vnto sundry kings and princes, by whose dominions I should passe) I departed from Mosco by water, hauing with mee two of your seruants, namely, Richard Iohnson, & Robert Iohnson, and a Tartar Tolmach, with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a town called Collom, distant from the Mosco 20. leagues, & passing one league beyond the saide Collom, we came vnto a riuer called Occa, into the which the riuer Mosco falleth, and looseth his name: and passing downe the said riuer Occa 8. leagues, we came vnto a castle called Terreuettisko, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, we came vnto another castle called Peroslaue, distant 8. leagues, leauing it also on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where olde Rezan was situate, beeing now most of it ruined and ouergrowen, and distant from the said Peroslaue, 6. leagues: the 4. day we passed by a castle called Terrecotiia, from Rezan 12. leagues, & the 6. day we came to another castle called Cassim, vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named Vtzar Zegoline, sometime Emperour of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now subiect vnto the Emperour of Russia. But leauing Cassim on our left hand, the 8. day we came vnto a faire town called Morom, from Cassim 20. leagues, where we took the sonne, and found the latitude 56. degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came vnto another faire town & castle called Nyse Nouogrod, situated at the falling of the foresaid riuer Occa into the worthie riuer of Volga, distant from the saide Moron 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minutes. Frō Rezan to this Nyse Nouogrod, on both sides the said riuer of Occa, is raised the greatest store of waxe and hony in all the land of Russia. We tarried at the foresaid Nyse Nouogrod vntil the 19. day, for the comming of a captain which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who beeing arriued, and hauing the number of 500. great boates vnder his conduct, some laden with victuals, souldiers, and munition: and other some with merchandise, departed altogether the said 19. day from the said Nyse Nouogrod, and the 22. we came vnto a castle called Vasiliagorod, distant 25. leagues, which we left vpon our right hand. This towne or castle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vasilius, and gorod in the Russe tongue is as much to say as a castle, so that Vasiliagorod is to say, Vasilius castle: and it was the furthest place that the said Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this present Emperour his sonne, called Iuan Vasiliwich, hath had great good successe in his warres, both against the Christians and also the Mahometists and Gentiles, but especially against the Tartars, inlarging his Empire euen to the Caspian sea, hauing conquered the famous riuer of Volga, with all the countreis there about adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25. day of May aforesaide, wee came to another castle called Sabowshare, which wee left on our right hand, distant from Vasiliagorod 16. leagues. The countrey heereabout is called Mordouits, and the habitants did professe the law of the Gentiles: but nowe beeing conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are christened, but lie in the woods and wildernesse, without towne or habitation.

The 27. day we passed by another castle called Swyasko, distant from Shabowshare aforesaid

said 25. leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29. came vnto an Island one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a riuer called Cazanka reca, & entreth into the foresaide Volga. Cazan is a faire town after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong castle, situated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber & earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath giuen order to plucke downe the old walles, and to builde them againe of free stone. It hath bene a citie of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars it was a kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9 yeres past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but young is nowe baptised, and brought vp in his court with two other princes, which were also kings of the said Cazan, and being ech of the in time of their raignes in danger of their subiects through ciuil discord, came and rendred themselues at seueral times vnto the said Emperor, so that at this present there are three princes in the court of Russia, which had bene Emperours of the said Cazan, whom the Emperour vseth with great honour. Cazan.

We remained at Cazan till the 13. day of Iune, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Island called the Island of merchants, because it was woont be a place where all merchants, as well Russes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and diuers other nations did resort to keepe mart for buying and selling, but nowe it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco vnto Mare Caspium. The Island of marchants.

Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we passed by a goodly riuer called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This riuer falleth out of the countrey of Permia into the riuer of Volga, and is from Cazan 15. leagues: and the countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan and the said riuer Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitants be Gentiles, and liue in the wildernesse without house or habitation: and the countrey on the other side of Volga ouer against the said riuer Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the land on the left hand of the said Volga from the said riuer vnto Astracan, and so following the North and Northeast side of the Caspian sea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whose inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeere 1558. at my being at Astracan, through ciuill warres among them, accompanied with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort that in the said yeere there were consumed of the people, in one sort and another, aboue one hundred thousand: the like plague was neuer seen in those parts, so that the said countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great pasture, remaineth now vnreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who haue had cruel warres a long time together. The riuer of Cama. Nagay Tartars.

The Nagayans when they flourished, liued in this maner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murse. Towne or house they had none, but lined in the open fields, euery Murse or King hauing his Hords or people about him, with their wiues, children and cattell, who hauing consumed the pasture in one place, remooued vnto another: and when they remoone they haue houses like tents set vpon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, & therin their wiues, children, and all their riches, which is very litle, is caried about, and euery man hath at the least foure or fiue wiues besides concubines. Vse of money they haue none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no arte nor science, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they be pasturing people, and haue great store of cattel, which is all their riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the horse, and they drinke mares milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are seditious & inclined to theft and murther. Corne they sowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying we liue by eating the top of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the same, allowing their great deuouring of flesh, and drinking of milke to be the increase of their strength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney. Hords

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer against the riuer Cama,

The Crimme Tartars.

vnto the towne of Astracan, is the land of Crimme, whose inhabitants be also of the lawe of Mahomet, and liue for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, hauing continual wars with the Emperour of Russia, and are valiant in the fielde, hauing countenance, and support from the great Turke.

The river of Samar.

The 16. day of June we passed by certaine fishermens houses called Petowse twenty leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fishing for sturgeon, so continuing our way vntill the 22. day, and passing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforeside countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the saide riuer of Volga. The 28. day wee came vnto a great hill, where was in times past a castle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iust midway betweene the said Cazan and Astrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minutes. Vpon all this shore

Liccris in great plentie.

groweth abundance of Licoris, whose root runneth within the ground like a vine.

Thus going forward the sixt day of Iuly we came to a place called Perouolog, so named because in times past the Tartars caried their boates from Volga vnto the riuer Tanais, otherwise called Don, by land, when they would robbe such as passed downe the said Volga to Astracan, and also such as passed downe by the riuer Tanais, to Asou, Caffa, or any other towne situated vpon Mare Euxinum, into which sea Tanais falleth, who hath his springs in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of Perouolog from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not so euill as it hath bene, by reason of the Emperour of Russia his conquests.

Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wildernesse on both sides, wee sawe a great heard of Nagayans, pasturing, as is aboue said, by estimation aboue a thousand camels drawing of cartes with houses vpon them like tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee a farre off a towne: that Hord was belonging to a great Murse called Smille, the greatest prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and driuen away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of Russia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone: so that now the Russes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to haue mortall warres together.

The 14. day of Iuly passing by an old castle, which was Old Astracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Astracan, which this Emperour of Russia conquered sixe yeeres past, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Mosco vnto Astracan sixe hundreth leagues,

Astracan.

or thereabout. The towne of Astracan is situated in an Island vpon a hill side, hauing a castle within the same, walled about with earth and timber, neither faire nor strong: The towne is also walled about with earth: the buildings and houses (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) most base and simple. The Island is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no corne: the aire is there most

Store of Sturgions.

infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgion, by which onely the inhabitants liue, hauing great scarsitie of flesh and bread. They hang vp their fish in their streets and houses to dry for their prouision, which causeth such abundance of flies to increase there, as the like was neuer seene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the sayd Astracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and specially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render theselues to the Russes their enimies, & to seeke succour at their hands, their countrey being destroyed, as I said before: but they were but ill entertained or relieued, for there died a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Island through in heapes dead and like to beasts vnburied, very pitifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Island. At that time it had bene an easie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Christian faith, if the Russes themselues had bene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne? At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thousand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to say, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread woorth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such merchandise. This Astracan is the furthest hold

that

that this Emperour of Russia has conquered of the Tartars towards the Caspian sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither euery yere prouision of men, and victuals, and timber to build the castle.

There is a certaine trade of merchandise there vsed, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not woorth the making mention, and yet there come merchants thither from diuers places. The chiefest commodities that the Russes bring thither are redde hides, redde sheepes skinnes, woodden vessels, bridles, and saddles, kniues, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten woull, with diuers kindes of wrought silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely from Shamacki doe bring sowing silke, which is the coursest that they vse in Russeland, Crasco, diuers kinds of pide silkes for girdles, shirts of male, bowes, swords, and such like things: and some yeeres corne, and wallnuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all those parts woorth the folowing.

This foresaid Island of Astracan is in length twelue leagues, and in bredth three, & lieth East and West in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees, nine minutes: we taried there vntil the sixt day of August, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in company with certaine Tartars and Persians, we laded our goods and imbarked our selues, and the same day departed I, with the said two Iohnsons hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation downe the sayd riuer Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entred into the Caspian sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the sayd riuer, being twentie leagues from Astracan aforesayd, in the latitude of fortie six degrees, twentie seuen minutes.

The length of the Island of Astracan.

They enter into the Caspian sea.

Volga hath seuentie mouthes or fals into the sea: and we hauing a large wind, kept the Northeast shore, and the eleuenth day we sailed seuen leagues Eastnortheast, and came vnto an Island hauing an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the sea. From thence East tenne leagues, we fell with another Island called Bawhiata, much higher then the other. Within these two Islands to the Northwards, is a great Baie called the Blew sea. From thence wee sailed East and by North ten leagues, and hauing a contrary wind, we came to an anker in a fadome water, and so rid vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great storme at Southeast, being a most contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and we weyed, and set our course Southeast, and that day sailed eight leagues.

The blew sea.

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17. day wee lost sight of land, and the same day sailed thirtie leagues, and the 18. day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a land called Baughleata, being 74. leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of 46. degrees 54. minutes, the coast lying neerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this land lieth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their law, where great deuotion is vsed of all such Mahometists as doe passe that way.

Baughleata being 74 leagues from Volga.

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and we winding Eastsoutheast, we sailed tenne leagues, and passed by a great riuer called Iaic, which hath his spring in the lande of Siberia, nigh vnto the foresaid riuer Cama, and runneth through the lande of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And vp this riuer one dayes iourney is a Towne called Serachick, subiect to the aforesaid Tartar prince called Murse Smille, which is nowe in friendship with the Emperour of Russia. Here is no trade of merchandize vsed, for that the people haue no vse of money, and are all men of warre, and pasturers of cattel, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker against this riuer Iaic, and all our men being on land, sauing I, who lay sore sicke, and fiue Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because he came from Mecka, there came vnto vs a boate with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded vs, and began to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiuing that, asked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that these rouers staied, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their countrey, and out of liuing, & came to see if there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barke: To whom this Azi most stoutly answered, that there were none, auowing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rouers beleeued, and

Iaic riuer.

Serachick.

vpon

vpon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were saued, and our men being come on board, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the 20. of August sailed 16. leagues.

The 21. day we passed ouer a Bay of 6. leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of land, hauing two Islands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: & doubling that Cape the land trended Northeast, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the great riuer Yem, springing out of the land of Colmack.

The Countrie of Colmack.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an anker.

The 25. the winde came faire, and wee sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Island of lowe land, and thereabout are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Island there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Island, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoulds & flats, and ran that course 10. leagues, then East Southeast 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and passing along the coast 20. leagues, the further we sailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we crossed ouer a Bay, the South shore being the higher land, and fel with a high point of land: & being ouerthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this storme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we passed to a port called Manguslaue. The place where we should haue arriued at the Southermost part of the Caspian sea, is 12. leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driuen vnto another land on y other side the Bay, ouerthwart the sayd Manguslaue being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the hauen, as of those brute field people, where neuer barke nor boate had before arriued, not liked of vs.

The port of Manguslaue.

But yet here we sent certaine of our men to land to talke with the gouernour and people, as well for our good vsage at their handes, as also for prouision of camels to carry our goods from the sayd sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing fiue and twentie dayes iourney. Our messengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promises of all things.

They goe on land.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. we discharged our barke, and I with my companie were gently entertained of the Prince & of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to be very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest vs, either by fighting, stealing, or begging, raising the prise of horse and camels, & victuals, double that it was woont there to be, and forced vs to buy the water that we did drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the prise of such as wee bought, with other prouision, according to their owne demaund: So that for euery camels lading, being but 400. waight of ours, we agreed to giue three hides of Russia, and foure woodden dishes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the sayd people, one ninth, and two seuenths: Namely, nine seuerall things, and twise seuen seuerall things: for money they vse none.

And thus being ready, the foureteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caruaan of a thousand camels. And hauing trauailed fiue dayes iourney, we came to another Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine Tartars on horseback, being well armed, and seruants vnto the saide Prince called Timor Soltan, gouernour of the said countrey of Manguslaue, where wee meant to haue arriued and discharged our barke, if the great storm aforesayd had not disappointed. These aforesaid Tartars stayd our Caruaan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their saide prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth (after much dissension) I ridde vnto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his fauour, and pasport to trauaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commaunding me to be well feasted with flesh and mares milke: for bread they vse none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue mee for such things as he tooke

The countrey of Manguslaue.

tooke of mee, which might be of value in Russe money, fifteene rubbles, but he gaue me his letter, and a horse woorth seuen rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderstoode his commaundement was, that I should haue beene robbed and destroyed.

This Soltan lined in the fieldes without Castle or towne, and sate, at my being with him, in a litle rounde house made of reedes couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Country, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with diuers other of his chiefe men. The Soltan with this Metropolitan demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdome, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as vnto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So hauing leaue I departed and ouertooke our Caruan, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauailed 20. dayes in the wildernes from the sea side without seeing towne or habitation, carying prouision of victuals with vs for the same time, and were driuen by necessity to eate one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said 20. daies we found no water, but such as we drew out of old deepe welles, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the 5. day of October ensuing, we came vnto a gulfe of the Caspian sea againe, where we found the water very fresh and sweete: at this gulfe the customers of the king of Turkeman met vs, who tooke custome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the sade king and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh our selues.

20. dayes trauaile in the wildernesse, with scarsitie of water.

Another gulfe of the Caspian sea.

Note that in times past there did fal into this gulf the great riuer Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountains of Paraponisus in India, & now cōmeth not so far, but falleth into another riuer called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, & consumeth himself in the ground passing vnder ground aboue 500. miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.

Wil. de Rubruquis describeth this riuer of Ardok, cap. 4.

We hauing refreshed our selues at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the seuenth day arriued at a castle called Sellizure, where ỹ king called Azim Can, remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his presence, to whom I deliuered the Emperors letters of Russia: and I also gaue him a present of a ninth, who entertained me very well, and caused me to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milk without bread. And the next day he sent for me again, and asked of me diuers questions, as wel touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

Sellizure, or Shayrade.

Letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated vpon an high hill, where the King called the Can lyeth, whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and haue litle trade of marchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where grow many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people doe eate after meate in steade of drinke. Also there growes another fruite called a Carbuse of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine corne called Iegur, whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluster of grapes; the water that serueth all that countrey is drawen by ditches out of the riuer Oxus, vnto the great destruction of the said riuer, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that land is like to be destroied, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the riuer of Oxus shal faile.

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the same we arriued at a citie called Vrgence, where we paid custome as wel for our own heads, as for our camels and horses. And hauing there soiourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauaile, the king of that countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed

Vrgence.

Azym

Azym Can, returned from a towne called Corasan, within the borders of Persia, which he lately had conquered from the Persians, with whom he and the rest of the kings of Tartaria haue continuall warres. Before this king also I was commanded to come, to whom I likewise presented the Emperors letters of Russia, and he intertained me wel, and demanded of me diuers questions, and at my departure gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

This city or towne of Vrgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of the earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is couered aboue, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not sell aboue 4. kersels. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most smal quantity not worth the writing. All the land from the Caspian sea to this Citie of Vrgence is called the land of Turkeman, & is subiect to the said Azim Can, and his brethren which be fiue in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little obeyed sauing in his owne Dominion, and where he dwelleth: for euery one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwayes to destroy another, hauing no natural loue among them, by reason that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of slaues, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and euery Can or Sultan hath at the least 4. or 5. wiues, besides yong maidens and boyes, liuing most vicibusly: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is ouercome if he be not slaine, flieth to the field with such companie of men as will followe him, and there liueth in the wildernesse resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoileth as many Carsaans of Marchants and others as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, vntil such time as he may get power and aide to inuade some of his brethren againe. From the Caspian sea vnto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countreis about the said Sea, the people liue without towne or habitation in the wilde fields, remouing from one place to another in great companies with their cattel, whereof they haue great store, as camels, horses, and sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttocks, weighing 60. or 80. pound in weight. There are many wild horses which the Tartars doe many times kil with their hawkes, and that in this order.

The country of Turkeman.

The hawkes are lured to sease vpon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chafing of themselues and sore beating of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter following his game doeth slay the horse with his arrow or sword. In all this lande there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars neuer ride without their bow, arrowes, and sword, although it be on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good archers both on horsebacke, and on foote also. These people haue not the vse of golde, siluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their cattell for the same. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor sow: they be great deuourers of flesh, which they cut in smal pieces, & eat it by handfuls most greedily, & especially the horseflesh. Their chiefest drink is mares milke sowred, as I haue said before of the Nagayans, & they wilbe drunk with the same. They haue no riuers nor places of water in this countrey, vntil you come to the foresaid gulf, distant from the place of our landing 20. dayes iourney, except it be in wels, the water whereof is saltish, & yet distant the one from the other two daies iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, sitting with their legs double vnder them, and so also when they pray. Art or science they haue none, but liue most idlely, sitting round in great companies in the fields, deuising, and talking most vainely.

The 26. day of Nouember, we departed from the towne of Vrgence, and hauing trauailed by the riuer Oxus, 100. mile, we passed ouer another great riuer called Ardock, where we paid a certaine pety custome. This riuer Ardock is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid Oxus, and passing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the

The riuer of Ardock falleth into the lake of Kitay.

the ground, and passing vnder the same about 500. mile, issueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I haue before declared.

The 7. of December following, we arriued at a Castle called Kait, subiect to a Soltan called Saramet Soltan, who meant to haue robbed all the Christians in the Caruaan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Vrgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefest counsellers, who willed vs to make him a present, which he tooke, and deliuered: besides, we paid at the said castle for custome, of euery camel one red hide of Russia, besides pety gifts to his officers. The castle of Kait.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came vnto vs foure horsemen, which we tooke as spies, from whom wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many horsemen, and no footing of camels, & gaue vs to vnderstand, that there were rouers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Caruaan, where there be many camels: and horse-feeding new without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted & determined amongst our selues, and sent a poste to the said Soltan of Kayte, who immediatly came himselfe with 300. men, and mette these foure suspected men which we sent vnto him, and examined them so streightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with 40. men 3. daies iourney forward, who lay in wait to destroy vs, if he could, and that they themselues were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore vnderstanding, that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the Soltan himselfe returned backe againe, taking the foure theeues with him. These souldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely they set out before our Caruaan, and hauing ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they mette vs, comming towards vs as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had founde the tract of horses not farre from vs, perceiuing well that we shoulde meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our selues for them, and asked vs what we would giue them to conduct vs further, or els they would returne. To whom we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would haue more, and so we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went back to their Soltan, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had bene at Mecha) caused the whole Caruaan to stay, and would make their prayers, and deuine howe wee should prosper in our iourney and whether we should meet with any ill company or no? To which, our whole Caruaan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sodde them and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the saide blood, vsing many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same deuined and found, that wee shoulde meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but should ouercome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gaue no credit, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December, in the morning, we escried farre off diuers horsemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rouers) gathered our selues together, being 40. of vs wel appointed, and able to fight, and we made our prayers together euery one after his lawe, professing to liue and die one with another, and so prepared our selues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in number 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our selues, or els to be slaine, but wee defied them, whereuith they shotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning vntil two houres within night, diuers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both parties: and had it not bene for 4. hand-gunnes which I and my companie had and vsed, we had bene ouercome and destroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were also better archers then we; But after wee had slaine Diuination by sorcerie. Handguns very profitable.

diuers of their men and horses with our gunnes, they durst not approch so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our selues vpon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and laide our horses and camels within the same to saue them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeues also incamped within an arrowe shotte of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. dayes before.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeues sent a messenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Carauan Basha, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderstanding as well himselfe as his company, swore so loude that we might all heare. And then we sent one of our company (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demaundeth of the Carauan Basha, and of all you that be Bussarmans, (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his hands as many Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers (meaning vs the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if hee ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Carauan Basha answered, that he had no Christians in his company, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that we were not afraide of his threatnings, and that should he know when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the theeues (contrary to their othe) caried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victory, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith we were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared our selues to battel againe: which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement & asked much of vs: And to be briefe, the most part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing litle to loose, & safecõduct to passe, we were compelled to agree, and to giue the theeues 20 ninths (that is to say) 20 times 9 seuerall things, and a camell to cary away the same, which being receiued, the theeues departed into the wildernes to their old habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the riuer Oxus, where we refreshed our selues, hauing bene 3. dayes without water and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making merry with our slaine horses and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the said theeues againe or such like, we left the high way which went along the said riuer, and passed through a wildernes of sand, and trauelled 4 dayes in the same before we came to water: and then came to a wel, the water being very brackish: and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horses and camels to eate.

Bussarmans. Caphars.

The riuer of Oxus.

A wildernes of sande.

In this wildernes also we had almost fallen into the hands of theeues: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a litle separated from the Carauan, wherewith there was a great shoute and crie, and we immediately laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and droue sore till we came to the riuer Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the said riuer: & whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same theeues were far from vs when the scouts discouered vs, we knowe not, but we escaped that danger.

Boghar a citie of Bactria.

So vpon the 23 day of December wee arriued at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers gates into the same: it is diuided into 3 partitions, whereof two parts are the

the kings, and the 3 part is for Marchants and markets, and euery science hath their dwelling and market by themselues. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and especially bathstoues so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the maner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little riuer running through the middest of the said Citie, but the water there of is most vnholsome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is pluckt out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled vp, and so worketh till she be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & mares milke, and whosoeuer is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly though the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if he haue either Aquauitie, wine, or brage, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoile the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands. A strange worme in mans legge.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this law to bee so streightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depose the king, and place another at his will and pleasure, as he did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour, by the meanes of the sayd Metropolitan: for he betrayed him, and in the night slewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Christians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subiect to the Persians, & do now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruell warres continually with the sayd Persians about their religion, although they be all Mahometists. One occasion of their wars is, for that the Persians will not cut the haire of their vpper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great sinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers, as they doe the Christians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but small, and he is most maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there solde, as well by the craftsmen as by the marchants, to the great impouerishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great subiection, and when he lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the shoppes of the sayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for 19 pieces of Kersey. Their money is siluer and copper, for gold there is none currant: they haue but one piece of siluer, & that is worth 12 pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120 of them goeth the value of the said 12. pence, and is more common paiment then the siluer, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his most aduantage euery other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he loketh not to reigne aboue 2 or 3 yeres before he be either slaine, or driuen away, to the great destruction of the countrey and merchants. The coyne of Boghar.

The 26 day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the said king, to whom I presented the Emperour of Russia his letters, who interteined vs most gently, and caused vs to eate in his presence, and diuers times he sent for me, and deuised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as also of our countries, lawes, and religion, and caused vs to shoote in handguns before him, and did himselfe practise the vse thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he shewed himselfe a very Tartar: for he went to the wars owing me money, and saw me not payd before his departure. And although indeede he gaue order for the same, yet was I verie ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better paiment I could not haue, and glad I was so to be paid and dispatched.

But yet I must needs praise & commend this barbarous king, who immediately after my arriuall at Boghar, hauing vnderstoode our trouble with the theeues, sent 100 men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd theeues. Who according to their comission ranged the wildernes in such sort, that they met with the said company of theeues, and slew part, and part fiedde, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our gunnes: And after the king had sent for me to come to see them, he caused them all 4 to be hanged at his palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me, and this good iustice I found at his hands.

There is yerely great resort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which trauaile in great Caruanes from the countries thereabout adioining, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with diuers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage: but these Marchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of ware-, lying two or 3 yeeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresayd Countreys, are these following.

Marchandise of India. The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, & al other kinds of whites, which serue for apparell made of coton wooll and crasko, but golde, siluer, precious stones, and spices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the vaines where all such things are gotten are in the subiection of the Portingals. The Indians carie from Boghar againe wrought silkes, red hides, slaues, and horses, with such like, but of Kerseis and other cloth, they make little accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of those Countreis, which came from the furthest parts of India, euen from the countrey of Bengala, & the riuer Ganges, to giue them Kersies for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as cloth.

Marchandise of Persia. The Persians do bring thither Craska, wollen cloth, linnen cloth, diuers kindes of wrought pide silkes, Argomacks, with such like, and doe carie from thence redde hides with other Russe wares, and slaues, which are of diuers countreies, but cloth they will by none, for that they bring thither themselues, and is brought vnto them as I haue inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie.

Marchandise of Russia. The Russes doe carie vnto Boghar, redde hides, sheepe skinnes, wollen cloth of diuers sorts, woodden vessels, bridles, saddles, with such like, and doe carie away from thence diuers kindes of wares made of cotton wooll, diuers kinds of silkes, Crasca, with other things, but there is but smal vttерance. From the Countreis of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, musk, rubarbe, satten, damaske, with diuers other things. At my being at Boghar, there came Caruauns out of all these foresaid Countries, except from Cathay: and the cause why there came none from thence was the great warres that had dured 3 yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countries & cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles as Mahometists bordering to the said Cities. The cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that warre against Taskent are called Cassaks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the sayd countrey of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters. These 2 barbarous nations are of great force liuing in the fields without house or towne, & haue almost subdued the foresaid cities, & so stopped vp the way, that it is impossible for any Caruan to passe vnspoiled: so that 3 yeeres before our being there, no Caruan had gone, or vsed trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is 9 moneths iourney.

Marchandise of Cathay.

Taskent & Caskar.

To speake of the said countrey of Cathay, and of such newes as I haue heard thereof, I haue thought it best to reserue it to our meeting. I hauing made my solace at Boghar in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Caruauns to depart, and also the king being gone to the warres, and newes come that he was fled, and

I aduertised

I aduertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney some way, and determined to haue gone from thence into Persia, and to haue seene the trade of that countrey, although I had enformed my selfe sufficiently thereof, as well at Astracan, as at Boghar: and perceiued well the trades not to be much vnlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I should haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occasions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the waies were destroyed: and there was a Carauan destroied with rouers & theeues, which came out of India and Persia, by safe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Empecors letters of Russia from me, without which I should haue bene taken slaue in euery place: also all such wares as I had receiued in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, & other his Nobles, in paiment of money due vnto me, were not vendible in Persia: for which causes, and diuers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to Mare Caspium, the same way I went: so that the eight of March 1559. we departed out of the said Citie of Boghar, being a Carauan of 600 Camels: and if we had not departed when we did, I and my company had bene in danger to haue lost life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an armie, & besieged the said Citie of Boghar, the king being absent, and gone to the wars against another prince, his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countries once in two or three yeres. For it is maruell, if a King reigne there aboue three or foure yeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and marchants. He returneth the eight of March 1559.

The 25 of March, we came to the foresayd towne of Vrgence, and escaped the danger of 400 rouers, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that company of theeues, which we met with going foorth, as we perceiued by foure spies, which were taken. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambassadors, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were sent vnto the Emperor of Russia. And after hauing taried at Vrgence, and the Castle of Sellysure, eight daies for the assembling, and making ready of our Carauan, the second of Aprill we departed from thence, hauing foure moe Ambassadors in our companie, sent from the king of Vrgence, and other Soltans, his brethren, vnto the Emperor of Russia, with answere of such letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadors were also committed vnto my charge by the sayde Kings and princes: to whome I promised most faithfully, and swore by our law, that they should be well vsed in Rusland, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperor had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of Tartaria into Russia, of long time before. Vrgence. The king of Balke, or Bulgh.

The 23 of Aprill, we arriued at the Mare Caspium againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke, nor saile: neuerthelesse wee brought hempe with vs, and spunne a cable our selues, with the rest of our tackling, and made vs a saile of cloth of cotton woull, and rigged our barke as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time being deuising to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arriued a barke, which came from Astracan, with Tartars and Russes, which had 2 ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we set saile and departed, I, and the two Iohnsons being Master and Mariners our selues, hauing in our barke the said sixe ambassadors, and 25 Russes which had bene slaues a long time in Tartaria, nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these slaues serued to rowe, when neede was. Thus sailing sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of lande, the 13. day of May, hauing a contrary winde, wee came to an anker, being three leagues from the shoare, & there rose a sore storme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anker, and being off a lee shoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoysed our saile, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God prouided for vs, we ranne into a creeke ful of oze, and so saued our selues with our barke, & liued in great discomfort for a time. For although we should haue

haue escaped with out liues the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should haue bene, either destroyed, or taken slaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beasts, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was seazed, we went out of the creeke againe: and hauing set the land with our Compasse, and taken certaine markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we ridde at our anker, we went directly to the place where we ridde, with our barke againe, and found our anker which wee lost: whereat the Tartars much marueiled howe we did it. While we were in the creeke, we made an anker of wood of cart wheeles, which we had in our barke, which we threw away, when wee had found our yron anker againe. Within two dayes after, there arose another great storme, at the Northeast, and we lay a trie, being driuen far into the sea, and had much ado to keepe our barke from sinking, the billowe was so great: but at the last, hauing faire weather, we tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the land lay from vs, we sel with the Riuer Yaik, according to our desire, wherof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee should haue bene driuen to the coast of Persia, whose people were vnto them great enemies.

The English flag in the Caspian sea.

Note, that during the time of our Nauigation, wee set vp the redde crosse of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was neuer seene in the Caspian sea before. We passed in this voyage diuers fortunes: notwithstanding the 28. of May we arriued in safetie at Astracan, and there remained till the tenth of Iune following, as well to prepare vs small boates, to goe vp against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadours of Tartarie, committed vnto me, to bee brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia.

This Caspian sea (to say some thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth 150. without any issue to other seas: to the East part whereof, ioyneth the great desert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the countreyes of the Chyrcasses, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian Sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part ioyne the countreys of Media and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly Riuers falling into it, and it auoideth not it selfe except it be vnder ground. The notable riuers that fall into it, are first the great riuer of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marrish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Nouogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the Sea, aboue two thousande English miles. It hath diuers other goodly Riuers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic, and Yem: Also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the Riuers of Cyrus and Arash, and diuers others.

A notable description of the Caspian sea.

As touching the trade of Shamaky in Media and Tebris, with other townes in Persia, I haue enquired, and do well vnderstand, that it is euen like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little vtterance, and small profite: and I haue bene aduertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Leuant sea. The fewe shippes vpon the Caspian Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Astracan there were merchants of Shamaky, with whom I offered to barter, and to giue them kersies for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their countrey, as I offred them, which was sixe rubbles for a kersie, that I asked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Persia, Cloth, and diuers commodities of our countries, which were sold as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth day of Iune we departed from Astracan towards the Mosco, hauing an hundred gunners in our company at the Emperors charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartar Ambassadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of Iuly folowing, wee arriued at the citie of Cazan, hauing bene vpon the way from Astracan thither, sixe weekes and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

The seuenth of August folowing, wee departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the citie of Morum, and then by land: so that the second of September, we

we arriued at the citie of Mosco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maiestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaues: and that day I dined in his Maiesties presence, and at dinner his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, & asked me diuers questions touching the lands and countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Mosco about your affaires, vntil the 17. day of February that your wares were sent downe: and then hauing licence of the Emperors Maiestie to depart, the 21. day I came to your house, at Vologhda, and there remained vntil the breaking vp of the yere: and then hauing seene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the same, and arriued withall in safetie at Colmogro the 9. of May 1560. And here I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

His arriual at Mosco the 2. of September.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Russia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Mosco in	55	10
Nouogrod the great	58	26
Nouogrod the lesse	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologhda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Astracan	47	9
At the entrance into the Caspian sea.	46	72
Manguslaue beyond the Caspian sea.	45	00
Vrgence in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō the Caspian sea.	42	18
Boghar a citie in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō Vrgence.	39	10

Certaine notes gathered by Richard Iohnson (which was at Boghar with M. Anthony Ienkinson) of the reports of Russes and other strangers, of the wayes of Russia to Cathaya, and of diuers and strange people.

The first note giuen by one named Sarnichoke a Tartarian subiect to the Prince of Boghar, which are also Tartars bordering vpon Kizilbash or Persia, declaring the way from Astracan, being the furthest part of Russia, to Cathaya as foloweth.

FIrst from Astracan to Serachick by land, trauailing by leysure as Merchants vse with wares, is 10. dayes iourney.

From Serachick to a towne named * Vrgenshe, 15. dayes.

From Vrgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

From Boghar to Cascar, 30. dayes.

From Cascar to Cathaya, 30. dayes iourney.

* Or, Vrgenth.

By the same partie a note of another way more sure to traueile, as he reporteth.

FRom Astracan to Turkemen by the Caspian sea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From

From Turkemen by lande specially with Camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Vrgenshe.

From Vrgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

Note. At this Citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of those parts and the Cathayans.

Also the toll there is the 40. part to be payed of Merchandizes or goods.

From thence to Cascar is one moneths iourney, and from Cascar (being the frontier of the great Can, hauing many townes and fortes by the way) is also a moneths trauel for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further, as he hath heard (not hauing bene in those parts himselfe) ships may saile from the dominions of Cathaia vnto India. But of other waies, or how the seas lie by any coast hee knoweth not.

The instruction of another Tartarian merchant dwelling in the citie of Boghar, as he hath learned by other his countreymen which haue bene there.

First from Astracan by sea to Serachick is 15 dayes: affirming also that a man may trauell the other way before written by Turkemen.

From Serachick to Vrgence is 15 dayes.

From Vrgence to Boghar also 15 dayes.

Note. These last 30 daies iourney is without habitation of houses: therefore trauellers lodge in their owne tents, carying with them to eate, their seuerall prouisions: and for drinesse there bee many wels of faire water at equall baiting places not farre distant dayly to be had.

From Boghar to Taskent easie trauelling with goods, is 14 dayes by land.

From Taskent to Occient 7 dayes.

From Occient to Cascar 20 daies. This Cascar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reshit can.

From Cascar to Sowchick 30 daies iourney, which Sowchick is the first border of Kathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5 daies iourney, and from Camchick to Cathay is 2 moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate, & wel replenished with innumerable fruits, & the chiefe citie in that whole land is called Cambalu, which is yet 10 daies iourney from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay, which they praise to be ciuill & vnspeakeably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay the most part therof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also, as the Tartars report, is christian, or after the maner of Christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in trauelling through the waies aforesaid, but wolues white and blacke. And because that woods are not of such quantitie there, as in these parts of Russia, but in maner rather scant then plentiful, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but some other beasts (as namely one in Russe called Barse) are in those coasts. This Barse appeareth by a skinne of one seene here to sell, to be nere so great as a big lion spotted very faire and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Angrim. Note that 20 daies iourney from Cathay is a country named Angrim, where liueth the beast that beareth the best Muske, &. the principall therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The

Mandeuille speaketh hereof. people are taunie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion from women, they haue certaine tokens of iron, that is to say: the men weare the sunne round like a bosse vpon their shoulders, and women on their priuie parts. Their feeding is raw flesh in the same

Or Kitay. land, and in another called * Titay: the Duke there is called Can. They worship the fire, and it is 34 dayes iourney from from great Cathay, and in the way lyeth the beautifull people, eating with knives of golde, and are called Comorom, and the land of small people is neerer

Small people. the Mosko then Cathay.

The

The instructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and also another way neere the sea coast, as foloweth, which note was sent out of Russia from Giles Holmes.

First from the prouince of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora traueiling with Olens or harts, is sixe dayes iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of Ob. Pechora but six dayes iourney by land or water from Ob.

The Ob is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Russe miles ouer. And from thence three dayes iourney on the right hand is a place called Chorno-lese, to say in English, blacke woods, and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his description after the Irish fashion.

From Pechey-cony to Ioult Calmachey three dayes iourney, & from thence to Chorno Calmachay three dayes tending to the Southeast.

These two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, and vpon the sea coasts beyond the same, taken out of the Russe tongue word by word, and trauailed by a Russe born in Colmogro, whose name was Pheodor Towtigin, who by report, was slaine in his second voyage in one of the said countreys.

VPon the East part beyond the countrey of Vgori, the riuer Ob is the most Westermost part thereof. Vpon the sea coast dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomsey, whose meate is flesh of Olens, or Harts, and Fish, and doe eate one another sometimes among themselues. And if any Marchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their children for their sakes to feast them withall. And if a Marchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and so doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewise. They be euill of sight, and haue small noses, but they be swift and shoote very well, and they trauaile on Harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts skinnes. They haue no Marchandise but Sables onely. Trauelling on dogs & harts.

2 Item, on the same coast or quarter beyond those people, and by the sea side also doth dwell another kinde of Samoeds in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they liue in the sea, and doe not come or dwell on the dry land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish, and their merchandise are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call Pselts) and Harts skinnes, and Fawnes skinnes.

The relation of Chaggi Memet a Persian Marchant, to Baptista Ramusius, and other notable citizens of Venice, touching the way from Tauris the chiefe citie of Persia, to Campion a citie of Cathay ouer land: in which voyage he himselfe had passed before with the Caruans.

FRom Tauris to Soltania.	6	dayes iourney.	From Acsu to Cuchi.	20	dayes iourney.
From Soltania to Casbin.	4		From Cuchi to Chialis.	10	
From Casbin to Veremi.	6		From Chialis to Turfon.	10	
From Veremi to Eri.	15		From Turfon to Camul.	13	
From Eri to Boghara.	20		From Camul to Succuir.	15	
Frō Boghara to Samarchand.	5		From Succuir to Gauta.	5	
From Samarchand to Cascar.	25		From Gauta to Campion.	6	
From Cascar to Acsu.	20				

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the prouince of Tangut, from whence the greatest quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

1559. A letter of Sigismond king of Polonia, written in the 39. yeere of his reigne to Elizabeth the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England, &c.

Sigismundus Augustus by the grace of God king of Polonia, great Duke of Lituania, Russia, Prussia, Massouia, and Samogetia, &c. Lord and heire &c. to the most Noble Princesse Ladie Elizabeth by the same grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. our deare sister and kinswoman, greeting and increase of all felicitie. Whereas your Maiestie writeth to vs that you haue receiued two of our letters, wee haue looked that you should haue answered to them both. First to the one, in which we intreated more at large in forbidding the voyage to Narue, which if it had bene done, we had bene vnburdened of so often writing of one matter: and might haue answered your Maiestie much better to the purpose. Now we thus answere to your Maiestie to those matters of the which you writte to vs the 3 of October from Windsore. First, forasmuch as your Maiestie at the request of our letters hath discharged the arrest of Marchants goods, and of the names of the men of Danske our subiects, which was set vpon them by the commandement of your Maiestie: and also haue restored the olde and ancient libertie of traffique, we acknowlege great pleasure done vnto vs in the same: and also thinke it to bee done according to common agreement made in times past. Neither were we euer at any time of any other opinion touching your Maiestie, but that wee should obtaine right and reason at your hands. Forasmuch as we likewise shall at all times be ready to grant to your Maiestie, making any request for your subiects, so farre as shall stand with iustice, yet neither will we yeeld any thing to your Maiestie in contention of loue, benenolence, and mutuall office, but that we iudge euery good turne of yours to be recompensed by vs to the vttermost: and that shall we prooue as occasion shall serue. Therefore we shall commaund the arrests, if any be made by our subiects (as it is vnknowen to vs) of merchants goods and English names to be discharged: and shall conserue the olde libertie of traflicke, and all other things which shall seeme to apperteine to neighbourhood betweene vs and your Maiesty: so that none of the subiects of your Maiesty hereafter presume to vse the nauigation to the Narue forbidden by vs, and full of danger not onely to our parts, but also to the open destruction of all Christians and liberall nations. The which as we haue written afore, so now we write againe to your Maiesty that we know and feele of a surety, the Moscouite, enemy to all liberty vnder the heauens, dayly to grow mightier by the increase of such things as be brought to the Narue, while not onely wares but also weapons heretofore vnknowen to him, and artificers & arts be brought vnto him: by meane whereof he maketh himselfe strong to vanquish all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narue is vsed, can not be stopped. And we perfectly know your Maiesty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the said enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he vseth on his subiects, and in what seruile sort they be vnder him. We seemed hitherto to vanquish him onely in this, that he was rude of arts, and ignorant of policies. If so be that this nauigation to the Narue continue, what shall be vnknowen to him? Therefore we that know best, and border vpon him, do admonish other Christian princes in time, that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their subiects to a most barbarous and cruell enemy: as we can no lesse do by the duty of a Christian prince. For now we do foresee, except other princes take this admonition, the Moscouite puffed vp in pride with those things that be brought to the Narue, and made more perfect in warlike affaires with engines of warre and shippes, will make assault this way on Christendome, to slay or make bound all that shall withstand him: which God defend. With which our admonition diuers princes already content themselues, and abstaine from the Narue. The others that will not abstaine from the sayd voyage shalbe impeached by our nauie, and incurre the danger of losse of life, liberty, wife and children. Now therefore if the subiects of your Maiesty will forbeare this voyage to Narue, there shalbe nothing denied to them of vs. Let your Maiesty well weigh and consider the reasons & occasions of our stopping of ships going to the Narue. In which stopping, our subiects of Danske be in no fault, as we haue already written to your Maiesty, neither vse we their counsell in the same. In any other matter, if there

The trade to Narue forbidden by the K. of Poland.

The ancient couenants of traffike betweene England & Prussia.

The olde liberties of trafficke.

The meanes of increase of the power of the Moscouite.

there be any fault in them against your Maiesty or your subiects, we will gladly do iustice vpon them, that your Maiesty may well vnderstand that we be carefull of you and your subiects. Neither thinke we it meet to take Hamburgh, or any other place to iudge the matter: for we haue our councell & iudgement seat at Rie, where your Maiesty & your subiects, or any other shal haue instice administred vnto them, with whom we haue had ancient league and amity. And thus much we haue thought good to let your Maiesty vnderstand. Fare ye well. Dated the sixt of December the 39 of our reigne.

Sigismundus Augustus Rex.

The Queenes Maiesties Letters to the Emperour of Russia, requesting licence, and safe conduct for M. Anthony Ienkinson to passe thorow his kingdome of Russia, into Persia, to the Great Sophie. 1561.

ELizabetha Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, serenissimo & potentissimo principi, D. Ioanni Basilouich, Imperatori totius Russiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, & omnium rerum prosperarum fœlicissimum incrementum. Potentissime Princeps, res est nobis ad memorandum longè gratissima, illa vestræ Maiestatis erga nos & nostros amicitia. Quæ tempore fœlicissimæ memoriæ Regis Edwardi sexti, fratris nostri charissimi, Dei benignitate incepta, deinceps verò vestra non solùm singulari humanitate alta atque fota, sed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus beneuolentiæ vestræ officijs sic firmata est atque constabilita, vt iam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam vtriusque nostrum, ad publicam nostrorum vtrobique regnorum immensam commoditatem, ad priuatam singulorum vtrinque subditorum optatam spem, certámque fœlicitatem multis sit deinceps seculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc vestra bonitas, plenissimè sese effudit in omnes nostros subditos, qui sese in vllas imperij vestri partes vnquam recepérunt, (pro qua ingentes nostras, vt par est, gratias vestræ Maiestati habemus, vestrisque vicissim in omni opportunitatis loco libentissimè feremus) tamen abundantia benignitatis vestræ, in accipiendo, támque humanitèr tractando nostrum fidelem & perdilectum famulum Antonium Ienkinson, qui has perfert literas, seorsim nobis gratissima existit. Nam præterequam quòd nullis non locis vestri Imperij & magna libertate, & summa humanitate vestræ serenitatis non permissu solùm, sed iussu etiam frueretur, vestra bonitas tamen non in hac domestica benignè faciendi ratione conquieuit, sed perlibentèr & vltrò eundum nostrum hunc per dilectum famulum, variis exteris principibus, quoquouersus ipse iter suum instituerat, literis suis, suo magno Imperiali sigillo consignatis commendauit. Quod beneficium illi vbiuis gentium, & viam sine vllo periculo, propter publicam vestram fidem, & aduentum cum magno fauore, propter vestram commendationem, optatè quidem & fœliciter communiuit. Itaq; quemadmodum gemina hæc vestra beneuolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in vestro regno negotiantibus subditis nostris vniuersis, tum ista seorsim præstita huic Antonio Ienkinson, perfideli nostro famulo, nobis in mente non solùm ad gratam perpetuámque memoriam, verùm etiam ad mutuam, vel opportunam compensationem, firmissimè defixa est: ita, petimus a vestra Maiestate vt vtramque beneuolentiæ vestræ rationem & communem nostris vniuersis, & priuatam huic nostro dilecto famulo, vtrisque deinceps dignetur tueri, atq; conseruare. Neque nos quidem diffidimus, quin quem fauorem vestra Maiestas anteà sua sponte Antonio Ienkinson, tum quidem priuato ostendit, eundem nunc nostro rogatu eidem Antonio in nostrum iam famulatum cooptato benignè velit denuò declarare. Et propterea petimus à vestra Maiestate, vt dignetur iterum concedere eidem nostro famulo, literas suas commeatus, publicæ fidei, ac saluiconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præsidio, sit illi, familiaribus suis, & seruis, tutum, liberumque, cum mercibus, sarcinis, equis, & bonis suis vbiuersis, inuehendis euehendisque, per vestra regna, domicilia, atque prouincias, proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, & istic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere quandocunque illi aut suis libitum fuerit. Et sicut non dubitamus, quin vestra Maiestas hæc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immensa bonitate suæ naturæ benignè & largiter huic famulo nostro sit concessura, ita valdè optamus, adeóque petimus, vt vestra Maiestas eodem nostrum famulum, vnà cum omnibus suis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris alijs principibus literis suis dignetur commendare, presertim verò

atque seorsim Magno Sophi, Persarum Imperatori, in cuius etiam imperia & ditiones idem noster famulus gratia potissimè experiundi peregrina, commercia, proficisci vnà cum suis constituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia nostra postulata pro famuli spe, pro nostra expectatione, pro vestra bonitate, pro nostrorum vtrinque subditorum commoditate, fausta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam vestræ Maiestati, & nostris vtrobique perquam vtilia euasura. Deus vestræ Maiestatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima nostra Ciuitate Londini, anno mundi 5523. Domini ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi 1561. regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lord Iohn Basiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, &c. greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. Right mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maiestie towards vs and our subiects is very pleasant to vs to be remembred, which being begun by the goodnesse of God in the reigne of our most deare brother of happie memorie, King Edward the sixt, and afterwards, through your not onely singular humanitie, fed, and nourished, but also through your incredible goodnesse increased, and augmented, is now firmed and established, with all maner of tokens of your beneuolence, that now we doubt not, but that from henceforth, during many ages, the same shall endure to the praise of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate desired hope, and certeine felicitie of all our subiects. And although that this your goodnesse hath bene abundantly extended to all our subiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reason is) your Maiestie right heartie thanks, and will againe shew the like vnto yours, right willingly, whensoeuer opportunitie shall require: yet the abundance of your benignitie both in receiuing, and also in enterteining our faithfull and beloued seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, the bringer of these our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankefull. For besides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Maiesties sufferance, but also by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendship, your goodnesse not ceasing in this your domesticall disposition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne abundant grace, commend the same our welbeloued seruant, by your letters sealed with your Imperiall seale, to sundrie forren Princes, vnto whom he was minded to iourney: which your magnificence did purchase vnto him happily, according to his desire, both passage without all perill, through your notable credit, and also atchieuing of his iourney through your commendation. Therefore like as these your duplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our subiects frequenting that your Realme, and also this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull seruant Anthonie Ienkinson, is right assuredly fastened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall and gratefull memoriall, but also for a mutuall and meet compensation: so we desire of your Maiestie, to vouchsafe from henceforth to conserue and continue the geminate disposition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our subiects, and also priuately to this our beloued seruant. And we doubt not, but that at our request, you will againe graciously shew vnto the same Anthony, now admitted into our seruice, the like fauor as heretofore your Maiesty of your meere motion did exhibite vnto him, being then a priuate person. And therefore we desire your Maiesty eftsones to grant to the same our seruant, your letters of licence, pasport, & safe conduct, through the tenour, authority, and helpe whereof, he, his seruants, together with their merchandises, baggages, hôrses, and goods whatsoeuer, that shall be brought in, or carried out, by or thorow all your empire, kingdome, dominions, and prouinces, may surely and freely iourney, go, passe, repasse, depart, and there tary so long as it shall please him: and from thence returne whensoeuer it shall seeme good to him or his: and as we doubt not, but that your Maiesty in the goodnesse of your nature will graciously and abundantly grant all these good offices of humanity, so we do heartily desire that your Maiesty wil likewise vouchsafe to commend the same our seruant, together with all his goods, by your letters to other forren Princes, and specially to the great Sophy,

and

and Empercour of Persia, into whose empire and iurisdictions the same our seruant purposeth with his for to iourney, chiefly for triall of forren merchandises.

We therefore doe trust that all these our demands shall tend, and haue effect, according to the hope of our seruant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commodity of both our subiects, lucky to him, thankefull to vs, acceptable to your Maiesty, and very profitable to our subiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maiesty long and happy felicity in earth, and euerlasting in heauen. Dated in our famous city of London the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yeere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Iesus Christ 1561, and of our reigne the third.

The Queenes Maiesties Letters to the great Sophy of Persia, sent by M. Anthonie Ienkinson. 1561.

ELizabetha Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, &c. Potentissimo, & inuictissimo Principi, Magno Sophi Persarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis & vltrà Tygrim fluuium, & omnium intra Mare Caspium, & Persicum sinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori salutem, & rerum prosperarum fœlicissimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum est, vt quas gentes, non solum immensa terrarum spacia, & insuperabiles marium vastitates, sed & ipsi etiam cœlorum cardines longissimè disiunxerunt, ipsæ tamen literarum bono & mentis certa cogitata, & humanitatis grata officia, & intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda facilè inter se & opportunè possint communicare. Itaque cùm perdilectus, & fidelis noster famulus Antonius Ienkinson, qui has literas nostras perfert, cum bona venia, fauore, & gratia nostra hoc Angliæ nostræ regnum excedere, & in Persiam vsque, vestrisque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare constituerit, hoc illius institutum perlaudabile quidem grato nostro fauore prosequi, & promouere studuimus: id quod eo nos libentiùs facimus, quoniam hoc eius propositum ex honesto studio commercij constituendi potissimum cùm vestris subditis, alijsque peregrinis hominibus, ad vestra regna confluentibus, omninò exortum sit. Propterea nobis & scribendum ad vestram Maiestatem, ab eaque petendum esse duximus, vt nostro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo nostro Antonio Ienkinson literas publicæ fidei, & salui conductus, quarum authoritate atque præsidio, licitum, liberumque sit illi, vnà cum suis familiaribus, scruis, sarcinis, mercibus & bonis vniuersis, per vestra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque prouincias liberè, & sine impedimento proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, & istic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel suis iubitum fuerit. Si hæc sancta hospitalitatis iura & dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, nostra regna nostrósque subditos libenter constituì, sincerè coli, & constanter conseruari queant, speramus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, vt ab his paruis initijs, grandiora rerum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, nostris ad summa commoda atque vsus, aliquando sint oritura: siquidem, vt non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longissimè seperandos, quàm diuina ratio communis humanitatis, & mutuæ beneuolentiæ ad nos firmissimè coniungendos plus virium habuisse videatur. Deus salutem omnem, & fœlicem in terris, & perpetuam in cœlis, vestræ concedat Maiestati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri nostra vrbe Londino, 25 die *mensis Aprilis*, anno mundi, 5523, Domini ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi, 1561, regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this side, and beyond the riuer of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caspian sea, and the gulfe of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnesse of the Almightie God it is ordeined, that those people, which not onely the huge distance of the lands, and the inuincible widenesse of the seas, but also the very quarters of the heauens do most farre separate, and set sunder, may neuerthelesse through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie,

This letter was also written in Hebrew and Italian.

manitie, but also many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloued seruant Anthonie Ienkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined with our licence, fauour, and grace, to passe out of this our Realme, and by Gods sufferance to trauell euen into Persia, and other your iurisdictions: we minde truely with our good fauour, to set forward, and aduance that his right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is onely grounded vpon an honest intent, to establish trade of merchandise with your subiects, and with other strangers trafficking in your realmes. Wherfore we haue thought good, both to write to your Maiestie, and also to desire the same, to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to our sayd seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, good pasports, and safe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, seruants, cariages, merchandise, and goods whatsoeuer, thorow your Realmes, Dominions, Iurisdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, go, passe, repasse, and tary so long as he shall please, and from thence to returne whensoeuer he or they shall thinke good. If these holy dueties of entertainment, and sweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmely obserued betweene vs, and our Realmes, and subiects, then we do hope that the Almightie God will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture and honours, and also to the great commodities, and vse of our peoples: so it will be knowen that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue so much force to separate vs, as the godly disposition of naturall humanity, and mutuall beneuolence haue to ioyne vs strongly together. God grant vnto your Maiestie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yere of the creation of the world, 5523, and of our Lord and God Iesus Christ, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Consuls, and Assistants of the company of Merchants trading into Russia, the eight day of May 1561, to our trustie friend Anthonie Ienkinson, at his departure towards Russia, and so to Persia, in this our eight iourney.

FIrst you shall vnderstand that we haue laden in our good ship, called the Swallow, one Chest, the keyes whereof we doe heere deliuer you, and also a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the sayd Chest, and what euery thing did cost: and because, as you know, the sayd Chest is of charge, we desire you to haue a speciall regard vnto it, and when God shall send you vnto Mosco, our mindes and will is, that you, with the aduise of our Agents there, doe appoint some such presents for the Emperour and his sonne, either wine, cloth of golde, scarlet, or plate, as to your good discretion shall be thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto him the Queenes Maiesties Letters, and our sayd present in the name of the Company, we thinke it good that you make your humble sute vnto his Highnesse in our name, to get his licence or safe conduct for you and all other our seruants or Agents at all times hereafter with such wares and merchandise as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times shall thinke good to passe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Persia, or other places, and also to returne vnto Mosco with such wares and merchandises as you shall bring or send from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there to make composition with the emperor or his officers for some certeine custome or tole vpon such goods as we shall passe that way, to the intent we might be the better fauored, we refer it to your descretion, foreseeing that ỹ opening of this matter be not preiudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the sale of our cloth of gold, plate, pearles, saphyres, and other iewels, we put our trust and confidence in you principally to sell them for ready money, time to good debters, or in barter for good ware, so that you make our other Agents priuy how and for what price you sell any of the premisses, and also deliuer such summes of money, billes or wares, as you shall receiue, vnto our said Agents: thinking good further, that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels, or any part thereof will not be sold for profit before your departure from the

the Mosco, that then you cause them to be safe packed, and set order they may be sent hither againe in our shippes the next yere, except you perceiue that there may be some profit in carrying some part of them into Persia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We haue also laden in the sayd Swallow and the other two ships 80 fardles, conteining 400 kersies, as by ỹ inuoice doth appeare, which fardles be packed, & appointed to be caried into Persia: neuerthelesse, if you chance to finde good sales for them in the Mosco, we thinke it were good to sell part of them there, and to cary the lesse quantity with you, because we be vncertaine what vent or sale you shall find in Persia or other places where you shall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to passe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforesaid, & that you perceiue you may safely do the same, our minde is, that at such time as you thinke best and most conuenient for that purpose, you do appoint so many, and such of our hired seruants or apprentises as you thinke necessary & meet for our affaires, and may best be spared, to go with you in your said voyage, whereof we would one to be such as you might make priuy of all your doings for diuers considerations and causes that may happen: which seruants and apprentises, we will and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs, not onely to goe with you and to doe such things as you command them in your presence, but also to goe vnto such countreys or places as you shall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares, & there to remaine and continue so long as you shall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuse to do such things as you do appoint them, as aforesaid, or that any of them (be he hired seruant or apprentise) do misuse himselfe by any maner of disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and faire meanes be reformed, we will that you send him backe to the Mosco, with straight order that he may be sent from thence hither, & let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauior, to the intent that if he be a hired seruant we may pay him his wages according to his seruice, and if he be an apprentise we may vse him according to his deserts.

We will also that you take with you such karsies, scarlet, and other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your iourney towards Persia, either by the way of Astracan and Mare Caspium, or otherwise as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into Persia, our minde is, that you repaire vnto the great Sophy with the Queenes Maiesties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caspian sea for you to trauell, and that you make him such a present as you shall thinke meet, and if you passe by any other kings, princes, or gouernors, before or after you come to the presence of the Sophy, likewise to make them some present, as you see cause, according to their estate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of priuilege or safeconduct of the sayd Sophy or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandise by vs hereafter to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such wares as we cary thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandise whatsoeuer it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for vs at all times, to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandise into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adioyning, and in like maner to returne thorow his dominions into Russia or elswhere.

And for the sale of our kersies or other wares that you shall haue with you, as our trust is that you will doe for our most profit and commoditie: euen so we referre all vnto your good discretion, as well in the sale of our sayd goods, as to make our returne in such things as you shall finde there, and thinke best for our profit. But if passage cannot be had into Persia by Astracan, or otherwise, the next Summer, which shalbe in the yere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to sell our kersies, & other such wares as are appointed for Persia, in the Mosco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may sell them for any reasonable price, and then to employ your selfe with such other of your seruants, as you shall thinke meet for the search of the passage by Noua Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Prouided alwayes, that if you do perceiue or vnderstand, that passage is like to be had into Persia

The passage of Noua Zembla.

Persia the Summer folowing, which shalbe in the yere 1563, and that you can not sell our kersies in the Emperours dominions, as aforesayd, at a reasonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the said Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards Persia as aforesayd. If passage into Persia cannot be obteined the next yeere, neither good hope of passage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time good sale of our kersies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to see if you can practise to carry your said wares by safe conduct thorow Polonia, or any other wayes vnto Constantinople, or els where you thinke beter sale may be had, then in Russia.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderstand our meanings in this intended aduenture; but forasmuch as we do consider and know, that if we should prescribe vnto you any certeine way, or direct order what you should doe, we might so worke cleane contrary to our purpose and intent: therefore knowing your approued wisedome with youre experience, and also your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and bringing to good successe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affaires concerning the said aduenture wholly vnto your good discretion, praying God so to prosper you, as may be first for his glory, secondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increase of your good name for euer.

And yet further desiring, and also most earnestly requiring you, as you tender the state of our company, that you will haue a speciall regard vnto the order of our houses & our seruants, aswell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Mosco, and to see and consider if any misorder be amongst our seruants or apprentises, wherby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or losse of any part of our goods or priuilege there, that you doe not onely see the same reformed, but also to certifie vs thereof by your letter at large, as our trust is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnes of such things as we do partly suppose you shall finde in the partes of Russia, we doe heerewith deliuer you a quantitie of certeine drugges, wherby you may perceiue how to know the best, and also there are noted the prices of such wares and drugges as be heere most vendible: also we deliuer you herewith one pound and one ounce weight in brasse, to the end, that you may therby, & with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth here. As for the knowledge of silks, we need not to giue you any instructions thereof, other then you know.

Weights and drugs deliuered to M. Ienkinson.

And if you vnderstand that any commoditie in Russia be profitable for vs to haue with you into Persia or other places, our minde is that our Agents shall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make prouision your selfe. And because the Russes say that in trauelling Eastwardes from Colmogro thirty or forty dayes iourney, there is the maine sea to be found, we thinke that Richard Iohnson might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Mosco time enough to goe with you into Persia: for if it be true that he may trauell to the sea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the East from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.

The maine sea within thirtie dayes Eastward of Colmogro.

William Gerard, Thomas Lodge, Gouernors. William Merike. Blase Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. Anth. Ienkinson, from the famous citie of London into the land of Persia, passing in this same iourney thorow Russia, Moscouia, and Mare Caspium, alias Hircanum, sent and imployed therein by the right worshipfull Societie of the Merchants Aduenturers, for discouerie of Lands, Islands, &c. Being begun the foureteenth day of May,
1561. Anno 1561, and in the third yere of the reigne of the Queenes Maiestie that now is: this present declaration being directed and written to the foresayd Societie.

First imbarking my selfe in a good shippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Grauesend, hauing a faire and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of

of our God, hauing in our sailing diuersitie of windes, & thereby forced to direct and obserue sundry courses (not here rehearsed, because you haue bene thereof heretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of Iuly, the yere aforesayd I arriued in the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia: and the sixe and twentieth day of the same moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worships affaires, I departed from thence, passing thorow the countrey of Vago, and on the eight day of August then following, I came to Vologda, which is distant from Colmogro, seuen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boats, wherein was laden a chest of iewels with the present, by your worships appointed for the Emperors Maiesty: which being arriued, and the chest receiued, I therewith departed toward the city of Mosco, and came thither the twentieth day of the same moneth, where I immediatly caused my comming to be signified vnto the Secretary of the Imperiall Maiesty, with the Queenes Highnesse letters addressed vnto the same his Maiestie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his Highnesse hauing great affaires, and being at that present ready to be married vnto a Ladie of Chircassi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no stranger, Ambassadour, nor other, should come before him for a time, with further streight charge, that during the space of three dayes that the same solemne feast was celebrating, the gates of the citie should be shut, and that no person, stranger or native (certeine of his houshold reserued) should come out of their said houses during the said triumph, the cause thereof vnto this day not being knowen.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour of Russia.

The sixt of September following, the Emperour made a great feast, whereunto were called all Ambassadours and strangers being of reputation, and hauing affaires: amongst whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretary first to come, and to shew him the Queenes Maiesties letters, I refused so to doe, saying I would deliuer the same vnto the Emperours owne hands, and not otherwise: which heard the Secretarie answered, that vnlesse he might first perruse the sayd letters, I should not come into the Emperors presence, so that I was not at the feast. Neuerthelesse, I was aduertised by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maiestie, although the cause of my absence was to his Maiestie vnknowen. The next day following, I caused a supplication to be made, and presented it to his Highnesse owne hands, and thereby declared the cause of my comming, signified by the Queenes Maiesties letters, and the answere of his sayd Secretary, most humbly beseeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the same her Highnesse letters, with such honour and friendship, as his letters sent by Osep Napea were receiued by the hands of our late Soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, or els that it would please his Highnes to dismisse me, saying that I would not deliuer the said letters but vnto his owne hands, for that it is so vsed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my supplication well digested, I was foorthwith commaunded to come with the said letters before his Maiestie, and so deliuered the same into his owne hands (with such presents as by you were appointed) according to my request, which were gratefully accepted, & the same day I dined in his Graces presence, with great entertainment. Shortly after, I desired to know whether I should be licenced to passe thorow his Highnesse dominions into the land of Persia, according to the Queenes Maiesties request: hereunto it was answered, that I should not passe thither, for that his Maiestie meant to send an armie of men that way into the land of Chircassi, whereby my iourney should be both dangerous & troublesome, and that if I should perish therein, it would be much to his Graces dishonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not expressed. Thus hauing receiued his answere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yere, hauing in that time solde the most part of your kersies and other wares appointed for Persia, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I desired passport, and post horses for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my passport, ready to depart, there came vnto our house there Osep Napea, who perswaded me that I should not depart that day, saying that the Emperor was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardnesse of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the same Secretary and Osep Napea together, after many allegations and obiections of things, and perceiuing

Request to passe into Persia thorow Moscouie.

Osep Napea Ambassadour from the Emperor of Russia to Q. Mary.

that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maiestie were spoken with againe touching my passage: wherewith I was content, & within three dayes after sending for me, he declared that the Emperours pleasure was, that I should not onely passe thorow his dominions into Persia, but also haue his Graces letters of commendations to forren princes, with certaine his affaires committed to my charge, too long here to rehearse: whereupon I appointed my selfe for the voyage, & the 15 day of March, the yeere aforesaid, I dined
An ambassador of Persia. againe in his Maiesties presence in company of an Ambassadour of Persia and others, and receiuing a cup of drinke at his Maiesties hands, I tooke my leaue of his Highnesse, who did not onely giue me letters, as aforesayd, but also committed matter of importance and charge vnto me, to be done when I should arriue in those countreys whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readinesse for the same voyage, I departed from the city of Mosco the 27 day of April 1562, downe by the great riuer of Volga, in company of the said Ambassadour of Persia, with whom I had great friendship and conference all the way downe the
Astracan. same riuer vnto Astracan, where we arriued all in health the 10 day of Iune.

And as touching the situations of the cities, townes, castles and countreys, aswell of Mahometans as also of Gentils adioyning to the same, whereby I passed from Mosco vnto Astracan, I omit in this breuiat to rehearse, for that I heretofore haue declared the same most
M. Ienkinsons voyage to Boghar. amply vnto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arriued at Astracan, as is aforesayd, I repaired vnto the captaine there, vnto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maiesty, with great charge that he not only should ayd and succor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but also to safeconduct me with 50 gunners well appointed in two stroogs or brigantines into the Caspian sea, vntill I had passed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rouers do accustome to haunt, and hauing prepared my barke for the sea, the Ambassador of Persia being before departed in a barke of his owne the 15 day of Iuly, the yeere aforesayd, I and my company tooke our voyage from the sayd Astracan, and the next
He passeth the Caspian sea. day at a West sunne, passed the mouth of the said riuer being twenty miles distant, lying next Southeast. The 18 at a Southwest sunne, we passed by three Islands being distant nine miles from the said mouth of Volga, and Southsouthwest from thence, sailing Southsouthwest the next day, at a West & by North sun we fel with the land called Challica Ostriun, being foure round Islands together, distant from the said three Islands forty miles. From thence sailing
The countrey of Tumen. the said course the next day, we had sight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tumen, where pirats and rouers do vse: for feare of whom we haled off into the sea due East forty miles, and fell vpon shallowes out of the sight of land, and there were like to haue perished,
The Island of Chatalet. escaping most hardly: then the 22 day we had sight of a goodly Island called Chatalet, distant from the said Challica Ostriua an hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a stiffe gale, we were not able to seize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the same sixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being distant from the maine land to the Westward of vs, which was called Skafcayl or Connyk a countrey of Mahometans, about miles, and so riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouision, we lost one of them, the storme and sea being growen very sore, and thereby our barke was so full of leaks, that with continuall pumping we had much adoe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with losse of our boat, and our selues thereby in great danger like to haue perished either in the sea or els vpon the lee shore, where we should haue fallen into the hands of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke: and surely it was very vnlike that we should haue escaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the storme continued seuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtieth day of the same moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the West with faire weather, our anker weyed, and our saile displayed, lying South, the next day haling to the shore with a West sunne, we were nie a land called by the inhabitants Shyruansha, and there we came againe
The land of Shiruansha. to an anker, hauing the winde contrary, being distant from the said Chatalet 150 miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of August, then hauing a faire winde, winding Southsoutheast, and sailing threescore miles, the next day at a Southeast sunne we arriued at a city
Derbent. called Derbent in the king of Hircans dominion, where comming to land, and saluting the

captaine

captaine there with a present, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking fresh water I departed.

This city of Derbent is an ancient towne hauing an olde castle therein, being situated vpon an hill called Castow, builded all of free stone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred against the Persians and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a woonderfull height and thicknesse, extending from the same city to the Georgians, yea vnto the principall city thereof named Tewflish, which wall though it be now rased, or otherwise decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, & the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said Alexander should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily inuade. This city of Derbent being now vnder the power of the Sophy of Persia, bordereth vpon the sea, adioyning to the foresaid land of Shalfcall, in the latitude of 41 degrees. From thence sailing Southeast and Southsoutheast about 80 miles, the sixt day of August, the yere aforesaid, we arriued at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke discharged: the goods layd on shore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouers, wherof there is great plenty, being field people, the gouernor of the said countrey named Alcan Murcy, comming vnto me, entertained me very gently, vnto whom giuing a present, he appointed for my safegard forty armed men to watch & ward me, vntill he might haue newes from the king of Shiruan. The 12 day of the same moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I should repaire vnto him with all speed: and for expedition, aswell camels to the number of fiue and forty to cary my goods, as also horses for me and my company were in readinesse, so that the goods ladun, and taking my iourney from thence the said twelft day, on the 18 of the same moneth I came to a city called Shamaky, in the said countrey of Hircan, otherwise called Shiruan, and there the king hath a faire place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were discharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was sent for to come to the king, named Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, distant from the said Shamaki twentie miles, to auoyd the iniury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his presence, who gently interteined me, and hauing kissed his hands, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to sit downe not farre from him. This king did sit in a very rich pauillion, wrought with silke & golde, placed very pleasantly, vpon a hill side, of sixteene fathom long, and sixe fathom broad, hauing before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: whereof he & his nobility did drinke, he being a prince of a meane stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparrelled with long garments of silke, and cloth of gold, imbrodred with pearles and stone: vpon his head was a tolipane with a sharpe ende standing vpwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India silke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left side of his tolipane stood a plume of fethers, set in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and set with precious stones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pauilion was couered with rich carpets, & vnder himselfe was spred a square carpet wrought with siluer & golde, and thereupon was layd two suitable cushions. Thus the king with his nobility sitting in his pauilion with his legs acrosse, and perceiuing that it was painfull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in, & did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner time then approching, diuers clothes were spred vpon the ground, and sundry dishes serued, and set in a ranke with diuers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 dishes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others spred, a banket of fruits of sundry kindes, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 dishes, were brought in: so that two seruices occupied 290 dishes, and at the end of the sayd dinner & banket, the king said vnto me, Quoshe quelde, that is to say, Welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and tasting thereof, did deliuer me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were so good in our countrey or not: vnto whom I answered in such sort, that he was therewith contented: then he proponed vnto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countreys, and further

A mighty wall.

Or Tiphlis.

Fortie one degree.

Shabran.

Alcan Murcy the gouernour.

King Obdolowcan.

The maiesty & attire of king Obdolowcan.

further questioned whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of Russia, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long here to rehearse, to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cause of my comming: vnto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England vnto the great Sophy, to intreat friendship and free passage, and for his safeconduct to be granted vnto English merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like also to be granted to his subiects, when they should come into our countreys, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commodity of both their subiects, with diuers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This sayd king much allowing this declaration sayd, that he would not onely giue me passage, but also men to safeconduct me vnto the sayd Sophy, lying from the foresayd citie of Shamaki thirty dayes iourney, vp into the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin: so departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentieth day of August the yere aforesaid, he sent for me againe: vnto whom I repaired in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bed (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being an hundred and forty in number, he sleepeth most in the day) did giue one commandement that I should ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they should shew me so much game and pastime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone: the king then risen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his sight, two gentlemen incountered me with two garments of that countrey fashion, side, downe to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent vnto me from the king, and after that they caused me to put off my vpper garment, being a gowne of blacke velues furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments vpon my backe, and so conducted me vnto the king, before whom doing reuerence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence, he at the time being very mery, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the maner of their hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophy, who dismissing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambassadour (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gaue me at my departure a faire horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki againe, where I remained vntill the sixt of October, to prouide camels, horses, and other necessaries for my sayd intended iourney.

The Queenes letters to the Sophy.

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

The description of Hircania.

But now before I proceed further, I purpose to write something of this countrey of Hircan, now called Shiruan, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of Hircan in times past was of great renowme, hauing many cities, townes, and castles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquity were of great power, able to make wars with the Sophies of Persia: but now it is not onely otherwise (for that the cities, townes, and castles be decayed) but also the king is subiect to the sayd Sophie (although they haue their proper king) and be at the commandement of the sayd Sophy, who conquered them not many yeres passed, for their diuersity in religion, and caused not onely all the nobility & gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but also ouer and besides, rased the walles of the cities, townes, and castles of the said realme, to the intent that there should be no rebellion, and for their great terror, caused a turret of free stone and flints to be erected in the sayd city called Shamaki, and in a ranke of flints of the sayd turret, did set the heads of the sayd nobility and gentlemen, then executed. This city is distant from the sea side, with camels, seuen dayes iourney, but now the same being much decayed, & chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another city called Arrash, bordering vpon the Georgians, is the chiefest and most opulent in the trade of merchandise, & thereabouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silke, and thither the Turks, Syrians, and other strangers do resort and trafficke. There be also diuers good and necessary commodities to be prouided & had in this sayd realme: viz. galles rough and smooth, cotton woolI, allome, and raw silke of the naturall growth of that countrey: besides, here all kinde of spices and drugges, and some other commodities, which

Danger by diuersitie in religion.

Barbarous crueltie.

The citie of Arrash or Erez.

The commodities of this countrey.

which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the lesse quantity, for that they be not assured to haue vent or vtterance of the same: but the chiefest commodities be there, raw silks of all sorts, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the sayd city of Shamaki, there was an olde castle called Gullistone, now beaten downe by this Sophy, which was esteemed to be one of the strongest castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could win it. And not farre from the sayd castle was a Nunry of sumptuous building, wherein was buried a kings daughter, named Ameleck Channa, who slew herselfe with a knife, for that her father would haue forced her (she professing chastity) to haue married with a king of Tartarie: vpon which occasion the maidens of that countrey do resort thither once euery yere to lament her death. The strong castle of Gulistaone defaced.

Also in the sayd countrey there is an high hill called Quiquifs, vpon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoste, hauing vpon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a Horse, and a taile like a Cow. It is further sayd, that this monster kept a passage thereby, vntill there came an holy man, termed Haucoir Hamshe, a kinseman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the sayd hill, and combating with the sayd Giant, did binde not onely him in chaines, but also his woman called Lamisache with his sonne named After: for which victory they of that countrey haue this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is bruited) sauoureth so ill, that no person may come nigh vnto it: but whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the discourse of the proceeding in my voyage towards the great Sophie. The 6 of October in the yeere aforesayd, I with my company departed from Shamachi aforesaid, and hauing iourneyed threescore miles, came to a towne called Yauate, wherein the king hath a faire house, with orchards and gardens well replenished with fruits of all sorts. By this towne passeth a great riuer called Cor, which springeth in the mountaines of the Georgians, & passing thorow the countrey of Hircania aforesayd, falleth into the Caspian or Hircan sea, at a place betweene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bachu, situate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence issueth further, passing thorow a fruitful countrey, inhabited with pasturing people, which dwell in the Summer season vpon mountaines, and in Winter they remooue into the valleyes without resorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remooue, they doe iourney in carrauans or troops of people and cattell, carrying all their wiues, children and baggage vpon bullocks. Now passing this wilde people ten dayes iourney, comming into no towne or house, the sixteenth day of October we arriued at a citie called Ardouill, where we were lodged in an hospitall builded with faire stone, and erected by this Sophies father named Ismael, onely for the succour and lodging of strangers and other trauellers, wherein all men haue victuals and feeding for man and horse, for three dayes and no longer. This foresayd late prince Ismael lieth buried in a faire Meskit, with a sumptuous sepulchre in the same, which he caused to be made in his life time. This towne Ardouill is in the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderraugan, wherein the Princes of Persia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the great did keepe his Court when he inuaded the Persians. Foure dayes iourney to the Westward is the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greatest citie in Persia, but not of such trade of merchandise as it hath bene, or as others be at this time, by meane of the great inuasion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almost to the sayd citie of Tauris, which the sayd Turke once sacked, and thereby caused the Sophie to forsake the same, and to keepe his court ten dayes iourney from thence, at the sayd citie of Casbin. The towne of Yauate. The city of Ardouill. The city Tabris or Tauris.

The 21 day we departed from Ordowil aforesayd, trauelling for the most part ouer mountaines all in the night season, and resting in the day, being destitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vse for fewell the dung of horses & camels, which we bought deare of the pasturing people. Thus passing ten dayes iourney the yere aforesayd, the second day of Nouember we arriued at the foresaid citie of Casbin, where the sayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shalli Murzey, sonne to Obdolowcan king of Shiruan aforesayd, to send for me to his house, who asked me in the name of the said M. Ienkinson arriued at the Sophies court 2. November, 1562.

Sophy

Sophy how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and inuited me to dinner, whereat I had great entertainment, and so from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I sent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our most gracious Soueregne ladie the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of the Realme of England, vnto the sayd Sophy, and that the cause of my comming was expressed in the same letters, desiring that at conuenient time I might come into his Maiesties presence, who aduertising the Sophy thereof, shortly after answered me that there were great affaires in hand: which being finished, I should come before his presence, willing me in the meane time to make ready my present if I had any to deliuer.

The Turkes Ambassadour to the Sophy.

At this time, the great Turkes Ambassadour arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was sent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the same great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a present in golde, and faire horses with rich furnitures, and other gifts, esteemed to bee woorth forty thousand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with ioyfull feasts, triumphs and solemnities, corroborated with strong othes, by their law of Alkaron, for either to obserue the same, and to liue alwayes after as sworne brethren, ayding the one the other against all princes that should warre against them, or either of them. And vpon this conclusion the Sophy caused the great Turkes sonne named Baiset Soltan, a valiant Prince (who being fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remained in his Court the space of foure yeeres) to be put to death. In which time the sayd Turkes sonne had caused mortall warres betwixt the sayd Princes, and much preuailed therein: the Turke demanded therefore his sonne to be sent vnto him, & the Sophy refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turks will, the Sophy sent him his head for a present, not a little desired, and acceptable to the vnnaturall father. Discoursing at my first arriuall with the king of Shiruan of sundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the sayd King named Obdolocan, demaunding whether that we of England had friendship with the Turks or not: I answered, that we neuer had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer vs to passe thorow their countrey into the Sophy his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre distant from vs, which are in great league with the sayd Turks, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the same for raw silks, which (as we vnderstand) come from thence: and that if it would please the sayd Sophy and other Princes of that countrey, to suffer our merchants to trade into those dominions, and to giue vs pasport and safe conduct for the same, as the sayd Turke hath granted to the sayd Venetians, I doubted not but that it should grow to such a trade to the profit of them as neuer before had beene the like, and that they should be both furnished with our commodities, and also haue vtterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perswading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king vnderstanding the matter liked it marueilously, saying, that he would write vnto the Sophy concerning the same: as he did in very deed, assuring me that the Sophy would graunt my request, and that at my returne vnto him he would giue me letters of safe conduct, and priuiledges. The Turks ambassadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to haue furthered my purpose, but it chanced otherwise. For the Turks Ambassadour being arriued, and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Ambassadour, that my comming thither (naming me by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should be good for him to perswade the Sophy not to fauour me, as his Highnesse meant to obserue the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants the same Ambassadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour, he departed out of the Realme with the Turks sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

The Turkes merchants withstand M. Ienkinson.

Shaw Thomas the Sophies name.

The 20 day of November aforesayd, I was sent for to come before the sayd Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thomas, and about three of the clocke at afternoone I came to the Court, and in lighting from my horse at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian tongue Basmackes, such as hee himselfe weareth

weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feet, for without the same shoes I might not be sufired to tread vpon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, vnbeleeuer, and vncleane: esteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which do not beleeue as they do, in their false filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the sayd Court gate the things that I brought to present his Maiestie with, were deuided by sundry parcels to sundry seruitors of the Court, to carry before me, for none of my company or seruants might be suffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his Maiestie with such reuerence as I thought meete to be vsed, I deliuered the Queenes Maiesties letters with my present, which hee accepting, demaunded of mee of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to doe: Vnto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble Realme of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious soueraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of the saide Realme for to treate of friendship, and free passage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subiects, with other wordes here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well said he, we haue none within our Realme that vnderstand those tongues. Whereupon I answered that such a famous and worthy prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our Countreys, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentation, not dispraysing the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then he reasoned with mee much of Religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an vnbeleeuer, or a Muselman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Vnto whom I answered, that I was neither vnbeleeuer nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that, said he vnto the king of the Georgians sonne, who being a Christian was fled vnto the said Sophie, and he answered that a Christian was he that beleeueth in Iesus Christus, affirming him to be the Sonne of God, and the greatest Prophet. Doest thou beleeue so, said the Sophie vnto me: Yea that I do, said I: Oh thou vnbeleeuer, said he, we haue no neede to haue friendship with the vnbeleeuers, and so willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after me followed a man with a Basanet of sand, sifting all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, euen from the said Sophies sight vnto the court gate.

The Queenes letters deliuered.

The Sophies question.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the said night Shally Murzey sonne to the king of Hircan aforesaid, who fauoured me very much for that I was commended vnto him from his father, willed mee not to doubt of any thing, putting mee in hope that I should haue good successe with the Sophie, and good intertainment.

The comyng of Shally Murzey.

Thus I continued for a time, dayly resorting vnto me diuers gentlemen sent by the Sophie to conferre with me, especially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and so with the Portingals ships. Vnto whom I answered, that I durst not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friendes, fully perceiuing their meaning: for I was aduertised that the saide Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged mee that I had bene come for a spie to passe through his dominions vnto the saide Portingals, thinking them and vs to be all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented.

Warres intended against the Portingals.

After this the said Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counsel concerning me, who perswaded that he should not entertaine me wel, neither dismisse me with letters or gifts, considering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemie to the great Turke his brother, perswading that if he did otherwise, and that the newes thereof should come to the knowledge of the Turke, it should be a meane to breake their new league and friendship lately concluded: disswading further because he had no neede, neither that it was requisite for him

to

to haue friendship with vnbeleeuers, whose Countreys lay farre from him, and that it was best for him to send me with my letters vnto the said great Turke for a present, which he was fully determined to haue done at some meet time, meaning to send his Ambassadour vnto the said great Turke very shortly after.

The king of Hircans sonne aforesaide, vnderstanding this deliberation, sent a man in post vnto his father, for to declare and impart the purpose vnto him, who as a gracious prince, considering that I had passed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie al that which he vnderstood of his said determination, & that it should not stand with his Maiesties honour to doe mee any harme or displeasure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, seeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by constraint, and that if hee vsed mee euil, there would few strangers resort into his countrey, which would bee greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perswasions: which after that the saide Sophie had well and throughly pondered and disgested (much esteeming the same king of Hircane, being one of the valiantest princes vnder him and his nigh kinseman) changed his determined purpose, and the twentieth of March 1562. he sent to me a rich garment of cloth of golde, and so dismissed me without any harme.

Conference with Indian Merchants.

During the time that I soiourned at the sayde City of Casbin, diuers merchants out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of spices: whereunto they answered that they would bring of all sorts so much as we would haue, if they were sure of vent, whereof I did promise to assure them, so that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had.

M. Ienkinsons returne.

The same twentieth day of March I returned from the saide Citie of Casbin where I remayned all the Winter, hauing sent away all my Camels before, and the thirtieth day I came to the saide Cite of Ardouil, and the fifteenth of April vnto Zanat aforesayd, where king Obdolowcan was at that present, who immediatly sent for me, and demaunding of me many questions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene vtterly cast away, and sent to the great Turke for a present by the Sophie, through the euill perswasion of his wicked counsell, that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principal procurers and mouers thereof: but the Sophie himselfe ment mee much good at the first, and thought to haue giuen me good entertainement, and so had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to haue bene cõcluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuerthelesse, sayd he, the Sophie hath written vnto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my Countrey, and so he intreated mee very gently, in whose Court I remained seuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of safe conductes and priuiledges in your names to bee free from paying custome, which I deliuered vnto your seruants Thomas Alcocke and George Wrenne, at their departure towards Persia for your affaires: and his highnesse did giue mee two garments of silke, and so dismissed me with great fauour, sending with me his Ambassadour againe vnto the Emperour of Russia, and committed the chiefest secret of his affaires vnto me, to declare the same vnto the Emperours Maiestie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of April, I came to the City of Shamachi, and there remayning certaine dayes for prouision of Camels downe to the Sea side, I sent from thence before men to repaire my Barke, and to make her in a readinesse. And during my abode in Shammachi, there came vnto me an Armenian sent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable estate of the same king, that being enclosed betwixt those two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the said great Turke and the Sophie, hee had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Christ and as I was a Christian, that I would send him comfort by the said Armenian, and aduise how he might send his Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour of Russia, and whether I thought that he would support him or no: and with many other wordes required me to declare his necessitie vnto the same Emperour at my returne: adding further that the said king would haue written vnto me his minde, but that hee doubted the safe passage of his messenger. Vnto whom I did likewise answere by word of mouth, not onely perswading him to sende his Ambassadour to Russia, not doubting but that hee should finde him most honourable and inclined to helpe him, but also I directed him his way how the sayde king might send by the Countrey of Chircassi, through the

Priuiledges obtained of Obdolowcan, which are hereafter annexed.

An Armenian sent to M. Ienkinson from the king of Georgia.

fauour

fauour of Teneruk king of the sayd Countrey, whose daughter the said king had lately married. And thus dismissing the saide Armenian, within two dayes after I sent Edward Clearke your seruaunt vnto the Citie of Arrash, where the most store of Silkes is to be had, giuing him Commission to haue passed further into the saide Countrey of Georgia, and there to haue repaired vnto the sayde king. And after my commendations premised, and my minde declared to haue pursued for safeconduct of the same Prince for our Merchants to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to haue returned againe with speede. The same your seruaunt iourneying to the sayd Citie of Arrash, and there finding certaine Merchants Armenians, which promised to goe to the sayd City of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Christian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and vnderstanding that he could not passe further without great suspition, answered that he came thither to buy Silkes, and shewed the king of Hircanes letters which hee had with him, and so returned backe againe, and the fifteenth of April came to Shamachi: from whence I departed the sixteene of the same moneth, and the one and twentie therof comming to the Sea side, and finding my barke in a readinesse, I caused your goods to be laden, and there attended a faire winde. Teneruk king of Chircan.

But before I proceede any further to speake of my returne, I intend with your fauours somewhat to treate of the countrey of Persia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

This land of Persia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as Gillan, Corasan, Shiruan, and many others hauing diuers Cities, townes and castles in the same. Euery prouince hath his seuerall King, or Sultan, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefest Cities be these: Teueris, Casbin, Keshan, Yesse, Meskit, Heirin, Ardouill, Shamachi, Arrash with many others. The countrey for the most part toward the sea side is plaine and full of pasture, but into the land, high, full of mountaines, and sharpe. To the South it bordereth vpon Arabia and the East Ocean. To the North vpon the Caspian sea and the lands of Tartaria. To the East vpon the prouinces of India, and to the West vpon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes lands. All within these dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, sonne to Ismael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth is nothing valiant, although his power be great, and his people martiall: and through his pusillanimitie the Turke hath much inuaded his countreys, euen nigh vnto the Citie of Teueris, wherein hee was wont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forsaken the same, is chiefly resident at Casbin aforesaide, and alwayes as the said Turke pursueth him, he not being able to withstand the Turke in the fielde, trusting rather to the mountaines for his safegard, then to his fortes and castles, hath caused the same to bee rased within his dominions, and his ordinance to be molten, to the intent that his enemies pursuing him, they should not strengthen themselues with the same. The description of Persia. The chiefe Cities of Persia.

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reasonable stature, hauing fiue children. His eldest sonne he keepeth captiue in prison, for that he feareth him for his valiantnesse and actiuitie: he professeth a kinde of holynesse, and saith that hee is descended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezalli: and although these Persians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartars bee, yet honour they this false fained Murtezalli, saying that hee was the chiefest disciple that Mahomet had, cursing and chiding dayly three other disciples that Mahomet had called Ouear, Vsiran, and Abebeck, and these three did slay the saide Murtezalli, for which cause and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartars mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or lesse Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I shall not need at this present. These persons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, esteeming themselues to bee best of all nations, both for their religion and holinesse, which is most erroneous, and also for all other their fashions. They be martial, delighting in faire horses and good harnesse, soone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treate of this nation, and nowe I returne to discourse the proceeding of the rest of my voyage. The differences of religion.

My barke being ready at the Caspian sea as aforesaide, hauing a faire winde, and commit-

The 30. of May 1563. ting our selues vnto God the 30. day of May 1563. we arriued at Astracan, hauing passed no lesse dangers vpon the Sea in our returne, then wee sustained in our going foorth, and remayning at the said Astracan, vntill the tenth day of Iune, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto mee for my safegard vp the riuer Volga, the fifteenth of Iuly I arriued at the Citie of Cazan, where the Captaine entertained me well, and so dismissing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the Citie of Mosco, where I arriued the twentieth day of August 1563. in safetie, thankes bee to God, with all such goods, merchandizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours stocke and accompt, as also of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treasurie before it was opened, which I did, and deliuered those parcels of wares which were for his Maiesties accompt, videlicet, precious stones, and wrought silkes of sundry colours and sortes, much to his Highnesse contentation, and the residue belonging to you, viz. Crasko, and rawe silkes, with other merchandizes, (as by accompt appeareth) were brought vnto your house, whereof part there remained, and the rest was laden in your shippes lately returned.

Shortly after my comming to the Mosco, I came before the Emperours Maiestie, and presented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie, whose highnesse conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge: and my proceedings therein it pleased him so to accept, that they were much to his contentation, saying vnto mee, I haue perceiued your good seruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the same, wishing that I would trauell againe in such his other affaires, wherein hee was minded to employ mee: to whom I answered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my seruice was so acceptable vnto his highnesse, acknowledging all that I had done to bee but of duetie, humbly beseeching his grace to continue his goodnesse vnto your worships, and euen at that instant I humbly requested his Maiestie to vouchsafe to graunt vnto you a

New priuiledges obtained hereafter following. newe priuiledge more ample then the first, which immediatly was graunted, and so I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a briefe note howe I meant to haue the same priuiledges made, I repaired dayly to the Secretary for the perfecting of the same, and obtained it vnder his Maiesties broade seale, which at my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the custody of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copy whereof, and also of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of Hircan, I haue already deliuered vnto you. Soiourning all that winter at Mosco, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours Maiestie, I sent away your seruant Edward Clarke hither ouerland with aduise, and also made preparation for sending againe into Persia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your seruants Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of Iune last, I departed in poste from the said Mosco, and comming to Colmogro and so downe to the Sea Side, I found your ships laden and ready to depart, where I embarked my selfe in your good ship called the Swallow, the 9. of Iuly, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie foure, and hauing passed the Seas with great and extreme dangers of losse of shippe,

28. Septemb. 1564. goods and life, the 28. day of September last (God be praised) we arriued here at London in safetie.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiant souldier, which aduentureth both fame, member and life, to serue faithfully his soueraigne, esteemeth not the perils and dangers passed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon desireth any thing more, then that his seruice bee well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiuing your fauourable beneuolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, do thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed: beseeching Almightie God so to prosper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enioy the same, to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse Realme, and to the ample benefit and abundant enriching of you and your succession, & posteritie for euer.

A copie

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by Obdolowcan King of Hircania, to the company of English merchants Aduenturers for Russia, Persia, and Mare Caspium, with all the lands and countreys adioyning to the same, obtained by M. Anthonie Ienkinson at his being there about the affaires of the said company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shiruan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earnest sute and request of our fauoured and welbeloued Anthonie Ienkinson Ambassadour, haue giuen and graunted vnto the right worshipfull Sir William Garret, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their company of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or sende their factors in trade of merchandize into our countreys, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, either for ready money or barter, and to tary and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe away when they list, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of body or goods.

And further our commaundement and pleasure is, that the said English merchants with their company, shall pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factors shal buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of them, doe disturbe, misuse, force or constraine the said English merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of custome or duetie for any wares they bring in or cary out of our dominions contrary to this our commandement, and the same be knowen vnto vs, then we will that the saide customers and officers shall loose & be put out of their said offices, with our further displeasure, and the saide English merchants to haue restored all such money & wares as our customers haue taken of them for our said custome. And whensoeuer the saide English merchants or their factors shall bring any maner of wares meete for our treasurie, then our treasurer shall take the said wares into our treasurie, and shall giue vnto the said English merchants, either ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their saide wares. And wheresoeuer this our letter of priuiledges shall bee seene and read within our dominion, we straightly wil and command that it take effect, and be obeyed in al points.

Dated at our place of Iauat, the day and yere aboue written, and sealed with our princely seale, and firmed by our Secretarie in the 12. yere of our raigne.

The second voiage into Persia made by Tho. Alcock, who was slaine there, and by George Wrenne, & Ric. Cheinie seruants to the worshipfull companie of Moscouie merchants in Anno 1563. written by the said Richard Cheinie.

IT may please your worships to vnderstand, that in the yere 1563. I was appointed by M. Antho. Ienkinson, and M. Thomas Glouer your Agent in Russia, to goe for Persia in your worships affaires, one Thomas Alcock hauing the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worships seruants being ioyned with him in your busines, hauing with vs, as they said 1500. rubbles. And if it shall please you I cannot tell certainly what summe of money we had then of the Emperors: for I receiued none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worships had there, for the bookes were kept so priuily that a man could neuer see them. The 10. of May anno 1563, we departed from a towne called Yeraslaue vpon our voyage toward Persia. The 24. of luly we arriued at Astracan: and the second of August wee departed from Astracan, and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the Caspian sea, and the 11. day of the said moneth we arriued at our port in Media: and the 21. of the said August wee arriued at Shammaki, whereas the king Obdolocan lay in the fielde. We were wel entertained of heathen people, for the thirde day after our arriuall at Shammaki we were called before the king: we gaue him a present, and he entertained vs very well.

A rubble is a marke English.

At our comming to the Court wee were commaunded to come before the king, who sate

in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a crosse, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being couered with carpets: wee were commaunded to sit downe, the King appointing euery man his place to sit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Russelands Merchants to rise vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcock departed from Shammaki towards Casbin, leauing mee at Shammaki to recouer such debts as the dukes of Shammaki ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there I could recouer but little. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arriued at a towne called Leunacta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes iourney from the towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriuing there, departed from Shammaki, finding him there in safetie with all such goods as he had with him. During his abode there for seuen dayes he made suite to the king for such money as the dukes ought him. But the king was displeased for that the Emperour of Russelands merchant had slaine a Boserman at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke seeing the king would shewe vs no fauour, and also hearing from Shammaki, that the Russes sent their goods to the sea side, for that they feared that the king of Persia should haue knowledge of the death of the Boserman, willed mee to depart to Shammaki with all such goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leauing him at the Court.

Casbin.

Leunacta.

A Boserman is a Renegado.

Thomas Alcocke slaine in the way betweene Leunacta and Shammaki.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at Shammaki, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was slaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan vnderstanding of his death, demaunded whether he had euer a brother. Some said I was, some saide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worships had no other seruant there but mee among those heathen people. Who hauing such a summe of goods lying vnder my handes, and seeing howe the Russes sent their goods with as much hast as they might to the sea side, and hauing but foure men to sende our wares to the sea side, I vsed such diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was slaine, I sent in company with the Russes goods, all your worships goods with a Mariner, William August, and a Swethen, for that they might the safer arriue at the seaside, being safely layd in. All which goods afterwards arriued in Russeland in good condition. Master Glouer hauing the receipt of all things which I sent then out of those parties into Russeland. Concerning my selfe, I remained after I had sent the goods into Russeland sixe weekes in Shammaki, for the recouery of such debts as were owing, and at last with much trouble recouered to the summe of fiftene hundreth rubbles or there about, which M. Glouer receiued of me at my comming to Mosco, and all such goods as I brought with me out of Keselbash, as by a note of my hand that hee hath shall appeare. Also he hauing the receipt of all such goods as I sent into Russeland by these two aboue named, he then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubbles, one Richard Johnson twentie rubles, one Thomas Pette fiftie rubles, one Euan Chermisin a Tartar seuentie rubles. All these had their returne: M. Glouer allowed himselfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Persia in your worships affaires.

Keselbash, or Iaselbash.

And whereas he saith, the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can see, knowing what the wares cost in those partes, hee had treble. If they gaue him so much wares, all charges turned to your worships, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I haue sowen the seede, and other men haue gathered the haruest: I haue trauailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a sorrowfull heart, aswell for the safegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the best, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God, to deliuer mee out of those miseries which I suffered for your seruice among those heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetie which I haue done, as a true seruant ought to do, I beseech your worships (although I haue but small recompence for my seruice,) yet let me haue no wrong, and God will prosper you the better.

Gillan in Persia.

Also, to informe your worships of your Persian voyage what I iudge: it is a voyage to bee followed. The king of Gillan, whereas yet you haue had no traffique, liueth al by marchandise: and it is neere Casbin, and not past six weekes trauaile from Ormus, whither all the spices

spices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may be established: But your worships must send such men as are no riotous liuers, nor drunkards. For if such men goe, it wil be to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Iohnson went to Persia, whose iourney had bene better stayed then set forward. For whereas before wee had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in all respects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be compted worse then the Russes.

Againe, if such men trauaile in your affaires in such a voyage, you shall neuer know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men imploy themselues to seeke the trade, that are inclined to such vices? or howe can God prosper them in your affaires? But when a trade is established by wise and discreet men, then wil it be for your worships to traffique there, and not before: for a voiage or market made euil at the first, is the occasion that your worships shal neuer vnderstand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

The thirde voyage into Persia, begun in the yeere 1565. by Richard Iohnson, Alexander Kitchin, and Arthur Edwards. 1565.

A letter of Arthur Edwards to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the worshipful company trading into Russia and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Persia.

MAster Nicols, my bounden duetie remembred, with desire of God for the preseruation of you and yours: you shall vnderstand that the second of March I was sent by M. Thomas Glouer (your Agent) vnto Ieraslaue, appointed to receiue such goods as should come from Vologda, as also such kinde of wares as should be bought and sent from Mosco by your Agent, and M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Persia. And further, I was to prouide for biscuit, beere, and beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needful according to aduise. Thus I remained here vntil the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to see vs set forwards on our voyage, and then he departed towards Colmogro, hauing appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Persia) Richard Iohnson. For my part I am willing, as also haue bene & shalbe content to submit my selfe vnder him, whom the Agent shall appoint, although he were such a one as you should thinke in some respects vnmeete. Thirtie two packes of carseis are all of that kinde of cloth that we shall haue with vs. The other 18. packs that should haue gone, were sold in Mosco. What other goods are shipped for our voyage, you shall vnderstand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honest man) was appointed Agent for Persia, as one for those parts more fit then any I do know here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this present life the 16. of March last past. I wished of God for my part he had liued: for my desire was in his company to haue trauelled into Persia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of Volga and the Caspian sea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the most. It is handsomly made after the English fashion: but I thinke it too litle for your goods and prouision of victuals. If the worshipful company would send hither a Shipwright, being skilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but sixe foote water at the most when it is laden, I thinke it should be profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the same, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to giue great fraight to lade their goods with vs, whereby your charges would be much lessened: And so it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be saued, and your seruants and goods in farre greater assurance: for their boates here are dangerous to saile with and to passe the Caspian sea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough hauing one to instruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for those that goe for your voyage of Persia are yet vnknowen vnto me: wherefore I cannot (as I would at this present) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you do know) it was the Gouernors mind I should be acquainted with greater affaires then these. Howbeit I doubt not but I shall be informed of them that are appointed, and all things shall be bought when they shall see time and haue more laisure.

Ieraslaue a towne vpon the riuer of Volga.

Richard Iohnson chiefe of the third voyage into Persia.

A barke of 30. tunnes made at Ieraslaue 1564. to passe the Caspian sea.

Thus

Thus in hast (as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of almightie God: who preserue you in perfect health with increase of worship.

From Ieraslaue the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to command here or elsewhere during life. Arthur Edwards.

1566. Another letter of the said M. Arthur Edwards, written the 26. of April 1566. in Shamaki in Media, to the right worshipful Sir Thomas Lodge Knight and Alderman: and in his absence to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and East partes, touching the successe of Richard Iohnson in the third voiage into Persia.

They departed from Astracan the 30. of July 1565.

WOrshipfull Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preseruation of you and yours in perfect health with increase of worship. It may please you that my last letter I sent you was from Astracan the 26 of Iuly 1565. From whence Richard Iohnson, my selfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30 of the same. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23 of August before we came to our desired port named Nazauoe. There, after we had gotten your goods on land, with much labour and strength of men, as also windlesses deuised and made, we haled your barke ouer a barre of beach or peeble stones into a small Riuer, sending your ships apparell with other things to an house hired in a village thereby. And as soone as we might get camels, being the fift of September we departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamaki the 11. of the same: and the 17. day following, we presented vnto Abdollocan the king of this countrey, one timber of Sables, one tunne or nest of siluer cups parsill gilt, three Morses teeth, 4. Arshines of skarlet, 3. pieces of karseis, with 40. red foxes.

September.

Presents to the king Abdollocan.

He receiued our presents with giuing vs thanks for our good wils, demanding if M. Ienkinson were in good health, and whether he would returne into these parts againe. He willed vs also himselfe to sit downe before him the distance of a quoits cast from his tent, where he sate with diuers of his counsaile and nobilitie, sending vs from his table such meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with vs, he sayd, if he might perceiue or know any maner of person to doe vs any wrong, he would punish them in example of others, whereby we should liue in quietnesse, and haue no cause to complaine, giuing vs a litle house for the time, vntill a better might be prouided in such place as we should thinke most meete, neuer willing vs to rise or depart, vntill such time as we of our selues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, hee willed vs to put our whole minds and requests in writing, that he might further vnderstand our desires. But while we were about to doe so, God tooke this good king our friend out of this present life the 2. of October past. The want of him hath bene the cause that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but we shall recouer all such summes of money as are owing vs for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are past hope of recouerie, which had not bene lost if the king had liued. We trust in the place of him, God will send as friendly a king towards vs: who by report (and as we be credibly informed,) shall bee his sonne named the Mursay: who since the death of his father, at our being with him, promised to shew vs more friendship then euer we found: God grant the same.

A house giuen our men in Shamaki by the king.

The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565.

Mursay the new king of Media.

"Great troubles haue chanced in these parts. Of those which were of the old kings counsell or bare any rule about him in these quarters, some are in prison, some are pinched by the purse, and other sent for vnto the Shaugh. These troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not sold as they might, to more profite. Your Agent Richard Iohnson bought foure horses, minding to haue sent to Casbin Alexander Kitchin, whom God tooke to his mercy the 23. of October last: and before him departed Richard Dauis one of your Mariners, whose soules I trust the Lord hath receiued to his mercy. We are now destitute of others to supply their roumes. Foure Mariners were few enough to saile your barke, whereof at this present we haue but one, whose name is William Smith, an honest yong man, and one that doeth good

The death of Alexander Kitchin the 23. of October 1565.

seruice

seruice here. For want and lacke of Mariners that should know their labours, we all were like to be cast away in a storme. For all the broad side of our barke lay in the water, and we had much adoe to recouer it, but God of his mercy deliuered vs. Mariners here may doe you good seruice all the winter otherwayes: and merchants here will be gladder to ship their goods in vs giuing good fraight. One merchant at this present is content to pay 20. rubbles for twentie camels lading fraight to Astracan. Such barkes as must passe these seas, may not draw aboue flue foote of water, because that in many places are very shallow waters. Wee mind hereafter to make the Russian boates more strong, and they shall serue our turnes very well. The Caspian sea very shoald in diuers places.

And whereas some in times past tooke great paines, trauell and care, and could not haue their desire in the getting of the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: Now, I trust (with Gods helpe) they may be obtained: which being had, will be beneficiall to the company, and great quietnes to those that shal remaine here, although heretofore things haue chanced ill, as the like in other countries hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, we shall liue in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly grow into a great trade for silkes both raw and wrought, with all kind of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to M. Anthonie Ienkinson is well knowen, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly aduertised the Companie thereof.

The trueth of the slaughter of Thomas Alcock your seruant, is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whom your sayd seruant was earnest in demanding of your debts: vpon whose words he was so offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, false knaues lay in waite, thinking he had much about him, and so slew him. I doubt not though this misfortune hath chanced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloued when we shall be more knowen. The murthering of Thomas Alcock.

Honest merchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to grow in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, & haue spoken in our fauours to the chiefest of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whom your Agent and I are entred into friendship, who is at this time in great fauour with the Shaugh. He hath here and in other places of these parts set a good stay in things since the kings death: he is well knowen to M. Ienkinson, his name is Cozamomet. Also another Duke named Ameddin-beck is our great friend: And his sister is the Shaughes wife. These two haue promised your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priuiledge, but also that I shall haue the debts paied me of those that went from hence to Casbin, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was vpon short warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent M. Richard Iohnson, all excuses laied apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen: with charge, when God should send me to Casbin, to vse my discretion with their aduise, for the recouering of your debts and priuiledge. I shall haue with mee one interpreter and two bought seruants: one of which partly vnderstandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust whatsoeuer should become of me. I haue receiued 6. tumens in ready money, 200. shaughs is a tumen, reckoning euery shaugh for sixe pence Russe. I haue further receiued two timbers of Sables, one to be sold, the other to bee giuen to Thomas the Shaugh: and haue order further to giue as I shall see good to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion serueth. And forasmuch as I am commanded to go, I shall willingly do my best, putting my trust in God that he will send me well to speed in this iourney. Cozamomet a noble man that fauoured our nation. The value of a tumen.

For all kind of wares bought or sold, you shal throughly be aduertised by your Agent Richard Iohnson, whose reckonings or accompts at no hands I might see or be priuie vnto. Your karseis were good and well sorted, they are and will be sold from 150. shaughs, to 160. the piece. Two hundred pieces were sold vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece but more would haue bene giuen, if circumspection had bene vsed. They were sold to those noble men aforesayd, when as yet it was not knowen that I should haue gone with them. They may stand vs much in stead, as they haue promised vs their good

What a batman is.

wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26. batmans being in euery packe: The batman being 7. pound, which may be 6. pound and a halfe of English waight, being bought here from 66. to 70. shaughes the batman. It is fine and good, litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had being at Grosin, we could not send thither: for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall haue lidgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may buy it at the first hand of the countrey people that bring it to sell hither, and to other places. I would to God the Companie could find the meanes to haue a vent to make sales for the one halfe that we may buy here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thousand pounds yeerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, he and others sawe there so great abundance, that by report of diuers, you may bestow (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thousand pounds: besides silke of all colours died in graine, bound xp in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here sold for 23. shaughs, at 6. d. the shaugh, may be 11. s. 6. pence.

Varas a great mart for silke.

Gilan 7. dayes sailing from Astracan. Alom.

From Astracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) shall serue our purpose best to goe vnto. Alom is there good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamaki, and sold here for two bists their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and so I haue bought it to bee sent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe silke enough for the companies stocke. I beleeue, if any great store of wares be sent from you, that must be the place: & from thence a man may trauell in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better sales, at which place your commodities are to be sold. For there be the chiefe and best merchants, and diuers other cities round about, to wit, Teueris, Ardouil, and Caishan, being the heart of the countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and merchants are better vsed. Concerning this point I haue inquired of diuers merchants both Russes and others that haue bene in those parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceiue the same to be true, and that all kind of wares come from thence into these parts. And from Casbin to Ormus, is about 30. dales trauelling with camels. I haue written the prices of wares in my letter to the gouernour both for spices and some drugs which I do know.

Gilan 4. dayes iourney from Casbin.

From Casbin to Ormus a moneths trauell with camels.

Also you shall vnderstand here is plentie of yew for bowstaues. I caused three horse loades to be bought vs for to know the trueth: but they were cut out of season this moneth of April, the sap being in them. Three moneths I neuer left speaking to the Countrey men to bring some. Your Agent will send some home for example.

This day being the 26. of Aprill I departed towards Casbin: God giue me a good houre and well to speed, with a mery heart in returning againe, as my hope is I shall. I haue written my mind to M. Glouer your Agent, what Russian wares I thinke best to be bought for this Countrey, and to send some one hither that hath the Russe tongue, for we haue need. And the companie shall do well hereafter in taking of seruants to be sent hither, to see that they be such as haue discretion, and be something broken in the world, and seene in the trade of merchandise, and one (if they can get some such) as can speake the Portingall tongue, may do them as good seruice, as those that shall be here two yeeres before him: for then we may buy a slaue that can speake this language and the Portingal tongue also, which shall then interprete vnto vs in all your secret doings, not making the Russes priuy: for they are sory that we doe trade into these partes, for we are better beloued then they are: because they are giuen to be drunkards, they are much hated of these people. Is is to be wished that none should serue your worships in these parts that be giuen to that kind of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor should be able to rule and gouerne himselfe, that no dishonestie should be imputed to him and vs. By his euill vsage he paied here 24 rubbles, being in this Countrey 4. ducats for a boy, that he was charged to haue conueied away from a Tesicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to sweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he should not pay it. If he were honest he might do your worships good seruice because of his Russian tongue.

The secret doings of the Moscouie company.

Your London reds are not to be sent hither, for they will not giue aboue 18. shaughes their arshine.

arshine. Here be reds of more orient colour, being Venice die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common people specially weare karseis, and the merchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You shall doe well to send fiue or sixe broad clothes, some blackes, pukes, or other sad colours, that may be affoorded at 20. shaughes the arshine, and not aboue. It is here reported that King Philip hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrow at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe captains. Orient reds of Venice die.

Thus wishing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my scribled letter, and after you haue red it, that M. Nicols may haue a sight thereof.

By your seruant to command,
Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Persia, with their prizes there.

1 KArseis are sold there for 180. Shaughes: so that a karsey is sold there in Persia for foure pound ten shillings: for euery shaugh is sixe pence English, and euery Bist is two pence halfepeny English, and in Russe money three pence. A shaugh is 6. d. English.
2 Tinne is sold in Persia for 14. and 18. shaughes the batman. The batman containes I haue mentioned before.
3 Brasil is at 10. and 12. shaughes the batman.
4 Red cloth fine, at 25. and 30. shaughes the yard.
5 Copper at 20. and 25. shaughes the batman.

Commodities to be brought out of Persia for England.

1 RAw silke at 60. shaughs ℈ batman.
2 Pepper at 32. shaughs ℈ batman.
3 Ginger at 18. & 20. shaughs ℈ batman.
4 Nutmegs at 30. shaughs the batman.
5 Brimstone at 4 shaughs the great batman.
The great batman is 12. li. English.
6 Allom at 2. bists and a halfe the batman and lesse.
7 Rice at halfe a bist the batman.
8 Gals at halfe a bist the batman.
9 Cloues at 40. shaughs the batman.
10 Yew for bow staues, at

A letter of M. Arthur Edwards, written the 8. of August 1566. from the towne of Shamaki in Media, to the right worshipfull the Gouernours, Consuls, Assistants and generalitie of the companie of Russia, &c. Shewing his accesse vnto the Emperour of Persia, his conference with him, his obtaining of a priuiledge, with diuers other good obseruations.

Right worshipfull Sirs, my bounden dutie remembred, with most humble commendations and like request to God for the preseruation of your good healths, with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to vnderstand, that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this present yeere by Richard Johnson at my departure towards Casbin: to which citie I came the 25. of May following, not slacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the speedie bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whose maiestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twise to come neerer him, demanding what were my requests: and hauing heard them, he promised me his gracious letters. Afterwards he called me twise againe to come nearer him, and talked with me of our Queenes maiestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired: and then of other countries adioyning to vs and their commodities, as also of king Philip, what ouerthrow he gaue the Turks at the siege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Russeland, and Moscouia, and in what space we might saile out of England into Russeland, & how many weekes trauell it is from Colmogro to Astracan: and then came to discourse of Russeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring vnto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worships should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially which maidens do make (as he sayd:) He named it Karengi, I thinke it is Westerne dozens died into scarlets. Time will not permit mee His arriuall at Casbin the 25. of May. Conference & demands of the Shaugh. All sorts of cloth to be sent, specially Westerne dozens died into skarlet.

mee to write at large the conference which I had with his maiesty. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of: to wit, of London clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example, being well shorne and drest. Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne, but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be liuely to the sight, and some blacks for womens garments, with some Orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes, and they that know the wearing, are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they find it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the threed, it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being cromplisted a yard and a halfe broad, and sold here from 24. to 30. shaughes their arshine, being longer by two inches then the Russe arshine is. I wish also that you send some good chamlets & velvets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds: because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours: some cloth of gold, tissue & bocky, some veluets wrought with gold, with sattins and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some Western karseis, to wit, dozens, which be thicked well, and close shut in the weauing, being died into fine reds, and some skarlets: for I thinke there is no such cloth for their caps.

Lawdi clothes much talked of in Persia. Much Venice cloth worne in Persia.

Your worships shall vnderstand, that after my first departure from the presence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priuiledge in writing, that I might haue it in readinesse at such time as I should againe bee called before the presence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of Iune last. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments to mine interpreter, and one of your seruants, and then I receiued your letters or priuilege, according to my desire, sealed and firmed with the Shaughs owne hand. Prayed bee God who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The second admission to the Shaughs presence, the 29. of Iune 1566. at which time he receiued the priuiledge.

The 29. of Iune is one of their chiefe festiuall daies, so that all his nobilitie was there present, with two Ambassadors in companie with his maiestie, who sayd vnto me that if my letters were not to my mind, in time to come they should be mended. Whereupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his highnesse most humble and heartie thanks, saying, that with as much speed as might bee, our Queenes Maiestie should vnderstand of his goodnesse towardes her Merchants, which I thought would write their letters of request vnto his Highnes, in such forme & order as by them should be thought meete and requisite for their good assurance in the trade of merchandizes: who replied with these wordes: when wee shall see their reasonable requests, we will shew them our farther good will, and so I departed.

The Shaughs promise to increase the priuiledge.

Since the receiuing of the Shaughs letters, I haue eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who before would not come neere me. And euery day some would come to my Shop, and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne dish. Likewise in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I sate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with mee vnbidden, when I wished them further off: for I spared them that, which gladly I would haue eaten my selfe. I doubt not but we shall liue here from hencefoorth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly vsed with the best.

I was asked by the Shaugh if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thousand pieces of kersies, and clothes. And I answered him, saying, your worships were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand. Whereat his Highnesse reioyced: for the Turkes Ambassador the last yere, as diuers haue told me, did put the Shaugh in despaire, saying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his countrey.

There is a citie in Syria named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, besides other that come yeerely and there buy wools, gals, tallow, saffron, skins, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great store of spices. Also the Armenians yeerly receiue at the Venetians hands, karsies in barter for rawe silks, giuing sometimes 60. pieces of karsies for 70. batmans of silke of this countrey, and 40. pieces for Grosin silke. And karsies sold commonly for ready money in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the piece, (the ducket being here woorth 12. shillings) may cost the first peny 132. and 144. Shaughs a karsie. By report it

Aleppo a citie of great trade.

Armenians barter with the Venetians.

is one moneths trauel from this towne of Shamaky to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, six dayes iourney: and from Tripolis to Venice by water, a moneth or fiue weekes sailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice may easily be trauelled in lesse then three moneths. Therefore I wish your worships to procure some trustie and assured friend there, to whom from hence letters may be sent. For I can haue them here to put in suerties to deliuer my letters, and to bring answere. If I had any other here with me, I would nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the Shaughs letters that way. The distance from Shamaky to Aleppo.

The Armenians and other are desirous to barter with vs, giuing silke for karsies, and also will serue vs of all kind of spices, we giuing them sufficient warning to fetch it in the Indies, and will deliuer it vs in Shamaky at these prizes. Armenians and other, desirous to barter silke and spices for karsies.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughs, euery Shaugh is sixepence.

Maces large for 40. Shaughs, and 45. the batman.

Cloues for 40. Shaughs the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughs the batman.

Sinamom for 40. Shaughs the batman. I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in spices, with drugs and other like in time.

From Casbin to Ormus is six weeks trauel, and from hence to Casbin is 16. dayes with camels laden: but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in seuen or eight dayes. And I thinke to Ormus and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion, with cattel vnladen. But here in all places as men trauel, they must carie their owne prouision on horses, which they are to buy, and thus they trauell but a footepase.

The Shaugh himselfe is desirous to bargaine with you who will giue money, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bring such wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceiue, bring from Aleppo yeerely, foure, fiue, and six thousand pieces of karsies, and clothes, besides those which other men bring. If your Worships might procure and find vent or sales for rawe silke, and silke died in graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made: then you might send a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindered by the Venetians if they may: for I know it will grieue them that you doe trade into these partes: for in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in Aleppo and other places adioyning. You shall vnderstand that 60. batmans of silke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yerely carieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with karsies & Venice clothes. And 18. pieces of karsies are a Mules lading. But I wish you not to send aboue 2000. pieces of karseis, although I haue bene willed to write for more. If I might haue had any vnderstanding what your Worships had written for in your letters sent this yeere, I should in this my letter haue bene better able to haue answered you. They which be now in Astracan, might haue written some thing vnto me hither, if it had pleased them, or else haue sent me such letters of mine, as I hope some of my friends haue written to me: for here are arriued eight weekes past, two boates with wares and Russes, by whom they might haue written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promised the Russes to write, but promise was not kept. I would be sory that any boat should depart out of these partes, and not write vnto them, waying how all things stand. I heare they haue bought a boat, which cost 40. rubbles, and shipped certaine wares to come hither. God send them in safetie. I do tarie their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to Astracan in those boates which departed hence lately. The Shaugh desirous to bargaine for your commodities. 2000. pieces of karsies to be sent into Persia.

The fifteenth of July last, I departed from Casbin, and came to this towne the 29. of the same. And the fourth of August I found meanes to arrest the falsest knaue in this countrey, to wit, the Customer for 22. tumens, and 100. shaughs, (200. shaughs is a tumen.) I haue caused him to put in suerties for his foorth comming at all times, what ende I shall haue with him, God knoweth, the debt will be recouered, but not yet, for he must pay the Shaugh 1000. rubbles. These partes as yet are in no stay for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule, which I thinke shall bee the Mursey. Within 5. or 6. dayes we shall know, for it is time, because He departed from Casbin the 23. of July.

his letters directed to your Worships to be sent him, with other notes which I thought good to be remembered, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written, graunted, and giuen in the names of these sixe persons following: to wit, sir William Garrard, sir William Chester, gouernours, sir Thomas Lodge, master Anthony Ienkinson, master Thomas Nicols and Arthur Edwards.

1 First, it is granted that you shall pay no maner of customes or tols, any kinde of wayes now, nor in time comming, vnto his heires after him. And that all English merchants, such as you shall appoint now and hereafter, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions and other countries adioining in the trade of merchandise, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, with all maner of persons.

2 Item, that in all places where any of our merchants shall haue their resort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers and Iustices shall take heed vnto vs, being our aide & defence against all euil persons, punishing those that shall do vs any wrong.

3 Item, that for all such debts as shall be owing by any maner of person, Iustice shal be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4 Item, that no maner of persons of whatsoeuer estate or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any gifts, without any leaue and good will.

5 Item, if by chance medley any of our merchants or seruants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subiects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true iustice to bee ministred, and being any of vs, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge and aduise.

6 Item, that all such debts as are now owing, or hereafter shall be, are to be paied vnto any of vs, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead or aliue.

7 Item, that no person returne any kind of wares backe againe, being once bought or sold.

8 Item, that when God shall send your goods to shore, presently his people shall helpe vs on land with them.

These articles before written, I trust in God wil content your minds, vntill your farther letters be hitherto written vnto the Prince, who I am assured will graunt your farther reasonable requests, which his maiestie hath promised. For I moued the question, declaring vnto him that I thought your worships would write your letters of requests, to craue his farther good will, as should be thought meet for your better assurance in the trade of merchandise: you will hardly beleeue what long and gracious talke he had with mee, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange vnto the people & other merchant strangers. For betwixt euery question that his maiestie moued, when I had answered him, hee would talke with his Nobles and other his seruants, hauing some knowledge of our Westerne parts & commodities, and then againe would demaund other questions. He caused his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in all of his foure letters giuen me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkish tongue to be sent you.) On the backe side of the one, hee hath written what wares his Maiestie would haue you to send him. He held me one houre within night before I departed from him.

These bee the names of the wares or commodities, which on the backe side of one of his letters the Shaugh hath written to you to be sent him.

First, some cloth of Gold, with cloth of Tissue, and cloth of Botky, as Veluets wrought with gold.

Item, good veluets, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes and blackes. These colours his maiestie requireth, for they are most worne. And though there be some of these wares made in his citie of Cassan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to those that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in these wares: yet for diuers considerations, as also to satisfie the Princes mind, I wish you to send some, and those that be especiall good.

Item, good damasks and sattins of all sortes, with an hundred pieces of good chamlets, which

which are woorth here 80. shaughs the piece, at sixe pence the shaugh, and those silkes to bee of those colours aboue written, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with some light watchet colours.

Item, three or foure complete harnesses that wil abide the shot of a handgun with 10. or 12. targets of steele, being good.

Item, ten or twelue good shirts of male being very good or else none, that may abide the shot of an arrow, and two buffe ierkins.

Item, ten or twelue pieces of Westerne karsies, being thicked well and close shut in the weauing, and died into scarlets and fine reds. I thinke there wil be no such cloth for noblemens caps. The prince named them * karangies, saying, that maidens did make them, & is desirous of them.

* By the word Karangies, I thinke they meane Karsies.

Item, six pieces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with some other for Noblemen, of a lower price.

Item, twentie handguns being good, some of them with fire locks, and also six good dags, with locks to trauell withall.

Item 100. brusshes for garments (none made of swines haire,) for gifts, and otherwise to be sold.

Item, six stone bowes that shoot lead pellets.

Item, a mill to grind corne in the field as they goe, finely deuised: for Cozomomet willed me to write for one to be sent, to giue the Prince.

Item, the Prince requireth of all sortes and colours of London clothes. I wish you to send no lesse then 40. or 50. for I know they will be sold to profit, especially such cloth as may be affoorded for 20. shaughs the arshine, which is longer by two of mine inches then Russia arshine is. Let there be fine skarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blacks, browne blewes, foure or fiue of euery sort, for the Prince and other lords: the rest of other colours liuely to the sight, as London russets, tawnies, lion colours, good liuely greenes, with other, as you shall thinke good: for the prince desireth to see of all sorts, which will be an occasion that the Venetians and Turkes shall bee in lesse estimation then they are: for they themselues do feare, and secretly say the same. And truely the Princes subiects intend to enter into trade with vs for spices and other commodities that they were woont to sell vnto the Venetians and Turkes.

Thus I commit you all to God, who send you health with increase of worship. Written in Astracan the 16. of Iune, 1567.

By your seruant during life to command,
Arthur Edwards.

Distances of certaine places in Russia.

The way from Saint Nicholas Baie to Mosco.

	versts
To Colmogro	100
To Vstiug	500
To Totma	250
To Vologhda	250
All by the riuer of Dwina	1100
To Yeraslaue	180
To Rostoue	60
To Peraslaue	60
To Mosko	120
By land East and West	440

The way from Mosko to Smolensko.

To Moram	300
To Smolensko	200

The way from Mosko to Nouogrod.

	versts
To Ottuer	180
To Torzhoke	60
To Wisnouolloko	60
To Nouogrod	150
Southeast and Northwest	450

The way from Nouogrod to Narue.

To Teseua	50
To the Friers	60
To Yria Niagorod	40
To Narue	15
Southwest and Northeast	165

From

From Nouogrod to Vobsky, is 180. versts by East.

The way from Vobski to Ry in Liefland.

	versts
To Newhouse	50
To Gouen on ỹ borders	Al is 200. versts
To Wenden	
To Trecatio	
To Newslot	
To Rie	

The way from Mosco to Astracan.

To Costrom	
To Nisnouogrod	
To Cazan	
To Astracan in all is	2800. versts

The way from Vologhda to Narue.

To Belozerco	140
To Batag	80
To Witergen	40
To Ladiski	60
To Onega lake	80
To Oher	90
To Narue	180
Southwest and Northeast	770. versts

To go with a small boat within the land from S. Nicholas to Wardhouse.

To Newnox riuer	To Wardhouse in all 800. versts Northwest and Southeast.
To Ousca Gouba	
To Lobshanga	
To Oust Nauelocki	
To Orlouanos	
To Solusca Monasterie	
To Candelox	
To Oust Colla	
To Zhemaker	
To Poganna Volocki	
To Chibe Nauolocke	
To Kegor	

The way from Colmogro to Mizemske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keep their Mart.

To Vst Pinnego	Al is 230. versts
To Palango	
To Leunona	
To Vescom	
To Soyana	
To Coula	
To Nendega	
To Lampas	
To Sloboda	

The way to Vromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the Losh hides are gotten.

To Lampas	Al is 115. versts Northeast and Southwest.
To Pogorel	
To Zapolle	
To Vromo	

The way and distances from Saint Nicholas, to the Caspian Sea.

If you goe straight from Saint Nicholas to the Caspian Sea, you must goe to Vologhda by water, as by the easiest passage, and that is accomplished, passing day and night, in foureteene dayes and foureteene nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100. versts it is.

By horse and sleds in 8. dayes you may passe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous by meanes of marishes and bogs, and not safely then to be passed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraslaue, 180. versts ouer land. This Yeraslaue standeth vpon the riuer of Volga, 180. versts I say distant from Vologhda.

To the Caspian sea are 2700. versts from Yeraslaue.

So from S. Nicholas to the Caspian sea, are 3800. 80. versts.

The iourney from S. Nicholas to Yeraslaue is accomplished in foureteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. 16. dayes.

From thence to Astracan men trauell by water in 30. dayes and 30. nights.

So between S. Nicholas and the Caspian sea, are 46. dayes iourney.

There passe downe Volga euery Summer, 500. boats great & smal, from all the vpper parts of the riuer, whereof some be of 500. tunne. They go for Minerall salt and for Sturgeon.

The

The salt lieth in rocks (and is whitish red, and in fine sand) as it were 30. miles from Astracan toward the Caspian sea. They dig it themselues and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a peny a pood, viz. 40. pound waight.

The Sturgeon which they call Ocetera is taken fiftie miles on this side Astracan. Along the riuer the space of 20. miles, they make their boaties in plaine grounds, & fish for the space of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of August, and hauing salt they vse to salt them. Fishing for Sturgeon for 3. moneths.

The riuer is there 5. or 6. miles broad, but with some Islands.

The riuer below Yeraslaue, where it is most narrow, is a mile broad from side to side.

The riuer runneth vpon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the riuer sides, saue about the townes of the fishing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Vstiug runneth all on chalke and sand: the fish are sweete & fat. The Mene a fish with a great head a foot long breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Between Vobsko and Nouogrod, the space of an 180. miles, groweth flaxe: the whole soile in length is so imploied, and as much in breadth: this is vpon a flat soile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko vpon the Polish border, 300. miles in compasse: much of the soile is so imploied.

Of this hempe they bring in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we set in worke in making of cables aboue 100. men.

The Russians do spin and hachell it, and the English tarre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of those is worth two of Danzick, because the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten stuffe, which in fowle weather is found of no strength. The Englishmen in making of cables, set on worke a 100. men in Russia.

Sosnoua, a tree that cureth the wolfe with the shauings of the wood, groweth in these parts, and of the barks they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boats. Soueraigne tree excellent for the cure of the wolfe.

The Samoeds lacking linnen make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree. The wood of this tree is as heauie as hollie, and the shauings tough.

Rose Island in S. Nicholas Baie is full of Roses damaske and red, of violets and wild Rosemarie: This Island is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good pasture, and hath the name of the roses. The description of Rose Island.

The snow here about the midst of May is cleared, hauing bin two moneths in melting, then the ground is made dry within 14. dayes after, and then the grasse is knee high within a moneth. The after September the frost commeth in, the snow is a yard deepe vpon plaine ground. The Island hath Firre and Birch, and a faire fresh spring neere the house built there by the English.

The way discouered by water by vs Thomas Southam & Iohn Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro, by the Westerne bottome of the Baie of S. Nicholas, vnto the citie of Nouogrod in Russia, containing many particulars of the way, and distance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. Anno 1566.

WE departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coast to a place called Soroka, & in the sayd barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct vs to the place before rehearsed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or thereabout, wherewith we valed downe the riuer of Dwina, the winde being then calme, vnto a monasterie called S. Michael where we were constrained to anker because of a contrary wind which there met vs.

From Colmogro to this monasterie are 50. versts or miles of Russia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind somewhat faire, we set saile and departed thence. A verst is but 3 quarters of an english mile.

21 We departed from the monasterie of S. Michael, hauing the wind somwhat faire, and arriued at Rose Island, ouer and against the monasterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles distant from the monasterie of S. Michael. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tary there all that day.

23 We departed from the monasterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the euening, &

came to an anker at the Beacons, & continued there vntil halfe an houre past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West vntil 5. of the clocke in the morning, when as we came to an anker against Newnox towne, where we continued vntil the 25. day.

At this towne Newnox Richard Chancellor in his first voyage, with his companie whiboord were relieued.

The sayd towne of Newnox is from the monasterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

25 We departed frō Newnox hauen at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course Northwest and by West.

The point of Tolstick which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox hauen, and the headland of Seusemski lie next Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in the ỳ afternoone, being from Newnox hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth, by reason of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Seusemski in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course Northwest and by West.

The said land of Seusemski & the headland going into Owna riuer lieth East and by South, west and by North, and between them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Island called Sogisney passing betwixt it & the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from Owna riuer.

Being past the said Island 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Island of Sogisney, where we remained vntil the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogisney aforesayd, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East northeast, & our course was Southwest & by west, passing by an Island called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogisney, and keeping on our course, we came by the headland of an Island called Abdon, being from the Island of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rocks: and if the great prouidence of God had not preserued vs, wee had there perished, being fallen amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfectest, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But whosoeuer will trauell that way must either keepe hard aboord the shore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coast within the rocks, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and so goe a seaboord all: for there are ledges of rocks that lie fiue miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rockes two miles to sea boord of vs, so that we were inclosed with them, and sate vpon the highest of them: but it pleased God to make it calme, and giue vs the day also, or els we had miscaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Island of Abdon, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our course West, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, we arriued at a monasterie named Solofky, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monasterie we continued vntill the 31. day of this moneth. We had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monasterie, their letter and house seale, and a seruant of theirs to conduct vs safely through the dangerous riuer of Owiga.

The people of all those parts are wild, and speake another kind of language, & are for the most part all tenants to the monasterie. The effect of the letter was, that they should be ready to helpe and assist vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needfull, as in deed they did, as hereafter shall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monasterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then chosen: for 15 dayes before our arriual there, the Abbot was sent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is. The number of monkes belonging to the monasterie are at the least 200.

31 Wee departed from the monasterie of Solofky, as is aforesayde, to a faire stone house of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monasterie, lying from it South and by West.

August. 1 We departed from the Stone house at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our course was West

West for 60. versts, and then passing betwixt diuers and sundry rocks, with many small Islands round about vs for the space of 20 miles, keeping most commonly the same course still, we then shaped a new course, and yet sundry times shifting, but we alwayes kept the Southwest, and neerest of all South southwest, vntill we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer Owiga where we were to beare in, West and by North.

The riuer Owiga.

From the riuer Owiga, to the Islands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles.

We arriued about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the riuer of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forsooke our barke or Lodia, & continued there in making prouision for small boates to carie vs vp the riuer vntill the 3. day of the same.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boats and 12. men to rowe, and set the foresaid boates vp the riuer of Owiga, which we hired.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Ostroue, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka, at a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came steepe downe from a mountain, we were constrained to take out our goods and wares out of the said boats, and caused them to be caried a mile ouer land, and afterwards also had our boates in like sort caried or drawen ouer land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monasterie aforesaid.

The fall of a riuer.

And when our boats were come to the place where our wares were laid, we launched our boats and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where we continued and remained that night.

We departed from Ostroue in the morning before Sunne rising, rowing and setting vp the riuer 5. miles, where we came to a place whereas we were againe constrained to take out our wares, and to carie them and our boats three miles ouer land, so that with rowing, drawing and setting, we went this day 7. miles more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne rising, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday 30. miles, where wee remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and all that day what with setting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for we twise vnladed our wares, & drew our boats ouerland, in one place a mile & an halfe, in another place as it were the eight part of a mile, and so we came to a place called Voyets, where we taried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the clocke in the morning, & so came to an Ozera or lake, called after the name of the riuer, & vnto a place called Quequenich, wee rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clock in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there we remained all night to hire men and boats to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the seruant which we had at the Monasterie, being sent by the monkes to go thus far with vs. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that should conduct vs, & giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in safetie, at a place being a litle towne called Pouensa, then hee departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines, for so he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8 We departed from Quequenich at sunne rising, & all that day rowed vpon the lake amongst many Islands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Islands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the euening we came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich.

A lake very full of Islands.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and so entring into a riuer, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouerland 3. miles. At euening we came to a place called Oreiche na maelay, where we lay all night.

10 Wee departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and so rowing, came to a place where the riuer ended, being 20 miles distant from the place where wee lay all night, at which place wee forsooke our boates and vnladed our wares, and sent a man to the towne of Pouensa, which was seuen mile off, for horses to cary vs and our wares to the said place.

The horses came, and we laded our goods, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone wee arriued at the towne of Pouensa, with all things in safetie.

The famous lake of Onega.

This towne of Pouensa standeth within one mile of the famous lake or Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in some places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narrowest it is 25. miles ouer, being fed with many goodly riuers which fall into it. Hard aboord the shore within 6. miles, you shall haue 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

Here it is to bee noted that from this place of Pouensa vnto the village of Soroka downe those dangerous riuers which wee came through, at no time of the yeere can or may any man cary or transport any goods that come from Nouogrod, or the Narue, and such other places: for in the Sommer it is impossible to cary downe any wares by reason of the great fals of water that doe descend from the rockes. Likewise in the Winter by reason of the great force and fall of waters which make so terrible raises, that in those places it neuer freezeth, but all such wares as come from Nouogrod to Pouensa, are transported by land to a place called Some in the Winter, which Some standeth on the sea side, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Pouensa by land to this place of Some, with the distance of miles I will shew hereafter.

12 We departed from Pouensa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. smal boats which we hired to cary vs to a place called Toluo vpon the lake of Onega, being 50 miles from Pouensa, where we arriued the 13. day in the morning, where wee bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the Citie of Nouogrod.

14 We departed from Toluo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the euening arriued at a certaine Island named Salasalma, vpon the said lake 7. miles from Toluo, and by reason of contrary windes we there taried vntill the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salasalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Island the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where wee continued by reason of contrary winds, vntill the 21. day of the said moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salasalma.

S. Clement his Monasterie.

21 We departed from Vorronia Island two houres before day, and arriued at S. Clements Monasterie at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorronia 48. miles.

22 We departed from S. Clements Monasterie at the breake of the day, hauing a faire wind all a long the lake: we sailed without striking of saile vntil two houres within night, and then entred into a riuer called Swire, at a Monasterie called Vosnessinq Christo, fiue miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we taried al night. It is from S. Clements Monastery 160. miles: the streame of that riuer went with vs.

23 Wee departed from Vosnessino Christo before Sunne rising, and valed downe the riuer sometime sailing, and sometime rowing, so that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vassian.

‖ Or Sermare.

24 Wee departed from Vassian at the breake of the day, and came to a place called ‖ Selucax, where wee lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vassian.

25 We departed from Selucxe at 4 of the clocke in the morning, and entred vpon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the winde being calme al that day sauing 3. houres, and then it was with vs, so that we sailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along vpon the said lake, and entred into the riuer of Volhuski, which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue Nouogrod, and runneth through the midst of the Citie, and so falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega, but it is not so broad. This lake falleth into the sea that commeth from the Sound: where any vessel or boat, hauing a good pilot, may goe through the Sound into England.

The riuer of Volhuski. The lake of Ladeski.

As soone as we were entred into the riuer, we came to a Monasterie called S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

The Monasterie of Gosnopoli.

26 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medued, at fiue of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another Monasterie called Gosnopoli, which is 30 miles from S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

27 We departed from Gosnopoli at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at euening came

to

to a place called Moislaue, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the Monasterie of Gosnopoli.

28 We departed from Moislaue, and the saide day at night came to a place called Grussina, 35. miles from Moislaue where we lodged.

29 Wee departed from Grussina in the morning, and the same day at euening came to a place called Petroe Suetoe, where we lay all night, being 40 miles from Grussina.

30 We departed from Petroe Suetoe in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone we arriued at the Citie of Nouogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Suetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there stayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Mosco, by reason that the plague was then in the Citie of Nouogrod. Vnto him we deliuered all the wares that wee brought from Colmogro, for by the way we sold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey euery where be so miserable. The citie of Nouogrod.

The right way to bring and transport wares from Nouogrod to Rose Island into S. Nicholas bay, where our Ships yeerely lade, with the distance of miles from place to place, is as followeth:

20 Miles from Nouogrod to Petroe Suetoe.
40 Miles from thence to Grusina.
35 Miles from thence to Moislaue.
46 Miles from thence to the Monasterie Gosnopoli.
15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.
15 Miles from thence to Selunaz ouer the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.
180 Miles from Ladega towne vp the riuer of Swire, vnto the Monasterie of Vosnessino Christo, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer: for within euery fiue or sixe miles you shall haue villages or small townes.
160 Miles from Vosnessino Christo to S. Clements Monastery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.
48 Miles from thence to Voronia.
67 Miles from thence to Toluo towne: and there are diuers villages al along the lake where the carriers may lie, and haue meate for man and horse.
50 Miles from thence to Pouensa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from Pouensa to Some towne is this:

30 Miles from Pouensa to Mastelina.
10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.
30 Miles from thence to Toluich.
35 Miles from thence to Carraich.
20 Miles from thence to Varnich.
10 Miles from thence to Ostroue.
15 Miles from thence to Lapina.
20 Miles from thence to Some it selfe.

Note, that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto the towne of Some is 936. miles, and from the towne of Some vnto the Monasterie of S. Nicholas or Rose Island, ouer and against where our Ships do ride, is iust as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Russes doe accompt it, as also we do iudge it, namely 325. miles. So that from Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our accompt 1261 miles or versts.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all such wares as shall be bought at Nouogrod, and sent to Some towne, must be sent by sled way in the Winter: for if any ware should be sent from Nouogrod by water in the spring of the yeere after the yce is gone, then must the said wares remaine at Pouensa towne all that Summer, by reason that in the Summer there is no way to goe from Pouensa vnto Some towne. Trauel by Sleds.

At Pouensa there are many warehouses to be hired, so that if there were as much goods as ten ships could cary away, you might haue warehouses to put it in: but if there should remaine much ware all the Summer, to be caried in the Winter to Some towne, then horses are not easily to be gotten at that place to cary it thither: so that your wares once bought at Nouogrod,

2000. Sleds belonging to one towne.

Nouogrod, you must haue cariers there to cary it to the towne of Some by Sleds, whereof you may there haue 2000. if you will, by the report of the Russes.

For from Nouogrod yerely there go many Sleds in the Winter to fetche salt from Some, with carriers and emptie Sleds there to buy it, and to bring it to Nouogrod to sell it in the market or otherwise.

From Nouogrod vnto Some towne you may haue a pood of wares caried for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wise your wares must bee sent from Nouogrod by the sixt of Ianuary, so that the wares may bee at Some by Candlemas, or soone after: for if your wares should tary by the way vntill the 15. of February when the Sunne is of some power, then is it dangerous: for the heate of the Sunne in the day causeth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and specially of Onega to cleaue: and if there should come then a sudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doeth, then doe these lakes open and breake, whereby manie men are lost, and both men and horse drowned, although other riuers do remaine frozen a long time after.

A good course for reasonable travell.

In the towne of Some also there are many warehouses, whereof we cannot be destitute for the reposing of our wares, as also as many barkes as you wil to transport your wares from thence to S. Nicholas road, and that for three pence a poods caryage: so that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto S. Nicholas road you may haue wares caried for two altines. The pood commeth vnto 23. altines the tunne.

Nouogrod within 180 miles of the Narue.

Prouided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your selfe, and send it thence: for there is no hope that the natiues will bring their wares from Nouogrod to Some, in hope to sell vnto vs, considering the great trade that they haue at the Narue, which is within 180. miles off them.

Written by Thomas Southam a seruant to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants aduenturers for the discouering of new trades, made in the eight yere of Queene Elizabeth. Anno 1566.

WHereas diuers very good Subiects of this Realme of England in the latter ende of the reigne of the late right high and mightie prince our Soueraigne Lord king Edward the sixt, at the gracious incouragement, and right good liking of the said king, and by his Maiesties liberall example, did at their aduenture, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increase of the reuenues of the Crowne, and the common vtilitie of the whole Realme of England, set forth three ships for the discouery by Sea, of Isles, lands, territories, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by the Subiects of the sayd late king not commonly by seas frequented: and after that Almightie God had called to his mercie the said king, who died before the finishing and sealing of his most ample and gracious letters of priuiledges promised to the said Subiects, as wel in consideration of the said enterprise, as for diuers other respects it pleased our late soueraigne Q. Mary, at the humble suites of the same subiects, to graunt by her letters Patents vnder the great Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the 26. day of February, in the second yeere of her raigne, for the considerations mentioned in the said letters Patents, to the saide subiects being specially named in the saide letters Patents, and to their successors, that they by the name of Merchants aduenturers of England, for the discouerie of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and not before their late aduenture or enterprise, by seas or Nauigations comonly frequented, should be from thenceforth one body, and perpetual felowship and communaltie of themselues, both in deed and in name, and that the same felowship and communaltie from thenceforth should and might haue one or two gouernours, foure Consuls, and 24. assistants, of the said felowship and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, and that they by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, felowship, and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, for the discouery of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen by the seas and Nauigations, and not before their said late aduenture or enterprise, by Seas frequented, should or might be able in the lawe to implead and to be impleaded,

pleaded, to answere and to be answered, to defend and to be defended, before whatsoeuer iudge or Iustice temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court or courts, and in all actions, real, personal, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of Nouel deseison, and also in all plaints, suites, quarrels, affaires, businesse, and demaunds whatsoeuer they be, touching and concerning the said felowship and communaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same only in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this Realme might doe, giuing also, and granting vnto them by the said letters Patents, diuers authorities, powers, iurisdictions, prehemineences, franchises, liberties and priuiledges, as by the same letters Patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the said letters Patents, whereas one of the three ships, by the said fellowship before that time set foorth for the voyage of discouery aforesaid, named the Edward Bonauenture, had arrifted within the Empire and dominion of the high and mightie Prince Lord Iohn Vasiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, Volodimersky, great duke of Musky, &c. who receiued the Captaine and Merchants of the saide shippe very graciously, granting vnto them freely to traffique with his subiects in all kinde of Merchandizes, with diuers other gracious priuiledges and liberties: therefore the said late Queene by the same letters Patents, for her, her heires and successors, did graunt that all the saine lands, Isles, ports, hauens, creeks and riuers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. and all and singular other lands, dominions, territories, Isles, ports, hauens, creeks, riuers, armes of the seas, of al and euery other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or gouernour whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said late aduenture or enterprise not knowen, or by the aforesaid merchants and subiects of the said king and Queene, by the seas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcel thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as in the said letters patents is mentioned, should not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any the subiects of the said late Queene, other then of the said company and fellowship, and their successors, without expresse licence, agreement, & consent of the Gouerner, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowship, and communaltie, or the more part of them, in maner & forme, as is expressed in the saide letters patents, vpon paine of forfeiture and losse aswell of the ship and ships, with the appurtenances, as also of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those the subiects of the said late Queene not being of the saide fellowship and communaltie, which should attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which then were, or after should happen to be found and traffiqued vnto, the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of the said late Queene, her heires & successors, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the said felowship & communaltie, as by the same letters patents more plainly will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patents, the said fellowship haue, to their exceeding great costes, losses and expences, not onely by their trading into the said dominions of the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. found out conuenient way to saile into the saide dominions: but also passing thorow the same, and ouer the Caspian sea, haue discouered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and other dominions in Asia minor, hoping by Gods grace to discouer also the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very conuenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefite and commodities of the same.

And forasmuch as diuers subiects of this realme, vnderstanding the premises, and perceiuing that now after the charge and trauel aforesaid, diuers wares and merchandizes are brought by the saide fellowship into this Realme, out of the dominions already discouered, which bee within this realme of good estimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, vtterly to decay the trade of the sayde fellowship, haue contrary to the tenor of the same letters patents, in great disorder traded into the dominions of the said mightie prince of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the saide fellowship is incorporated by the letters patents aforesaid, is long, & consisteth of very many words: Therfore be it enacted by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the Lords spirituall and temporal, & the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that

This is meant by Alderman Hoed the elder.

English Merchants for discouery of new trades.

that the said felowship, company, society and corporation made or created by the said letters patents, shal at al time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called only by the name of the fellowship of English merchants, for discouery of new trades, and by the same name for euer shall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deede and name, and onely by the same name from henceforth, shall implead, and be impleaded, answere and be answered, defend and be defended, sue and bee sued, in whatsoeuer courts and places, and shall and may by the same name bee inabled to purchase, haue, holde, possesse, reteine, and enioy whatsoeuer manors, landes, tenements, rents, reuersions, seruices, & hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes maiestie, her heires, or successors by knights seruice in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatsoeuer, and shall and may by the same name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and also shall haue and enioy all and singular the liberties, priuiledges, iurisdictions, franchises, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and things in the sayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wise conteined. And that no part nor parcell of the maine lands, Isles, ports, hauens, roades, creekes, riuers, armes of the seas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or gouernor whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said first enterprise made by the merchants, of the saide corporation, not knowen by the merchants and subiects of this Realme, or by hem not commonly by seas frequented, and lying from the City of London Northwards, Northwestwards, or Northeastwards, nor any part or parcel of the maine lands, dominions, isles, ports, roades, hauens, creeks, armes of the Seas, that now be subiect to the said high and mightie prince Lord Iohn Vasiliwich, his heires or successours, or to the Emperour, chiefe gouernour or ruler of the said countrey of Russia for the time being, his heires or successors, nor the countries of Armenia maior or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian sea, nor any part of them shall be sailed or traffiqued vnto, visited, frequented, or haunted by any person being or that shalbe a subiect or denizen of this realme, by themselues, their factor or factors, or any other to their vse or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, consent, or ratification of the gouernour, Consuls and assistants of the saide fellowship and comminaltie, or the more part of them, and their successors for the time being: vpon paine that euery person and persons offending in this behalfe, shall forfeit and loose, Ipso facto, euery such ship and ships, with the appurtenances, and all such goods, Merchandizes, and things whatsoeuer, as by any such person or persons shalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, prouided, caried, conducted, brought, or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforeside, contrary to the true intent of this statute: the one moietie of all which forfeitures to bee to our said souereigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, and the other moietie thereof to the sayde fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, and their successors, to be seized and taken wheresoeuer they may be found, by any person or persons, to the vse of our said Souereigne Lady, her heires and successors, and of the said fellowship of English merchants for discouery of newe trades, and of their successors, or the same or the value thereof to bee demaunded or sued for by the Queenes highnesse, her heires and successors, or by the saide fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, or their successors, or their attorney or attornels, or by any person or persons being of the same fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, or their successors in any court of Record, or in any other Court or courtes within this Realme, or els where, by Action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwise: in which suite no essoine, protection, wager of lawe, or iniunction shal be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Prouided alwayes, that whereas diuers Subiects of this Realme being not of the fellowship aforesaid, haue heretofore made aduentures to and from some of the places prohibited by the said letters patents, that the said subiects, their heires, executors, administrators and assignes, or any of them shall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, sued, nor molested for

for the same in their goods or persons in any maner of wise, either by our saide souereigne Lady, her heires or successors, or the said fellowship, or their successors.

Prouided also, that it shall be lawfull for any subiect of this Realme, hauing presently any shipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the said mighty prince of Russia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be visited or trafficqued vnto by this statute or the said letters Patents, to fetch, bring, and conuey the same, or cause the same to be brought or conueyed from thence by sea or otherwise, before the feast of S. Iohn Baptist, which shalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568. any thing conteined in this statute, or in the said letters Patents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided also, that it shall be lawfull for any of the subiects of this Realme, to saile to the port, towne, territorie, or castle of Wardhouse, or to any of the coastes, townes, hauens, creekes, riuers, Islands, and land of Norway for trade of fishing or any other trade there vsed by the subiects of this Realme, any thing in this statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the better maintenance of the Nauie and Mariners of this Realme, be it prouided and inacted, that it shall not be lawfull to the saide fellowship and company, nor to any of them to cary and transport, or cause to be caried and transported any commodie of this Realme to their newe trade, but onely in English ships, and to be sailed for the most part with English Mariners, nor also to bring into this Realme nor into Flanders from their saide new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in English ships, and sailed for the most part by the English Mariners, on paine to forfeit for euery such offence two hundred pounds, whereof the one moietie shall be to the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, the other moietie to the head officers of any port towne, hauing any hauen or harborough decayed, by what name soeuer they bee incorporate, to the reparation of such harborough, that will sue for the same in any Court of Record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no essoine, protection, or wager of lawe for the defendant shall be admitted or allowed.

Prouided also, and be it enacted, that no maner of person or persons shall from henceforth carrie or transport, or cause to be carried or transported out of this Realme of England, any maner of clothes or karsies into any of the partes where the said fellowship and societie is priuiledged to trade by this Act, before the same clothes and karsies shall be all dressed, and for the most part died within this Realme vpon paine of forfeiture for euery such cloth and karsie, otherwise caried and transported, fiue pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, the other halfe to the Master and Wardens of the Clothworkers in the Citie of London for the time being, by what name soeuer they be incorporate that will sue for the same.

Prouided also that whensoeuer the said societie or company shall willingly withdraw, and discontinue wholy by the space of three yeeres in time of peace, the discharging of their merchandizes at the road of S. Nicholas bay in Russia, and doe not discharge their said merchandizes at some other port or roade lying on that North coast of Russia, or other territorie nowe subiect to the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. hitherto by the subiects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any such discontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforesaid, it shalbe lawful to all the subiects of this realme to trade to the Narue onely in English bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided also, that euery of the Queenes Maiesties Subiects inhabiting within the Citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcastle vpon Tine, Hull and of Boston, hauing continually traded the course of merchandize by the space of ten yeeres, and which before the 25. of December that shalbe in Anno D. 1567. shal contribute, ioyne, and put in stocke, to, with, and amongst the said company, such summe & summes of money, as any of the said company, which hath throughly continued and contributed to the saide newe trade, from the yeere 1552. hath done, and before the saide 25. of December 1567. shall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and intire portion, or share, and do in all things behaue himselfe as others of the said societie be bound to doe, and hereafter shall bee bound to do by the

priuiledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, shall from the same 25. day of December 1567. be, and be accompted free, and as one of the said societie and company, and subiect to the priuiledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, reasonably made and to be made, any thing in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by M. Anthony Ienkinson, from London to Moscouia, sent from the Queenes Maiestie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

THe fourth day of May in the yere aforesaid, I imbarked my selfe at Grauesend in the good ship called the Harry of London, and hauing had a prosperous voyage arriued at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia the 10. day of Iuly following, and immediately I sent in post to the Emperor to aduertise of my comming, and trauelling then thorowe the countrey, I with my company came to the Mosco where the Emperour kept his court, the 23. of August, and foorthwith gaue the Secretarie to vnderstand of my arriuall, who aduertised the Emperours Maiestie of it, and the first day of September, being a solemne feast among the Russes, I came before the Emperours Maiestie, sitting in his seate of honour, and hauing kissed his hand and done the Queenes Maiesties commendations, and deliuered her graces letters and present, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honour done vnto me both then and all the time of my abode in Russia.

The Priuiledges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants of that company: obteined the 22. of September, Anno 1567. by M. Anthony Ienkinson.

ONe onely strengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things whom we worship in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lorde Iesus Christ, with the comforter the holy Spirit, and thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, & giue vs health to preserue our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites, and helper of all Christian beleeuers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke Iohn Vasiliwich of all Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, Nouogrod, Cazan, Astracan, Plesco, Smolensko, Tweria, Yougorie, Vadika, Bulgar, Sybier and others, Emperour and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land of Chernygo, Rezan, Polotski, Rostoue, Yereslaue, Bealozera, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condensa, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffe-land.

Whereas our sister Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to vs her letters, that wee would graunt her merchants, William Gerrard, William Chester, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Hussie, Iohn Marsh, Anthony Ienkinson, William Rowly, and their company of England, to come in ships into this kingdome, and those merchants, William Gerrard and his company haue required of vs that we would graunt and licence them to come into our countrey of Dwina, with all kind of wares at will, to our City of Mosco, and to all our castles in our kingdomes, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, haue licenced her merchants, William Gerrard and his company to passe in ships to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kind of wares to our city of Mosco, and to all castles and townes in our kingdome. And sir William Garrard & his company desired of vs, that we would graunt them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and into our inheritance of Nouogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Lifland to Narue and Dorpe, and to other our castles and townes of Lifland, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without custome, which request we haue graunted to sir William Garrard and his company, and haue giuen them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and Nouogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Lifland, Narue and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Lifland with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and sell at will, without custome: and what wares soeuer they bring out of England

nd, or out of any other countrey, needfull or necessary, that they shall bring all those wares needfull or necessary to our treasury, & those wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the same such wares as shalbe needful for our treasury, and the rest being deliuered againe, to sell and barter at their pleasure, and to sell none of the fine wares before they be seene by our chancellers, except sorting clothes, and other wares not meet for our treasury: and when our chanceller will send our treasure out of our treasury with them, they shall take it with them, and so sell and barter it for wares meet for our treasury, and bring it to our treasury, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or sell with them, nor yet our people to buy or sell for them their wares: and if those English merchants do desire to passe out of our kingdome of Astracan to Boghar, Shamaky, Chaday, or into any other countreys, or els to go into their owne countrey, then they to take their treasure with them, and to barter and sell it for wares necessary for our treasury, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chanceller, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, or to any other of our castles and townes, that then our captaine of Cazan and Astracan, and all other our people of charge shall not holde them, but with speed let them passe without taking custome of them or their wares, and without opening or looking vpon them in any wise: and when they haue not our treasure with them, that then likewise no custome shalbe taken of them nor their wares to be seene of any man.

And likewise we haue granted them to buy and sell in all our kingdomes and castles, with all kinde of wares: and we haue also licenced them, that when those English merchants do desire to buy & sell with our merchants wholly together, that they shall haue liberty so to do wholly together: and they that do desire to sell their owne wares by retaile in their owne house, that then they sell it in their own house by retaile to our people & other strangers, as they can agree: and weights and arshnids to be kept in their house with our seale, and they themselues to barter and sell their owne wares: and no Russe merchant in Mosco, or any other place in our kingdome to sell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any strangers goods. And whereas those merchants of England, sir William Garrard and his company do desire to sell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Costrum, and in Nouogrod the lower, Cazan, Astracan, great Nouogrod, Plesko, Narue, Dorpe, and in other our townes & castles, they shall haue their will to sell it: and of their wares of England and Russeland no custome shalbe taken, neither they nor their wares shalbe stayed in any place: and when they depart out of Mosco, to aduertise our chancellor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuentory of any kinde of their wares they cary away: and when the English merchants, sir William Garrard and his company do come vpon the sea, and by misfortune haue their ships cast away vpon those coasts of the North parts, then we will their goods to be sought out with trueth, and to be deliuered to sir William Garrard and his company, which as then shall be found in our countrey: and if that sir William Garrards company be not in the Mosco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that those goods of theirs shall be layd vp in a place of safegard vntill such time as the said sir William Garrard or his company come to demand the same: and then at their comming we will that it shall be deliuered. And whereas heretofore we haue giuen sir William Garrard and his company in this our kingdome of Mosco the new castle by the church of S. Maxim behinde the market, they shal there stil holde their house as heretofore we haue giuen them, paying no custome for the same: and we also do licence them to keepe one Russe porter or two, or els of their owne country, and those porters shall dwell with them, and not sell for them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And also I haue granted them to buy a house at Vologda and at Colmogro, or in any other place where they can chuse for themselues any good harbour, and there they to set vp those houses in those places at their owne charges: and in Vologda or the other houses to keepe two or three porters of their owne, or els two or three Russes, and their wares to be layed vp in those houses, and to sell their owne wares at will: and the porters without them to sell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro and Dwina, and of other our castles & townes shall not looke ouer their wares, nor take any custome thereof: neither shall those

English merchants sir William Garrard and his company be iudged by any of them. And when the English merchants shall send from our kingdome their owne people into their owne countrey by land ouer other kingdomes whatsoeuer they be, they may without ware send their owne people at their pleasure. And when any matter of law doth fall out in their trade of merchandise, then they shall be iudged by our chancellers, and law shalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them: and when they cannot be iudged by law, they then shalbe tried by lots, and whose lot is first taken out, he shall haue the right. And if it happen any of those merchants to haue any matter of law in any other part of our dominions for trade of merchants, then our captaines, iudges, and chiefe officers shall heare the matter, and administer iustice with equity and trueth, and where law can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is first taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of law no custome to be payed.

Tridl by lots.

Furthermore, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth haue granted, that none beside sir William Garrard and his company, out of what kingdome soeuer it be, England or other, shall come in trade of merchandise nor otherwise to Colmogro, nor to the riuer Ob, nor within Wardhouse, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the abbey of Petchingo, nor to the Island of Shallawy, nor to any mouth of the riuer of Dwina, nor to any part of the North countrey of our coast. And if any merchant, out of what countrey soeuer it be, doe come with ship or shippes, busses, or any other kinde of vessell to any of our harbours, within all our North parts, we will that then the people and goods, ship or ships, shalbe confiscate, and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

The riuer of Ob trafficable.

Giuen in our kingdome and house of Mosco, the yeere from the beginning of the world 7076, in the moneth of September, and in the 34 yeere of our reigne, and in our conquest of Cazan 16, and in our conquest of Astracan 15.

Perused and allowed by vs: Anthonie Ienkinson. William Rowly. Thomas Hawtry. Thomas Sowtham. Rafe Rutter, translatour hereof our of the Russe tongue.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to M. Richard Hakluit, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times.

WOrshipfull sir, because I finde you haue the successe and proceedings of Osep Napea the first ambassadour of the Russian Emperour to the Maiesties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Russia, & do not finde that the perfect knowledge of the first ambassage from thence to this our Souereigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whose Highnesse and the ambassadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expresse it. In August Anno 1567 arriued at London with their retinue two especiall authorised messengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogotella, with letters and presents to her Maiesty, at that time being at Otelands, where diuers of the chiefe merchants of the Russian company did associate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Maiestie gaue them audience. First they rehearsed the long stile and Maiesty of their Master, with his most friendly and hearty commendations to her Highnesse, and then they testified the singuler great ioy and pleasure that he conceiued to heare of her most princely estate, dignitie and health: and lastly, they deliuered their letters and presents. The presents sent vnto her Maiesty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars, to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns and other rich furres. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furres was yet in vse. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court, and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde worshipfull Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, graue and comely: expressing dignitie, comforting age, and

The vse of furres wholesome, delicate, graue and comely.

of

of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserued, then these new silks, shagges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.

These ambassadours were appointed lodging and entertainement by the Moscouite company at their house then in Seething Lane, and were sundrie times after permitted to be in presence. And in May 1568 tooke their leaue at Greenwich, where they vnderstood and had the Queenes Maiesties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highnesse considering that our trade to Saint Nicholas since the beginning had bene offensiue to diuers princes, states, and merchants Eastward, vsed these speeches or the like: Who is or shall be more touched by detractours, with flying tales and vntrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of loue and vnitie? your Master and I in things that passe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promises. If he heare the contrary of me, let him suspend his iudgement, and not be light of credit, and so will I. These words they termed her Maiesties golden speech: and kneeling downe, kissed her hand, and departed. The trade to S. Nicholas offensiue to diuers princes & states Eastward.

The letters that these two messengers brought, were deliuered to me by my Lord Treasurour, being then Secretarie, to be translated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Maiesties letter I send inclosed herewith vnto your worship. I also haue sent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Maiestie, with other letters from some of our nation and factours, declaring the displeasure for our trafficke to the Russes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, especially by the way of the Narue: in which yere of 1566, hauing generall procuration and commission from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amsterdam, and sometimes in company with Polacks, Danskers, and Easterlings: and by reason I had bene a lidger in Russia, I could the better reply and proue, that their owne nations and the Italians were most guiltie of the accusations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigismundus (whose ambassadours very sumptuous I haue seene at Mosco) was reported to be too milde in suffering the Moscouite. Before our trafficke they ouerranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolensco, carrying the people captiues to Mosco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they suffered the Russe likewise in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewise the said Sigismundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Liuonia, but lost all, except Rie and Reuel, and the Russe made the Narue his port to trafficke, not onely to vs, but to Lubec and others, generall. And still from those parts the Moscouites were furnished out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by vs. The Italians also furnished them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike stratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigismund, the Russe would tant the Polacks, that they loued their ease at home with their wiues, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigismund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without issue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore kept the Russe in better order, and recouered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie farewell I take my leaue of your worship. Smolensco won by the Russe. Polotzke taken. Polotzke recouered by Stephanus Batore.

Your assured friend Henrie Lane.

A Letter of the most excellent Maiestie of Queene Elizabeth, sent by Stephen Twerdico and Pheodata Pogorella, messengers of the Emperour of Russia, vnto their Master the ninth of May 1568. 1568.

Imperatori Moscouitarum, &c.

ELIZABETHA &c. Literas vestræ Maiestatis superiori anno 1567, decimo die mensis Aprilis datas, vestri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has nostras perferunt, nobis tradidêre. Quos vestros mercatores in omni suo apud nos & nostros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expresso nostro mandato curauimus, vt non solum

solum vestræ Maiestatis pro illis postulationi, sed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè satisfactum esse confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus studiosiùs, quod plane perspectum, probéque cognitum habeamus, nostros omnes, qui bona cum gratia nostra, nostrarùmque literarum commendatione, istuc, sub vestro imperio negotiaturi veniunt, pari, cum vestræ Maiestatis fauore, tum vestrorum subditorum humanitate, vbiuis acceptos esse. Quæ nostra vtrobíque, & mutuæ inter nos amicitiæ, & gratæ inter nostros beneuolentiæ officia, vt crebra & perpetua existant, nos admodum postulamus. Quem animi nostri sensum fusius hi vestri, & opportunius suo sermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin vestra Maiestas amplam fidem sit tributura. Deus &c. Grenouici nono die Maij 1567.

The Ambassage of the right worshipfull Master Thomas Randolfe, Esquire, to the Emperour of Russia, in the yeere 1568, briefly written by himselfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Bannister, & Geofrey Ducket, for their voyage into Persia.

THe 22 day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1568, I went aboord the Harry, lying in the road at Harwich with my company, being to the number of fortie persons or thereabout: of which the one halfe were gentlemen, desirous to see the world.

Within one dayes sailing, we were out of the sight of land, and following our course directly North, till we came to the North Cape, we sailed for the space of twelue dayes with a prosperous winde, without tempest or outrage of sea: hauing compassed the North Cape we directed our course flat Southeast, hauing vpon our right hand Norway, Wardhouse, Lapland, all out of sight till we came to Cape Gallant: and so sailing betweene two bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwich, we cast ancre at Saint Nicholas road. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which we might plainly beholde, and the Sperma Cetæ, which we might see swimming vpon the sea, there was no great thing to be woondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fished, and tooke good store of diuers sorts. At S. Nicholas we landed the 23 of Iuly, where there standeth an abbey of Monks (to the number of twentie) built all of wood: the apparell of the Monks is superstitious, in blacke hoods, as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houses are low, and small roomes. They lie apart, they eat together, and are much giuen to drunkennesse, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20 Monks.

At my first arriuall I was presented from their Prior with two great rie loaues, fish both salt and fresh of diuers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, one sheepe aliue, blacke, with a white face, to be the more gratefull vnto me, and so with many solemne words inuiting me to see their house, they tooke their leaue.

The English house at S. Nicholas.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about foure houses neere the abbey, and another built by the English Company for their owne vse.

This part of the countrey is most part wood, sauing here and there pasture & arable ground, many riuers and diuers Islands vnhabited, as the most part of the countrey is, for the coldnesse in Winter.

The riuer of Dwina.

S. Nicholas standeth Northeast: the eleuation of the pole 64 degrees. The riuer that runneth there into the sea is called Dwina, very large, but shallow. This riuer taketh his beginning about 700 miles within the countrey, & vpon this riuer standeth Colmogro, and many prety villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood, and water. The riuer pleasant betweene hie hils of either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wildernesse of hie firre trees, and other wood.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100 versts, which we account for three quarters of a mile euery verst, we taried three weeks, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had word of our comming, who sent to meet vs a gentleman of his house, to conuey vs, and to see vs furnished of victuals, and all things needfull, vpon his owne charge.

The allowance of meat and drinke was for euery day two rubbles, besides the charge of boats by water, and foure score post horses by land, with aboue 100 carts to cary my wines, and other cariage.

Colmogro

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house from house. The people are rude in maners, and in apparell homely, sauing vpon their festiuall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this town finding commedity by the English mens traffike with them are much at their commandement, giuen much to drunkennesse, and all other kinde of abominable vices.

In this towne the English men haue lands of their owne, giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houses, with offices for their commodity, very many. An English house with lands at Colmogro.

Of other townes vntill I come to Vologda, I write not, because they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was fiue whole weeks vpon the riuer of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawen with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

Vologda standeth vpon the riuer of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle inuironed with a wall of stone, and bricke, the walles faire and hie, round about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, some built of bricke, the rest of wood, many Monks and Nunnes in it: a towne also of great traffike, and many rich merchants there dwelling.

From hence we passed by land towards Mosco in poste, being 500 versts great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being post townes.

The countrey is very faire, plaine & pleasant, well inhabited, corne, pasture, medowes enough, riuers, and woods, faire and goodly. The description of the inland of Muscouie.

At Yeraslaue we passed the riuer of Volga, more than a mile ouer. This riuer taketh his beginning at Beal Ozera, & descendeth into Mare Caspium, portable thorow of very great vessels with flat bottomes, which farre passe any that our countrey vseth.

To saile by this riuer into Mare Caspium the English company caused a barke to be built of 27 tunns, which there was neuer seene before: This barke built and ready rigged to the sea with her whole furniture cost not the company aboue one hundreth marks there.

To Mosco we came about the end of September, receiued by no man, not so much as our owne countreymen suffered to meet vs, which bred suspition in me of some other course intended, then we had hitherto found. His arriual at Mosco.

We were brought to a house built of purpose by the Emperour for Ambassadours, faire and large, after the fashion of that countrey. A special house at Mosco, built for Ambassadours.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to see vs furnished of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to see that we should not goe out of the house, nor suffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But specially he that looked to our persons so straightly handled vs, that we had no small cause to doubt that some euill had bene intended vnto vs. No supplication, sute, or request could take place for our liberty, nor yet to come to his presence.

Hauing passed ouer 17 weeks in this sort, the Emperour sendeth word that we should be ready against Tuesday the 20 of Februarie, at eight a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come, that I should goe to the Court, the two gentlemen Pristanes (as they call them) came vnto me apparelled more princely then before I had euer seene them. They presse vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne horses, and the Ambassador vpon such a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foot, to their great griefe. Two Pristanes.

The Ambassadour (being my selfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the chancellors doeth vse to sit, being there accompanied with the two foresayd gentlemen: I taried two long houres before I was sent for to the Emperor. In the end message being brought that the Emprour was set, I was conueyed by my gentlemen vp a paire of staires thorow a large roome, where sate by my estimation 300 persons, all in rich attire, taken out of the Emperors wardrobe for that day, vpon three ranks of benches, set round about the place, rather to present a maiestie, then that they were either of quality or honor.

At

At the first entry into the chamber I with my cap gaue them the reuerence, such as I iudged, their stately sitting, graue countenances and sumptuous apparell required, and seeing that it was not answered againe of any of them I couered my head, and so passing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there receiued me at the doore from my two gentlemen or gouernors, two of the Emperors counsellors, and shewed me to the Emperor, and brought me to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to stand still, and to say that which I had to say. I by my Interpretor opened my message as I receiued it from the Queene my Mistresse, from whom I came, at whose name the Emperor stood vp, and demanded diuers questions of her health and state: whereunto answere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome, and caused me to sit downe, and further asked me diuers questions.

His admission to the Emperors presence.

This done, I deliuered her Maiesties present, which was a notable great Cup of siluer curiously wrought, with verses grauen in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same.

The Queenes present.

All being sayd and done (as appeared) to his contentment, he licenced me and my whole company to depart, who were all in his presence, and were saluted by him with a nod of his head, and sayd vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I will send thee my dinner, and giue leaue to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our loue and fauor to our sister the Queene of England.

The Emperors speech to the Ambassador.

I with reuerence tooke my leaue, being conueyed by two other of greater calling then those that brought me to the Emperors sight, who deliuered me to the two first gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I first was, where came vnto me one called the Long duke, with whom I conferred a while, and so returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with fiftie persons, ech of them carying a siluer dish with meat, and couered with siluer. The duke first deliuered twenty loaues of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing tasted the same, and deliuered euery dish into my hands, and tasted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his company sate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meat, and filled themselues well of all sorts, and went not away from me vnrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperour had will to speake secretly with me, and sent for me in the night by the Long duke: the place was farre off, and the night colde, and I hauing changed my apparell into such as the Russes do weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

A second conference with the Emperor.

Hauing talked with him aboue three houres, towards the morning I was dismissed, and so came home to my lodging, where I remained aboue six weeks after, before I heard againe from the Emperour, who went the next day to Slouoda, the house of his solace. After the end of which sixe weeks, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperour returned from Slouoda aforesayd, and sent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our English merchants, and found him so graciously inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large priuileges in generall, together with all the rest my particular requests. And then he commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrew Sauin, as his Ambassadour, for the better confirmation of his priuileges granted, and other negotiations with her Maiesty. And thus being dispatched with full contentment, the sayd Ambassadour and my selfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the end of Iuly, and arriued safely at London in the moneth of September following.

Andrew Sauin Ambassadour to the Queene.

A copie of the priuiledges granted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Empereour of Russia, &c. vnto the right worshipfull fellowship of English merchants, for the discouerie of new trades: and hither sent by Thomas Randolfe esquire, her Maiesties Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour, and by Andrew Sauin his Ambassadour in the yere of our Lord God. 1569.

ONe God euerlasting, and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the

the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker and preserver of all things, and replenisher of all things euery where, who by thy goodnesse doest cause all men to loue the giuer of wisedome our onely Mediatour, and leader of vs all vnto blessed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Iesus Christ, holy and euerlasting Spirit, and now in these our dayes teachest vs to keepe Christianitie, and sufferest vs to enioy our kingdome to the happy commodity of our land, and wealth of our people, in despight of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We Iohn Vasiliwich by the grace of God, great Lord, Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Moscouia, Nouogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Tiersky, Vgorsky, Permisky, Vadsky, Bulgaria, and many others, lord and great duke of the low countreys of Nouogrod, Chernigosky, Resansky, Polotsky, Rastow, Yeraslaue, Bealosera, Owdorsky, Condinsky, and all Siberland, great commander of all the North parts, lord of Leifland, and many other Northward, Southward, and Westward.

Whereas our sister Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her merchants, who hath made sute that we should grant our goodnesse to the merchants which are of one company, and giue them free leaue to come to traffike in our kingdome to Colmogro, and to the countrey of Dwina, and to our great citie of Moscouia, and to all the cities in our dominions, and thorow our countrey to Boghar, to Persia, Casbin, and Chardy, and to all other countreys.

1 We Iohn Vasiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Russia (for our sister Elizabeths sake, Queene of England) haue giuen and granted to the English merchants, the Gouernors, Consuls, Assistants & fellowship, sir Wil. Garrard Knight, Rowland Hairard Alderman, Ioh. Thamworth Esquire, Iohn Riuers Alderman, Henry Beecher Alderman, Consuls: Sir Wil. Chester Knight, Edward Iackman Alderman, Lionel Ducket Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huse, Francis Walsingham, Clement Throgmorton, Iohn Quarles, Nicholas Wheeler, Thomas Banister, Iohn Harrison, Francis Burnham, Anthony Gamage, Iohn Somers, Richard Wilkinson, Ioh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinson, Assistants: Iohn Mersh Esquire, Geofrey Ducket, Francis Robinson, Matthew Field, & all the rest of their company and fellowship, and to their successours and deputies, to come with ships and other vessels into our Countrey, at Colmogorod, & Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession, by sea, riuer or land, euen to our great Citie of Mosco, in all the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Astracan, to Nouogorod the great, to Plesko & Leifland, Vriagorod, to Narue, and all other townes of Leifland. 2 And to passe through our land to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, and other Countreyes: And wheresoeuer they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of sale, without custome of all people, and Marchants strangers whatsoeuer.

And if so be they bring any fine wares out of England, or any other Countrey from Boghar, Persia, Casbin, or from any other place, & those their wares that come by the way of Narue, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the same wares into our treasure, and our Treasurers to view the same wares, and to take into our Treasurie of the same such as shalbe needfull for vs. And all such wares as we shal not need, our Chancellour to redeliuer the same: And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whom they will, not selling any of their wares needfull for vs, before our Chancellour haue seene the same. And all other grosse and heauy wares that shall be needfull to our vse, not being brought to Mosco, to declare & tell our Chancellour of the same wares: And to giue a note thereof by name, and how much they leaue there, not brought to Mosco: and then if we neede not the said wares, the English Marchants, their seruants & Factors, to conuey their wares the neerest way to Vstiug the great, and so to Colmogorod, or elsewhere at their pleasure, there to barter and sell the same. But those wares that shalbe needfull for our Treasurie, they shall not hide from vs in any case.

And when our Chancellours shall send our aduenture, with the said Marchants or their Fac-

tors, they to take our aduentures with them, and to sell, & to barter for such wares as shalbe meete for our Treasurie, and to returne it into our Treasurie.

And when we shall sende any aduenture into England then our Chauncellour to giue them a yeeres warning, that their ships may be prouided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behind them.

And to take our aduenture yeerely when they goe into Persia.

Neither shall the English marchants receiue or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor sell it in any wise: likewise our people not to barter for the sayd English marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they shall come into our Empire of Casan and Astracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Casan and Astracan, and our authorised people, quietly to let them passe, not taking any toll or custome of their wares, nor once to make search thereof.

And when we shal send no aduenture with them, yet to suffer them freely to passe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of custome. And whatsoeuer English marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the same at their pleasure.

And whatsoeuer their Marchant or Factors will sell their wares at their house at Mosco, which house I granted them at S. Maxims at the Mosco, they to sell the ware to our people, either strangers as they may best vtter it, keeping within their house, arshines, measures, and waights vnder seales.

4 We haue granted them the saide house at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without standing rent, as heretofore we did grant it the said English Marchants, sir Wil. Garrard, and the Company, maintayning in the said house one housekeeper a Russe, and two Russe seruants, or some of their owne countrey men, and none other Russes besides the aforesayde. And the said housekeepers that shall liue at their house with the English marchants, neither to buy nor sel any wares for them, but that the said marchants themselues or their factors, shall buy, sell, and barter their owne wares: and our Moscouie marchants not to take the said Englishmens wares to sell them in our townes, nor to buy any wares for them, neither the English marchant to colour any Russes wares at any towne.

5 And whatsoeuer English marchant will sell his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Castran, Nouogorod the lower, Casan, Astracan, Nouogrod the great, Vopsko, the Narue, Vriagored, or at any other townes, they to sel their wares there at their pleasure: And of all wares aswell of other countreis as of Russia, no officer or other to take any custome, neither in any place to stay them in any wise, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatsoeuer.

6 And whatsoeuer marchant shall bargaine or buy any wares of English marchants: The said Russe not to returne those wares vpon the marchants hands againe, but to giue ready money for the said wares, otherwise they to craue the Iustice to giue right, and to execute the lawe vpon the same with all expedition. And when the English marchants or factors shal trauaile from Moscouie after the dispatch of their wares and businesse, then to shew themselues vnto our Chancellours, whatsoeuer wares of theirs shall goe from Mosco, they not to shew the same wares to any our officers, nor pay no custome nor toll in any place.

7 If it so happen the English marchants haue any wracke, and the shippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the said goods to be enquired and sought out, and to be giuen to the English merchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, seruants, or deputies, of the Company aforesayd, to whom we haue granted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of the English merchants, factors, seruants, or deputies to be in our Countreis at such time, then we wil all the said goods to be sought out and bestowed in some conuenient place, and when any of the Company aforewritten, bringing these our letters, shall come for their goods, we to command their goods to be restored vnto them.

8 Likewise wee haue graunted leaue to the English merchants, their Gouernours, Consuls, and assistants, namely, sir William Garrard knight, Rowland Haward, and to the Companie, to

to builde houses at Vologda, Colmogro, and the seaside, at Iuangorod, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as shall be needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the said house one housekeeper, a Russe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the said houses, making sale thereof to whom they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the said house keeper not to buy or sell for them.

9 Also we haue giuen and graunted to the English Merchants, their house which they haue by our goodnesse at S. Maximes in the Zenopski, and other their houses in the towne of Zenopski, made for the better assurance of their goods, and all such as they shall set vp hereafter shal be of the ‖ Opressini, and will make them knowen to all them of Opressini. ‖ Or, chosen side.

10 And whereas by our goodnes we haue granted them a Ropehouse at Vologda, being farre from the English Merchants house, now we haue giuen them to build a house for that vse by the said English house, and haue giuen and graunted them (of our goodnesse) ground, one hundreth and fourescore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne request.

11 Also we haue of our goodnesse giuen and graunted to the English Merchants, leaue to buy them a house at Wichida, and there to search out mines of yron. And where they shal happily find it, there to set vp houses for the making of the same yron: and to make the same, of our goodnesse haue graunted them woods, fiue or sixe miles compasse about the sayd houses, to the making of the sayd yron, and not to exceede these bounds and limits: And where they shall cut the sayde wood, not to set vp any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and so freely occupying the said yron in these our Dominions, transporting also of the same home into Englande, allowing for euery pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the said yron shalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the said yron to our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treasurie for the same: And when the said English Merchants or Factors shal send their owne people out of our Realme into their Countrey, ouer land through any Countrey whatsoeuer, freely to send the same with our words.

13 Also we of our goodnesse haue graunted, that if any man misuse the said English, the Factors or seruants, or the saide English Merchants, their Factors or seruants abuse any other at Moscouie, or any other out townes whatsoeuer within our Dominions in trade of Marchandise or otherwise, then they to haue vpright iustice in all such matters of our counsaile the Opressini without all let or delay: But if our Iustice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whose lotte it shall fall, to him the right to be giuen, and that only our counsaile at Moscouie, and none of our Captaines, or authorised people, or officers in any other our townes, giue iudgement vpon the said English Merchants for any thing.

14 Also, if any stranger shall haue matter of controuersie with any English Merchant, Factor or seruant, abiding within these our Realmes, or contrariwise any English Merchant, Factor or seruant, against any other stranger, in all those causes our Counsaile of the Opressini, to giue them Iustice, and to make an agreement & end betweene the parties, without all delay: And none to deale therein, saue our Counsaile of the Opressini. 15 And if any man haue action against any English Merchant being absent, that then in his absence it shalbe lawfull for any other Englishman at his assignation to answere his cause.

16 If any Englishman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Russe or stranger slaine or beaten, 17 Or any stollen goods to be found in the said English houses, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie persons to be sought out, and to doe right and Iustice in the cause, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deserue punishment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence: That the said English Merchants, factors and seruant, sustaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatsoeuer English Marchant, Factor, seruant, or deputie, shalbe guilty of any fault, deseruing our displeasure, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie partie to goe vnder sueties, and their goods to be sealed and kept, vntill our pleasure be further knowen, and our Counsaile to examine their offence, and so to report it vnto vs, that we may command what shall

be done therein, and none other to be arrested or haue their goods sealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to stay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the same.

19 If any English Marchant, Factor or seruant shall offend, it shalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe iustice vpon the said partie, or to send him home into England at his pleasure.

20 If any English Marchant, Factor or seruant, haue lent or hereafter shall lende money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and so depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt be due to be payde, then our people and Marchants to paye the sayde debt, to whom soeuer shall be appointed to the sayd roome or charge, and the saide English Marchant, factor, or seruant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counsell, to shewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counsel to command the debt to be discharged vnto the English Marchant, factor, or seruant, without delay.

21 And whatsoeuer English Marchant shall be arrested for debt, then our Counsell to command the partie vnder arrest to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no suertie, to binde the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Englishman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to cast him in prison, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, lest the officer lose him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the English Marchants to send our Commission to all our Townes, Captaines, and authorised men, to defende and garde the said Marchants from all theeues, robbers, and euill disposed persons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Marchants, the factors, or seruants be spoyled on the sea, our Counsell shall send our letters, and will them to be sought out, and where they shall finde the goods, cause it to be restored againe, and the offender to be punished, according to our commandement.

24 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the saide Merchants to take vp Brokers, Packers, Wayers, and such like labourers, as shall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the labourers and they shall agree.

25 We likewise of our goodnes, haue licensed the English Marchants in our Townes of Mosco, Nouegorod the great, and Plesko, that the Coiners of the said Townes shall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without custome, allowing for coales, and other necessaries, with the workemanship.

26 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted to the sayd English Merchants, to take poste horse at needfull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not else, in no case hindering or diminishing our treasurie.

27 Also for our sister Queene Elizabeths sake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their successors, that no Englishman, nor any other stranger, come without the Queenes leaue to Colmogorode, the riuer of Vob, Vasiagy, Pechora, Cola, Mezena, Pechingo, Zeleuetskyes Island, the riuer of Shame, nor to no other hauen of Dwina, nor to any part of the northside of Dwina, by hetherward of Wardhouse, to any hauen, with shippe, Busse, or any other vessell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but only the said English companie, and their successors, to whom we of our goodnes haue granted this priuiledge.

28 Also that no English Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, shall come with any wares, to the Narue, or Vriogorod.

29 And whatsoeuer English Merchant, stranger, or other, of whatsoeuer Countrey he be, shall come with any shippe, Busse, or any other vessel, to any of the said hauens, of the north side, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narue, or Vriogorod, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the company aboue written, we to apprehende and take the same vessell from those strangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the company of English Merchants.

30 Also of our goodnes we haue granted the said company of English merchants, that no English merchants or strangers shall passe through our dominions, to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday,

Charday, or other Countreys, saue onely the company of English merchants, and our owne messengers.

31 Also whatsoeuer Englishman, comming out of England or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leaue, and knowledge, not being of the sayd company, written within those our letters, mind, and purpose, to abide in our realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleasure, or any way abuse himselfe, the Agent shall freely send him home, to the Queene his Soueraigne: which if the Agent of himselfe be vnable to do, let him pray for ayd of the captaines and officers of our townes there being, and so send him to prison, and will the sayd captaines not to hinder the sayd Agent from sending home such euill persons into England.

32 And if any man within our countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the English merchants and factours, to haue free libertie to apprehend him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our priuilege giuen to Thomas Glouer, Ralfe Rutter, Christopher Bennet, Iohn Chappell, and their adherents, we haue commanded the same priuileges to be taken from them.

34 Also we of our goodnesse haue granted the sayd company of English merchants, their successours, seruants and deputies, that doe or shall remaine at Mosco, or elsewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne law: and in any wise none of ours to force them to our law or faith against their will.

Moreouer, besides and with the company of English merchants, we permit all strangers, to trade to our towne of Narue, Iuanogorod, & other our townes of Liefland, as they haue done beforetime. Giuen from the beginning of the world 7077, in the moneth of Iune 20, Indiction 12, the yere of our lordship and reign 35, and of our Empire of Rusland 23, Cazan 17, Astracan 15.

Other speciall grants by his Maiesties priuate letters at the sute of M. Randolfe Ambassadour.

REleasement out of prison of Fitzherbert, that was accused for writing of letters against the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to Thomas Greene that was accused and troubled vpon suspition of his dealing with the Ambassadour, and licence giuen to him to trafficke as he was accustomed.

Andrew Atherton and his sureties released at the Narue and his seruant at the Mosco, that were in trouble for sending the merchants letters into England.

A letter granted to Thomas Southam to the Councell, for iustice against them that stole the pearles.

His Maiesties fauor promised to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can best deserue.

A letter to the merchants that went into Persia, to passe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as also letters of fauour to the great Shaugh of Persia.

A grant vnto the company that at what time soeuer they send to the discouery of Cataya, they shalbe licenced to repaire vnto this countrey, and haue such conducts and guides, mariners, vessels, men and victuals as they shall stand in need of.

It is also promised by Knez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any English man complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffike or otherwise go about to discredit the worshipfull company, and their doings, that therein they shall not be heard, and the doers to be punished, as in such cases they shalbe iudged to haue deserued.

Certaine persons granted to be sent home into England that serued the company, and were practisers against them in that countrey.

A Commission

A Commission giuen by vs Thomas Randolfe Ambassadour for the Queenes Maiestie in Russia, and Thomas Bannister, & c. vnto Iames Bassendine, Iames Woodcocke and Richard Browne, the which Bassendine, Woodcocke, and Browne we appoint ioyntly together, and aiders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of discouery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for searching of the sea, and border of the coast, from the riuer Pechora, to the Eastwards, as hereafter followeth Anno 1588. The first of August.

INprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you shall at the beginning of the yere (assoone as you possibly may) make your repaire to the Easterne part of the riuer Pechora, where is an Island called Dolgoieue, and from thence you shall passe to the Eastwards alongst by the Sea coast of Hugorie, or the maine land of Pechora, and sailing alongst by the same coast, you shall passe within seuen leagues of the Island Vaigats, which is in the straight, almost halfe way from the coast of Hugorie, vnto the coast of Noua Zembla, which Island Vaigats and Noua Zembla you shall finde noted in your plat, therefore you shall not need to discouer it: but proceed on alongst the coast of Hugory, towards the riuer Obba.

Cara Reca. Normui Reca.

There is a Bay betweene the sayd Vaigats, and the riuer Obba, that doth bite to the Southwards, into the land of Hugory, in which Bay are two small riuers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Naramsy, as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith may appeare: in the which Bay you shall not need to spend any time for searching of it, but to direct your course to the riuer Ob (if otherwise you be not constrained to keepe alongst the shore) and when you come to the riuer Ob you shall not enter into it, but passe ouer vnto the Easterne part of the mouth of the sayd riuer.

And when you are at the Easterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you shall from thence passe to the Eastwards, alongst by the border of the sayd coast, describing the same in such perfect order as you can best do it. You shall not leaue the sayd coast or border of the land, but passe alongst by it, at least in sight of the same, vntill you haue sailed by it so farre to the Eastwards and the time of the yeere so farre spent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be 300 or 400 leagues to the Eastwards of the Ob, if the Sea doe reach so farre as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the said coast and sea to trend so farre to the Eastwards, yet you shall not leaue the coast at any time, but proceed alongst by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnsearched, or seene, vnlesse it be some bay, or riuer, that you doe certeinly know by the report of the people, that you shall finde in those borders, or els some certeine tokens whereby you of your selues may iudge it to be so. For our hope is that the said border of land and sea doth in short space after you passe the Ob, incline East, and so to the Southwards. And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your starreboord side, as you proceed in your discouery, to be left vndiscouered.

But and if the said border of land do not incline so to the Eastwards as we presuppose it, but that it doe proue to incline and trend to the Northwards, and so ioyne with Noua Zembla, making the sea from Vaigats to the Eastwards but a bay: yet we will that you do keepe alongst by the said coast, and so bring vs certaine report of that forme and maner of the same bay.

And if it doe so proue to be a bay, and that you haue passed round about the same, and so by the trending of the land come backe vnto that part of Noua Zembla that is against Vaigats whereas you may from that see the said Island Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you shall from thence passe alongst by the said border and coast of Noua Zembla to the Westwards, and so to search whether that part of Noua Zembla doe ioyne with the land that Sir Hugh Willoughbie discouered in anno 53, and is in 72 degrees, and from that part of Noua Zembla 120 leagues to the Westwards, as your plat doeth shew it vnto you: and if you doe finde that land to ioyne with Noua Zembla, when you come to it, you shall proceed further along the same coast, if the time of the yere will permit it, and that you doe thinke

there

there will be sufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to Winter either at Pechora or in Russia, at your discretion: for we refer the same to your good iudgements, trusting that you will lose no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20 of Aguust, 56 yer the Serchthrift began to returne backe from her discouerie, to Winter in Russia, and then she came from the Island Vaigats, being forcibly driuen from thence with an Easterly winde and yce, and so she came into the riuer Dwina, and arriued at Colmogro the 11 of September, 56. If the yce had not bene so much that yere as it was in the Streights, on both sides of the Island Vaigats, they in the said pinnesse would that yere haue discouered the parts that you are now sent to seeke: which thing (if it had pleased God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reserued it for some other. Which discouerie, if it may be made by you, it shall not only proue profitable vnto you, but it will also purchase perpetuall fame and renowme both to you and our countrey. And thus not doubting of your willing desires, and forwardnesse towards the same, we pray God to blesse you with a lucky beginning, fortunate successe, and happily to end the same. Amen.

Necessarie notes to be obserued, and followed in your discouerie, as hereafter followeth.

WHen your barke with all furniture and necessaries shall be in readinesse for you to depart to the sea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you shall from thence, euen as timely in the spring as the yce will permit you, saile, & make all expedition that may be, vnto the mouth of the riuer Pechora (as your commission doth leade you) and as you passe by the coast all alongst (notwithstanding the plat that sheweth you the description of the said coast, from Dwina vnto Vaigats) yet you shall seeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the same plat, vsing as many observations, as you possibly can do: and these notes following are to be obserued by you principally.

1 First, that you do obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possibly do it, noting diligently the place where you do so obserue the same.

2 Also that you doe diligently set with your compasse, how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongst as you goe, and to vse your iudgements how farre there may be betweene ech of them.

3 Item, that you do alwayes vse to draw the proportion and biting of the land, aswell the lying out of the points, and headlands, vnto the which you shall giue some apt names (at your discretion) as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme, and border of the same, where the high cliffes are, and where low land is, whether sandy hilles, or whatsoeuer: omit not to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any purpose.

4 In passing along by any coast, that you keepe your lead going often times, and sound at the least once euery glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doth serue, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the ground, and at euery time, how farre the same sounding may be from the next shore to it: and how the next point or headland doth beare from you. And in the sea after you set off from your port, you shall orderly at the end of euery foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what ground, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could find no ground.

5 Also that you do diligently obserue the flowing, & ebbing in euery place, and how the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in euery place, and what force the same tide hath to driue a ship in an houre, as neere as you can iudge it.

6 Also that you doe seeke to obserue with the instrument which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at Rose Island, the true platformes, and distances, in as many places as conueniently you may, for it serueth very aptly your purpose.

7 Also that you take with you paper and ynke, and keepe a continuall iournall or remembrance day by day, of all such things as shall fall out worth the knowledge, not forgetting or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8 These orders if you shall diligently obserue, it will be easie for you to make a plat and perfect description of your discouery, and so shall your notes be sufficient to answere that which is looked for at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as many things as you can learne and vnderstand by the report of any people whatsoeuer they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verse, written by Master George Turberuile out of Moscouia, which went as Secretarie thither with Master Tho. Randolph, her Maiesties Ambassadour to the Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in London, describing the maners of the Countrey and people.

To his especiall friend Master Edward Dancie.

My Dancie deare, when I recount within my brest,
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee aboue the rest:
I feele a thousand fits of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to sea, from blisse to bale did go.
I left my natiue soile, full like a retchlesse man,
And vnacquainted of the coast, among the Russes ran:
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fit to be of Bacchus traine, so quaffing is their kinde.
Drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,
The sobrest head doth once a day stand needfull of a guide.
If he to banket bid his friends, he will not shrinke
On them at dinner to bestow a douzen kindes of drinke:
Such licour as they haue, and as the countrey giues,
But chiefly two, one called Kuas, whereby the Mousike liues.
Small ware and waterlike, but somewhat tart in taste,
The rest is Mead of honie made, wherewith their lips they baste.
And if he goe vnto his neighbour as a guest,
He cares for litle meate, if so his drinke be of the best.
No wonder though they vse such vile and beastly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefest gods be made.
Their Idoles haue their hearts, on God they neuer call,
Vnlesse it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs against the wall.
The house that hath no god, or painted Saint within,
Is not to be resorted to, that roofe is full of sinne.
Besides their priuate gods, in open places stand
Their crosses vnto which they crooche, and blesse themselues with hand.
Deuoutly downe they ducke, with forehead to the ground,
Was neuer more deceit in ragges, and greasie garments found.
Almost the meanest man in all the countrey rides,
The woman eke, against our vse, her trotting horse bestrides.
In sundry colours they both men and women goe,
In buskins all, that money haue on buskins to bestoe.
Ech woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of ancient vse, and some of very pride doe weare.
Their gate is very braue, their countenance wise and sadde,
And yet they follow fleshly lustes, their trade of liuing badde.
It is no shame at all accompted to defile
Anothers bedde, they make no care their follies to concile,
Is not the meanest man in all the land but hee,
To buy her painted colours doeth allow his wife a fee,

Wherewith

Wherewith she deckes her selfe, and dies her tawnie skinne,
She pranks and paints her smoakie face, both brow, lip, cheeke, & chinne.
Yea those that honest are, if any such there bee
Within the land, doe vse the like: a man may plainely see
Vpon some womens cheekes the painting how it lies,
In plaister sort, for that too thicke her face the harlot dies.
But such as skilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By dayly practise doe it well, yea sure they doe exceede.
They lay their colours so, as he that is full wise,
May easly be deceiu'd therein, if he doe trust his eyes.
I not a little muse, what madnesse makes them paint
Their faces, waying how they keepe the stoone by meere constraint.
For seldome when, vnlesse on Church or marriage day
A man shall see the Dames abroade, that are of best aray.
The Russie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And so he mewes her to be sure, she lye by no mans side.
Thus much, friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Russia land, what men and women bee.
Hereafter I perhaps of other things will write
To thee and other of my friends, which I shall see with sight:
And other stuffe besides, which true report shall tell,
Meane while I end my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I should now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer might'st a foule rebuke, and shame impute to mee.
For I to open shew did loue thee passing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whom I loathde to bid farewell.
And as I went thy friend, so I continue still,
No better proofe thou canst then this desire of true good will.
I doe remember well when needes I should away,
And that the Poste would licence vs, no longer time to stay:
Thou wrongst me by the fist, and holding fast my hand,
Didst craue of me to send thee newes, and how I liked the land.
It is a sandie soile, no very fruitfull vaine,
More waste and wooddie grounds there are, then closes fit for graine.
Yet graine there growing is, which they vntimely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they mowe it on a stacke.
And laying sheafe by sheafe, their haruest so they dry,
They make the greater haste, for feare the frost the corne destroy.
For in the winter time, so glarie is the ground,
As neither grasse, nor other graine, in pastures may be found.
In coms the cattell then, the sheepe, the colt, the cowe,
Fast by his bed the Mowsike then a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feeds, and holds as deere as life:
And thus they weare the winter with the Mowsike and his wife.
Seuen months the Winter dures, the glare it is so great,
As it is May before he turne his ground to sowe his wheate.
The bodies eke that die vnburied lie they then,
Laid vp in coffins made of firre, as well the poorest men,
As those of greater state: the cause is lightly found,
For that in Winter time, they cannot come to breake the ground.

And wood so plenteous is, quite throughout all the land,
As rich, and poore, at time of death assurd of coffins stand.
Perhaps thou musest much, how this may stand with reason,
That bodies dead can vncorrupt abide so long a season.
Take this for certaine trothe, as soone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the body binds as hard as any stone,
Without offence at all to any liuing thing:
And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of Spring.
Their beasts be like to ours, as farre as I can see
For shape, and shewe, but somewhat lesse of bulke, and bone they be.
Of watrish taste, the flesh not firme, like English beefe,
And yet it seru's them very well, and is a good releefe:
Their sheep are very small, sharpe singled, handfull long,
Great store of fowle on sea and land, the moorish reedes among.
The greatnes of the store doeth make the prices lesse,
Besides in all the land they know not how good meate to dresse.
They vse neither broach nor spit, but when the stoue they heate,
They put their victuals in a pan, and so they bake their meate.
No pewter to be had, no dishes but of wood,
No vse of trenchers, cups cut out of birche are very good.
They vse but wooden spoones, which hanging in a case
Eache Mowsike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no disgrace.
With whitles two or three, the better man the moe,
The chiefest Russies in the land, with spoone and knines doe goe.
Their houses are not huge of building, but they say,
They plant them in the loftiest ground, to shift the snow away,
Which in the Winter time, eache where full thicke doth lie:
Which makes them haue the more desire, to set their houses hie.
No stone worke is in vse, their roofes of rafters bee,
One linked in another fast, their wals are all of tree.
Of masts both long, and large, with mosse put in betweene,
To keepe the force of weather out, I neuer earst haue seene
A grosse deuise so good, and on the roofe they lay
The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and sudden showres away.
In euery roome a stoue, to serue the Winter turne,
Of wood they haue sufficient store, as much as they can burne.
They haue no English glasse, of slices of a rocke
Hight Sluda they their windowes make, that English glasse doth mocke.
They cut it very thinne, and sow it with a thred
In pretie order like to panes, to serue their present need.
No other glasse, good faith doth giue a better light:
And sure the rocke is nothing rich, the cost is very slight.
The chiefest place is that, where hangs the god by it,
The owner of the house himselfe doth neuer sit,
Unlesse his better come, to whom he yealds the seat:
The stranger bending to the god, the ground with brow must beat.
And in that very place which they most sacred deeme,
The stranger lies: a token that his guest he doth esteeme.
Where he is wont to haue a beares skinne for his bed,
And must, in stead of pillow, clap his saddle to his head.
In Russia other shift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good, the boalsters are but bad.

I mused

I mused very much, what made them so to lie,
Sith in their countrey Downe is rife, and feathers out of crie:
Vnlesse it be because the countrey is so hard,
They feare by nicenesse of a bed their bodies would be mard,
I wisht thee oft with vs, saue that I stood in feare
Thou wouldst haue loathed to haue layd thy limmes vpon a beare,
As I and Stafford did, that was my mate in bed:
And yet (we thanke the God of heauen) we both right well haue sped.
Loe thus I make an ende: none other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people beastly bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but here and there,
For if I should, my penne would pinch, and eke offend I feare.
Who so shall read this verse, coniecture of the rest,
And thinke by reason of our trade, that I do thinke the best.
But if no traffique were, then could I boldly pen
The hardnesse of the soile, and eke the maners of the men.
They say the Lions paw giues iudgement of the beast:
And so may you deeme of the great, by reading of the least.

To Parker.

MY Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, haue leisure to indite:
Wherefore, respecting these, and thine assured loue,
If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'st my pen reproue.
And sithence fortune thus hath shou'd my shippe on shore:
And made me seeke another Realme vnseene of me before:
The maners of the men I purpose to declare,
And other priuate points besides, which strange and geazon are.
The Russie men are round of bodies, fully fac'd,
The greatest part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the waste,
Flat headed for the most, with faces nothing faire,
But browne, by reason of the stoue, and closenesse of the aire:
It is their common vse to shaue or els to sheare
Their heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
Vnlesse perhaps he haue his souereigne prince displeas'd,
For then he neuer cuts his haire, vntill he be appeas'd.
A certaine signe to know who in displeasure be,
For euery man that viewes his head, will say, Loe this is he.
And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendship show.
Their garments be not gay, nor handsome to the eye,
A cap aloft their heads they haue, that standeth very hie,
Which Colpack they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
The best haue collers set with pearle, which they Rubasca call.
Their shirts in Russie long, they worke them downe before,
And on the sleeues with coloured Silks, two inches good and more.
Aloft their shirts they weare a garment iacket wise
Hight Onoriadka, and about his burlie waste he tyes
His portkies, which in stead of better breeches be:
Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to see.
A paire of yarnen stocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Russie weares, the heeles they vnderlay

With clouting clamps of steele, sharpe pointed at the toes,
And ouer all a Shuba furd, and thus the Russe goes.
Well butned is the Shube, according to his state,
Some Silke, of Siluer other some: but those of poorest rate
Do weare no Shubs at all, but grosser gownes to sight,
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
These are the Russies robes. The richest vse to ride
From place to place, his seruant runnes, and followes by his side.
The Cassacke beares his felt, to force away the raine:
Their bridles are not very braue, their saddles are but plaine.
No bits but snaffles all, of birch their saddles be,
Much fashioned like the Scottish seates, broad flakes to keepe the knee
From sweating of the horse, the pannels larger farre
And broader be then ours, they vse short stirrups for the warre:
For when the Russie is pursued by cruel foe,
He rides away, and suddenly betakes him to his boe,
And bends me but about in saddle as he sits,
And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.
Their bowes are very short, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of sinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight.
Small arrowes, cruell heads, that fell and forked bee,
Which being shot from out those bowes, a cruel way will flee.
They seldome vse to shoo their horse, vnlesse they ride
In post vpon the frozen flouds, then cause they shall not slide,
He sets a slender calke, and so he rides his way.
The horses of the countrey go good fourescore versts a day,
And all without the spurre, once pricke them and they skippe,
But goe not forward on their way, the Russie hath his whippe
To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all booted bee,
Yet shall you not a paire of spurres in all the countrey see.
The common game is chesse, almost the simplest will
Both giue a checke and eke a mate, by practise comes their skill.
Againe they dice as fast, the poorest rogues of all
Will sit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall.
Their dice are very small, in fashion like to those
Which we doe vse, he takes them vp, and ouer thumbe he throwes
Not shaking them a whit, they cast suspiciously,
And yet I deeme them voyd of art that dicing most apply.
At play when Siluer lacks, goes saddle, horse and all,
And eche thing els worth Siluer walkes, although the price be small.
Because thou louest to play friend Parker other while,
I wish thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.
But thou weart better farre at home, I wist it well,
And wouldest be loath among such lowts so long a time to dwell.
Then iudge of vs thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
That neere the frozen pole to waste our weary dayes were glad.
In such a sauage soile, where lawes do beare no sway,
But all is at the king his will, to saue or else to slay.
And that sans cause, God wot, if so his minde be such.
But what meane I with Kings to deale? we ought no Saints to touch.
Conceiue the rest your selfe, and deeme what liues they lead,
Where lust is Lawe, and Subiects liue continually in dread.

And

And where the best estates haue none assurance good
Of lands, of liues, nor nothing falles vnto the next of blood.
But all of custome doeth vnto the prince redowne,
And all the whole reuenue comes vnto the King his crowne.
Good faith I see thee muse at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleasure bow.
So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembrest well,
And what his fortune was at last, I know thy selfe canst tell.
Where will in Common weale doth beare the onely sway,
And lust is Lawe, the prince and Realme must needs in time decay.
The strangenesse of the place is such for sundry things I see,
As if I woulde I cannot write ech priuate point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince so full of pride,
The Realme so stored with Monks and nunnes, and priests on euery side:
The maners are so Turkie like, the men so full of guile,
The women wanton, Temples stuft with idols that defile
The Seats that sacred ought to be, the customes are so quaint,
As if I would describe the whole, I feare my pen would faint.
In summe, I say I neuer saw a prince that so did raigne,
Nor people so beset with Saints, yet all but vile and vaine.
Wilde Irish are as ciuill as the Russies in their kinde,
Hard choice which is the best of both, ech bloody, rude and blinde.
If thou bee wise, as wise thou art, and wilt be ruld by me,
Liue still at home, and couet not those barbarous coasts to see.
No good befalles a man that seeks, and findes no better place,
No ciuill customes to be learnd, where God bestowes no grace.
And truely ill they do deserue to be belou'd of God,
That neither loue nor stand in awe of his assured rod:
Which though be long, yet plagues at last the vile and beastly sort
Of sinfull wights, that all in vice do place their chiefest sport.
A dieu friend Parker, if thou list, to know the Russes well,
To Sigismundus booke repaire, who all the trueth can tell:
For he long earst in message went vnto that sauage King.
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech respect did bring,
To him I recommend my selfe, to ease my penne of paine,
And now at last do wish thee well, and bid farewell againe.

The fourth voyage into Persia, made by M. Arthur Edwards Agent, Iohn Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet, and Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568. declared in this letter written from Casbin in Persia by the foresaide Laurence Chapman to a worshipfull merchant of the companie of Russia in London. Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

WOrshipfull sir, my duetie alwayes remembred, and your prosperous health, and good successe in all your affaires wished, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts desire, &c. May it please you to vnderstand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards and we departed from Yeraslaue in Iuly 1568. and the 14. of August arriued at our port called Bilbil, with your ship the Grace of God, and the goods in her in good safetie, God bee thanked for it, finding there neither the people so ready to ayd vs for the bringing of her in, & vnlading of the goods, nor yet so obedient to the Shaughs priuilege, as the worshipfull company haue bene informed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open & sel as they would set the price, or otherwise it would haue bene worse for vs. Being so satisfied to their contentment, we were speedily aided with camels by the prince Erasbec Sultan his appointment, to carry our goods to Shamaki, to which place we attained the first of September, finding it

Their arriuall at Bilbil the 14. of August 1568.

Prince Erasbec.

so throughly furnished with all maner of commodities by occasion of our late comming, and by such as came before vs, that no man would aske to buy any one piece of karsie of vs, and lying then the space of one whole moneth before your Agent Arthur Edwards would disperse vs abroade with the goods, such as came out of Russia afterwardes, had brought their goods to that and other places, and spoyled those sales wee might haue made, being sent abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worshipfull, as also great griefe vnto vs to see. To conclude, through our dayly calling vpon him, he bent himselfe for Casbin, taking with him the greatest summe of the goods, and two of the worshipfuls seruants, to witte, Iohn Sparke and my selfe, to helpe and procure the better sale for the same: and leauing at Shamaki Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karsies in their handes, supposed to be solde there or in Arrash before hee should be able to make his returne from Casbin, which, so farre foorth as I can vnderstand, lie for the greatest part vnsolde. And being vpon our way, at a certaine towne called Ardouil, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karsies with those merchants for fourescore and foure batemans of cynamom, selling the karsies at one hundred and fiftie shawghs the piece.

Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.

And being at that present not farre from Teueris, called the principal place in this countrey for vttering of cloth or karsies, by much intreatie I perswaded your Agent to send thither to prooue what might be done, and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karsies, as also his commission for the sale of the same, I proceeded on that voyage my selfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great store of broad cloth and karsies brought thither, some part by the Turkes who be resident there, some by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and some by the townesmen, who trauell vnto Venice and there buy them, so that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and fourtie shawghs for a karsie: and hauing speciall commission and charge from your Agent not to stay there aboue the space of seuen dayes after my arriuall there, but to repaire to Casbin with all speed, and furthermore, hauing regard to keepe vp the price of the worshipfuls commodities, according to their desire, I found meanes to barter them away for spices, such as were there to be had, neither in goodnesse nor yet in price to my content: neuertheless, considering the colde sales which were there, as well for your karsies, as also the hot newes, that Ormuz way was shut vp by occasion that the Indians do warre against them, which is true in deed: and againe the desire that the worshipfull hath to haue such commodities bought, I thought it necessary to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my accompt sent to the worshipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole summe of spices bought at this time.

Warre against the Portingals at Ormus.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of Grozin, who was not a litle desirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karsies for his master called Leuontie, and offering me so good bands for the paiment of the money or silke to the merchants cotentment vpon the deliuery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had: and offering me besides his owne letter in the behalfe of his master, that no custome should be demanded for the same, and the obtaining also at his masters hand as large a priuiledge for the worshipful to trauel into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had giuen them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians also, and that he was a Christian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and sold him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threescore shawghs a piece, to be paid to the merchant in Grozin either in money or silke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliuerie of the karsies there, hauing a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the same, which is as sure as any here is to be deuised: and vpon the same I sent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamaki, with such goods as I bought at Teueris, and to the end hee might cause the worshipfuls seruants there to see this bargen accomplished. At whose arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the Captaine would not accomplish his bargen to take them, but saith, hee hath no need of them: such is the constancie of all men in this countrey, with whomsoeuer you shal bargen. If the ware be bought, and they doe mislike it afterwards, they will bring

The gouernour of Grozin his Merchant.

it

it againe, and compel you to deliuer the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifesteth the contrary, as a straw in the winde: by meanes whereof, the worshipfull may know whether all be true that hath bene written of this country people or not.

The generall inconuenience the merchants and dealers of those parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teueris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no such store of spices as the worshipfull doeth looke for, that here will bee put a way in Teueris, some for money, and other some for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karsies, being in coulers and goodnesse to the examples here sent you, the rest of the karsies to make them vp a thousand, and broad clothes to the summe of a hundred, bee as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, so farre as yet I can perceiue.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not possible, vnlesse the worshipful will finde some meanes to receiue of them yerely to the number of 100. catters or mules lading, and deliuer them for the same one third part money, the rest cloth and karsies fitted in coulers meete for this countrey: the examples, as abouesaid, are sent vnto you.

The trade betweene the Venetians and the Armenians not easily to be broken.

At Amadia sixe dayes iourney from Teueris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought vp yerely by the Venetians, and be solde there for two bistes the Teueris bateman, which as your Agent here saith, maketh sixe pound English weight, but I doubt it wil not so be proued. Neuerthelesse it is supposed much good will bee done by buying of them: which might at this present haue partly bene proued, if so be that some could do but halfe that which hath bene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many as well at Teueris, as also in Casbin, but the goodnesse nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places: & the price is so high that smal gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had bene furnished with money, as I might haue bene, if some would, I would haue bought some, to the ende the goodnesse of them might haue bene seene in England. At my comming to Casbin I found no maner of sales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes giuen out (as your Agent saith) that § Shaugh would buy all such commodities as he had, and giue him silke and spices for the same: but by report the Shaugh neuer tooke cloth into his treasurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now begin: his whole trade is in raw silke, which he selleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and such other as vse to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, hee hath driuen off the time, not sending to any other places: by means whereof the worshipfuls goods lie vnsold to this day to their great hinderrance, which I for my part am not a litle sory to see.

Babylon is from hence fifteene dayes iourney, whereas by true report be great store of Dates, and sold for a bisse the batman, the commoditie fit for England, and the place so neere vnto vs might easily haue bene knowen, if hee, whose deeds and sayings differ much, had bene willing to the same. Cassan also is but seuen dayes iourney from hence, & a place by report where most store of spices be at all times to be had, ouer and aboue any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be seen and proued at this time: if this be losse to the worshipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh in words.

Babylon 15 dayes iourney from Casbin.

To trauell in this countrey is not onely miserable and vncomfortable for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refresh men with wholesome victuals in time of need, but also such scarsitie of water, that sometime in three dayes iourney together, is not to be found any drop fit for man or beast to drinke, besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these infidels, who doe account it remission of sinnes to wash their hands in the blood of one of vs. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich Merchant seuen yeeres in this Countrey, as some shall well find at their comming hither.

By commandement of the Agent also I went to Gilan, as well to see what harbor was there for your ship, as also to vnderstand what commoditie is there best sold, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence so dangerous and troublesome, that with my pen I am not

His voyage to Gilan.

not able to note it vnto you: no man trauelleth from hence thither, but such poore people as need constraineth to buy Rice for their reliefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboue twentie bathmans vpon a catter, and it lieth no lower then the skirts of the saddle, and he escapeth very hardly that commeth there with the same.

The towne of Laighon, which was the chiefest place in all that land, haue I seen, and Langro and Rosar also, which be now ouerrun by the Shaugh and his power, and be so spoiled, & the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karsie. The best commoditie there to bee bought, is raw silke, and is sold in the Summer time for 38. shaughs the Laighon batman, which is litle aboue 40. li. waight, and for ready money: also there is to bee had what store of Alom you will, and sold there for one bisse the Teueris batman.

The malice of the Turkish merchants.

In these partes be many Turkie merchants resident, which giue an outward shew, as though they were glad of our comming hither, but secretly they be our mortall enemies, searching by all meanes to hinder our sales, because we should the sooner giue ouer our trade thither, which in processe of time I hope will growe to better perfection. They wish vs to go to Hallape with the rest of our commodities vnsold, where they say we shall haue good intertainment in spight of the great number of Venetians which be there resident, and the custome but two in the hundred, and our karsies to be sold presently, had we neuer so many, for twelue duckets, which maketh of this money 165. shaughs: but by such as know the place, market and custome, it is reported to vs credibly to the contrary, and that such karsies as ours be, are not sold for aboue 8. duckets there: the custome thirtie in the hundred and more, that no place in the world is so well furnished with good cloth and karsies, and of so braue colour as that place is, supposing it to bee craftily purposed of them, to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from.

The price of spices.

The price of spices be these, at this present enhanced by reason ℈ way is shut to Ormus, which when God shall send open, I purpose (God willing) to see, and at my returne to aduertise the worshipfull what benefit is there to be had in all points, so neere as I can learne: Pepper 25. shaughs the Teueris batman: Cloues 50. shaughs, Long pepper 25. shaughs, Maces large 50. shaughs, Ginger 24. shaughs, ready money all, or els looke not vpon them. And the best sort of rawe silke is sold for 60. shaughs the Teueris batman. Thus for want of further matter to inlarge, I ende for this time, beseeching God to preserue you in continuall health.

By your obedient seruant, Lawrence Chapman.

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begun in the moneth of Iuly 1568. gathered by M. Richard Willes from the mouth of Master Arthur Edwards which was Agent in the same.

WHen he came first to the Sophies presence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpreter with him, and standing farre off, the Sophie (sitting in a seat roiall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that thrise, vntill he came so neere him that he might haue touched him with his hād. Then the first demand that he asked him was, from what countrey he came: he answered, that he came from England. Then asked hee of his noble men, who knew any such countrey? But when Edwards saw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble mē said Londro, meaning thereby Londō, which name is better knowen in far countries out of Christendom, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro, he said that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teueris of the chiefe city of Persia. He asked him many things more, as of the realme of England, maruelling that it should be an Island of so great riches and power, as Edwards declared vnto him: of the riches & abundance of our merchandize he further vnderstood by our traffike in Moscouia and other countreis. He demanded also many things of the Queenes maiestie, and of the customes and lawes of the realme: saying oftentimes in his owne language, Bora colla, (that is to say) Well sayd. He asked also many things of king Philip, & of his wars against the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe

Londro. London.

cause

cause of his resort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he asked what kind of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (sayd hee) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the city of Londro send to Venice, & from thence into Turkie by Halepo & Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the second and third hands, with great charges of many customs and other things thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Persia. What merchandize are those? sayd the Sophie. Edwards answered, that they were great abundance of fine karsies, of broad clothes of all sorts & colours, as skarlets, violets, and other of the finest cloth of all the world. Also that the Venetians brought out of England not onely such clothes ready made, but furthermore great plenty of fine woolł to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwise make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that waies, aboue two hundreth thousand karsies, and as many broad clothes, beside fine woolł & other merchandize, beside also the great abundance of like clothes, the which were caried into Spaine, Barbarie, & diuers other countries. The Sophie then asked him by what means such merchandize might be brought into Persia. Right wel sir (said he) by the way of Moscouia, with more safety and in much shorter time then the Venetians can bring them: first from England to Venice, and from thence into Persia by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it shall please your maiestie to grant vs free passage into all your dominions, with such priuileges as may appertaine to the safegard of our liues, goods and merchandize, we will furnish your countries with all such merchandize and other commodities, in shorter time, and better cheape then you may haue the same at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was between the Sophie and Edwards for the space of two houres: all which things liked him so well, that shortly after he granted to the sayd Arthur Edwards other priuileges for the trade of merchandize into Persia, all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great seale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who sayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did sit to seale any letters, that last priuilledge should be sealed & deliuered to Laurence Chapman. In this priuilledge is one principall article for seruants or merchants: That if the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings, they would become Busormen, that then the Agent wheresoeuer he shall find any such seruant or seruants, to take them and put them in prison, and no person to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in respect of a custome among the Persians, being Mahumetans, whose maner is friendly to receiue and wel entertaine, both with gifts and liuing, all such Christians, as forsaking their religion, wil become of the religion of the Persians. Insomuch that before this priuilledge was granted, there was great occasion of naughty seruants to deceiue and rob their masters, that vnder the colour of professing that religion, they might liue among them in such safetie, that you might haue no lawe agaynst them, either to punish them or to recouer your goods at their hands, or elsewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they say to be a maruelous wise and gracious prince) seemed to fauour our nation, and to grant them such priuilledges, the people abused them very much, and so hated them, that they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them Cafars and Gawars, which is, infidels or misbeleeuers. But after they saw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kisse their hands and vse them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare false witnesse against them, and such merchandizes as they had bought or sold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them listed. And if any stranger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one slaine, and for the debts of any strãger would take the goods of any other of the same nation, with many other such like abuses, in maner vnknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made vnto him for reformation of such abuses: which were the cause that no merchant strangers of contrary religiõ durst come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his subiects.

The Venetians traffike in England.

The Articles of the second priuiledge deliuered to Laurence Chapman, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item, that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their first priuiledge, to goe vnto Gilan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occasion shall be giuen.

11 Item, if by misfortune any of their ships should breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the sea coast, his subiects to helpe with all speed to saue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the sayd merchants that liueth: or otherwise to be kept in safetie vntil any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the said merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to see their goods safely kept, and to be deliuered to any other of them that shall demand them.

13 Item, the said merchants to take such camel-men as they themselues wil, being countrey people, and that no Kissell Bash do let or hinder them. And the said owners of the camels to bee bound to answere them such goods as they shal receiue at their hands, and the camel-men to stand to the losses of their camels or horses.

14 Item more, that the sayd Cariers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any Cariers, & haue giuen earnest, the camel-men to see they keepe their promise.

16 Item, if any of the said merchants be in feare to trauel to giue the one or more to go with them and see them in safetie with their goods, to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to say, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his subiects to giue them honest roume, and victuals for their money.

18 Item, the sayd merchants may in any place, where they shall thinke best, build or buy any house or houses to their owne vses. And no person to molest or trouble them, and to stand in any Caruan where they will, or shal thinke good.

THe commodities which the merchants may haue by this trade into Persia are thought to bee great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into the East Indies, forasmuch as by the way of Persia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once: whereas the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage all by sea: for where as the citie and Island of Ormus, lying in the gulfe of Persia, is the most famous Mart towne of all East India, whither al the merchandises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safely be brought by land and riuers through Persia, euen vnto the Caspian sea, and from thence by the countreis of Russia or Moscouia by riuers, euen vnto the citie of Yeraslaue, and from thence by land 180. miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water euen vnto England.

The merchandises which be had out of Persia for the returne of wares are silke of all sortes of colours, both raw and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles & precious stones, likewise carpets of diuers sortes, with diuers other rich merchandises. It was told me of them that came last from Persia, that there is more silke brought into some one city of Persia, then is of cloth brought into the city of London. Also that one village of Armenia named Gilgat doeth carie yeerely fiue hundred, and sometime a thousand mules laden with silke to Halepo in Soria of Turkie, being 4. dayes iourney from Tripoli, where the Venetians haue their continuall abiding, and send from thence silks which they returne for English karsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

The maner how the Christians become Busormen, and forsake their religion.

I Haue noted here before that if any Christian wil become a Busorman, that is, one that hath forsaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they giue him many gifts, and sometime also a liuing. The maner is, that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forsake his faith, he resorteth to the Soltan or gouernor of the towne, to whom hee maketh protestation of his diuelish purpose. The gouernour appointeth him a horse, and one to ride before him on

on another horse, bearing a sword in his hand, and the Busorman bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, cursing his father and mother: and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltie of death, as is signified by the sword borne before him. A yong man, a seruant of one of our merchats, because he would not abide the correction of his master for his faults, was minded to forsake his faith. But (as God would) he fell suddenly sicke and died, before he gaue himselfe to the deuill. If he had become a Busorman, he had greatly troubled the merchants: for if he would then haue said that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuileges, that no Busorman, &c. as there appeareth.

In Persia in diuers places oxen and kine beare the tents and houshold stuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horses.

Of the tree which beareth Bombasin cotton, or Gossampine.

IN Persia is great abundance of Bombasin cotton, & very fine: this groweth on a certaine litle tree or brier, not past the height of a mans waste or litle more: the tree hath a slender stalke like vnto a brier, or to a carnation gilliflowre, with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, containing in it the cotton: and when this bud or cod commeth to the bignes of a walnut, it openeth and sheweth foorth the cotton, which groweth still in bignes vntill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fist, and beginneth to be loose, and then they gather it as it were the ripe fruite. The seeds of these trees are as big as peason, and are blacke, and somewhat flat, and not round: they sowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Persia, and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Persians.

Allthur Edwards shewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, subsigned with the hands both of the Sophy & his Secretarie. The Sophies subscription was onely one word (his name I suppose was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was also written on the same piece of red paper, being long & narow, about ½ length of a foote, and not past three inches broad. The priuate signet of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a roial, onely printed vpon the same paper without any waxe or other seale, the letters seem so mishapen and disordered, that a man would thinke it were somwhat scribled in maner at aduentures. Yet they say that almost euery letter with his pricke or circunflexe signifieth a whole word. Insomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand their writing doeth containe as much as doeth ours almost in a sheet of paper.

The fift voiage into Persia made by M. Thomas Banister, and master Geofrey Ducket, Agents for the Moscouie companie, begun from England in the yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by P. I. from the mouth of M. Lionel Plumtree.

VPon the 3. day of Iuly 1568. they embarked themselues at Yeraslaue, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and some 12. English men more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonauenture of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking also along with them of Russes to the number of 40. for their vse and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Astracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of thieuish and cruel people, made an assault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, some with swords, some with speares, and some others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they discouered to be about 300. men. They for their parts, although they could haue wished a quiet voyage and iourney without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be spoiled with such Barbarians as they were, began to defend themselues against their assault, by meanes whereof a very terrible & fierce fight followed and continued hot & sharpe for two houres, wherein our men so wel plaied their parts with their caliuers, that they forced the Tartars to flee

The English Barke assailed neere Astracan by the Nagaian Tartars.

flee with the losse of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Russe prisoner, which escaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Astracan, at which towne they arriued the 20. of August.

Astracan besieged by 70000. Turkes and Tartars.

In this towne of Astracan they were somwhat hindered of their iourney, and staied the space of sixe weekes by reason of a great army of 70000. Turkes and Tartars which came thither vpon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue surprised it suddenly or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end by reason that the winter approched, as also, because they had receiued newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Russia was in prouiding for the defence of the said place, they were constrained to raise their siege, & to leaue the town as they found it.

Vpon their departure our men had oportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and vsing the occasion, they left Astracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October: from whence they went to Shauaran, where (as they lodged in their tentes) they were greatly molested with strange troopes of sholcaues or foxes, which were so busie with them, that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mighty wilde Bore that was sent vnto them for a present from the gouernour of the countrey.

Hauing staied here some three or foure daies in prouiding of carriages and other necessaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is foure dayes iourney from the aforesayd Shauaran. In this towne of Shamaky their whole company spent out the Winter, and from thence in April folowing they tooke their iourney towards Ardouil a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperours of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried, and so is growen to bee a place of their superstitious deuotion. In this towne of Ardouil they soiourned the space of 5. or 6. moneths, finding some traffique and sales, but to no purpose, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother sought the destruction of the Brother, and the neerest kinsmen rose vp one against another, insomuch that one of their company Lionel Plumtree hath seene in one day sometimes 14. slaine in a garboile. And he being further desirous to see their maner of fight, or rather somewhat more curious to behold, then mistrustful of their blowes, was like to haue borne a share in their bloodie tragedie, being twise wounded with their shot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thamas sent a messenger for our men to come to his presence at Casbin, to whom Thomas Banister failed not to goe, although master Ducket lay very sicke at Ardouil, and in such case that they almost despaired of his recouerie. Hee being come to the Shaugh was receiued and entertained of him with great fauour and speciall countenance, and had the most part of all his requests granted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priuiledge or sufferance to transport and cary through his dominions certaine horses into India, the Shaugh seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time. As for the point of traffique, he could not make that motiō or request that was not so soone granted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himselfe bought there of him many karsies, and made him as good paiment as any man could wish, and oftentimes would send his mony for the wares before the wares were deliuered, that he might be the surer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing somewhat strange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purposed to send a great summe of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, hee would not send any money or coyne of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes, and with good consciences, and was therefore woorthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression and vnhonest meanes, and therefore was not fit to serue for so holie a vse.

After sixe moneths spent in Casbin the sayde Thomas Banister departed towards the great citie

ille of Tauris, where being arriued, he found M. Ducket well recouered of his sicknesse, whom he had left ill at Ardouil.

At this Citie the foresayd Master Ducket made sales of the English commodities, remaining there to that purpose the space of two yeeres and a halfe. And besides other kindes of merchandises of that countrey, he bought great store of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes iourney of the aforesayd Tauris.

After this Thomas Banister departed from Tauris, and went to Shamaky to giue order for the transporting of those commodities which were bought for England. And hauing dispatched them away, he went there hence to Arrash, a towne foure dayes iourney with capels from Shamaky for the buying of rawe silke. But there by reason of the vnwholesomnesse of the aire, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, he with Lawrence Chapman and some other English men vnhappily died: which being knowen of M. Ducket, he immediatly came from Tauris to Arrash, to take possession of the goods, for otherwise by the custome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchant or other friend of his to enter vpon that which he left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithstanding could not bee recouered from the officers which had seized and sealed vp the same, vntill M. Ducket had bene in person with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof. The death of Thomas Banister and Lawrence Chapman.

Lionel Plumtree, in the meane time that M. Ducket was at Casbin in suit for goods, vpon the perswasion of certaine Bogharians, made prouision for a iourney to Cathaia, with carriages and commodities, and hauing all things ready, departed secretly with a Caruaan: but being gone forwards on his way sixe dayes iourny, some fifty horsemen by the procurement of Humfrey Greensell (who afterwards being at Ormus in the East Indies, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquisition by the Portingals) were sent after him in poste from Soltan Erasbee, the Shaughs lieutenant, to fetch him backe againe, not suffering him to passe on so perillous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueniences that might follow. Humfrey Greensell burnt at Ormus.

After this M. Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamaky againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to Cassan, being about foure dayes iourney from Shamaky, and carried with him foure mules laden with mony.

In the way of his trauel he passed through Persepolis, sometime the roiall seate of the Emperors of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remaine to be seene at this day two gates onely that are distant one from the other the space of 12. miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountains and conueiances for fresh water.

The foresaid Cassan is a towne that consisteth altogether of merchandise, and the best trade of all the land is there, being greatly frequented by the merchants of India.

Here our men bought great store of al maner of wrought silkes, and some spices, and good store of Turkie stones.

The towne is much to be commended for the ciuil and good gouernment that is there vsed. An idle person is not suffred to liue amongst them.

The child that is but fiue yeeres old is set to some labour. No ill rule, disorder or riote by gaming or otherwise, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cards is by the law present death.

At this Cashan they remained about the space of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Skamaky, and after some time spent in diuers places of the countrey for buying of rawe silke and other commodities, they came at last to Shauaran againe, where their ship was in harbour, and then they shipt all their goods and embarked themselues also, setting sayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Astracan. By reason of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caspian sea, they beat it vp and downe some 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker vpon the flats, certaine Russe Cassaks, which are outlawes or banished men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with diuers boates vnder the colour of friendship, and entred their ship, but immediately they tooke their hatchets & slew diuers of the Russes that were of the ship vpon the hatches: Whereupon master Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the master, a man of singular valure, and Amos Riall being vnder the

the Spardecke, did so well behaue themselues, that they skowred the hatches, and slew 14. of the Cassaks gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30. more, being of them al in number 150. at the least, armed with caliuers and other weapons fit for so villanous a purpose.

The English ship taken by the Cassaks.

M. Ducket notwithstanding and the rest aforesaid receiued diuers wounds from the enemie, and were so hurt, and withall so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cassaks by rendring the ship into their hands, hauing receiued first their othes sworne by their crucifixes, not to do any further harme to their persons.

Thus the shippe being taken, and all the English grieuously hurt, the Cassaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship boate with two or three Persian targets full of horse flesh and swines flesh, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that case, made the best hast they could to get to Astracan: and being come to the towne, master Ducket made great sute to the captaine to haue men and boates set out for the rescuing and recouering of the ship if it were possible: who immediately sent out his sonne with fortie boates and fiue hundred men to pursue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ship, but by reason of their foolishnes in striking vp their drums before they were come neere them, the Cassaks discouering the boats, cut their gables and put out to sea, whereupon the boats not being able to folow them, returned againe to Astracan. After which, 60. boats more were sent out to pursue them againe the second time: & that second army came to a place where they found many of those Cassaks and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the chests of the ship: all which they recouered againe for the English merchants, to the value of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thousand pound, but all the rest the Cassaks in the ship had caried away.

In the same place they found further diuers of the Cassaks which the Englishmen had slaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt some in fortie or fifty yards of Satfin and Taffataes, and some in Turkie carpets cut & spoiled by those villanous Pirats, of whom afterwards as many as could be taken by the Persians who entirely loued the English merchants, were put to most cruell torments in all places according to their deserts.

But our men being thus spoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Astracan for their better recouerie: & hauing gotten some reasonable strength, they then prouided boates and went vp the riuer of Volga to Cazan, with such goods as they had recouered from the Cassaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraslaue, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where suddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement frost, and therewithall the waters so congeled, that their boates were crushed and cut in sunder with the ice, whereby they sustained both a further danger of life and losse of goods: but as much as they could preserue with much adoe, they conueyed ouer land in sleds to Vologda, and from thence sent much of it to Saint Nicholas to be laden in the ships for England.

For in the beginning of October.

But Master Ducket, Lionel Plumtree and Amos Riall went with some parcels to the Mosko, and there sold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie losse that they had sustained by his owne rebellious people and subiects, bought himselfe as much as hee liked, and payed present money for the same. So that Winter being spent out in Mosko, and such wares prouided by them as serued for England, they departed to Saint Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of August: and hauing endured a very terrible passage in nine weekes and three dayes, with some hardnesse of victuals, contrary and furious
1574. windes, and other sea accidents, they arriued at London in the moneth of October, one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and foure, and so made an ende of an vnfortunate voyage: which if it had pleased God to prosper, that all things had come home as safely as they were carefully prouided, and painfully laboured for, it had proued the richest voiage and most profitable returne of commoditie, that had euer bene vndertaken by English merchants, who, notwithstanding all misfortunes, lost nothing of their principall aduenture, but onely the interest and gaine that might haue risen by the vse of their stocke in the meane time.

Further

Further obseruations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by M. Geffrey Ducket, one of the Agents emploied in the same.

SHamaky is the fairest towne in all Media, and the chiefest commoditie of that countrey is rawe silke, & the greatest plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from Shamaky called Arash: and within 3 dayes iourney of Arash is a countrey named Grosin, whose inhabitants are Christians, & are thought to be they which are otherwise called Georgians: there is also much silke to be sold. The chiefe towne of that countrey is called Zeghan, from whence is caried yeerely into Persia, an incredible quantitie of Hasell nuts, all of one sort and goodnesse, and as good and thin shaled as are our Filberds. Of these are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden. Grosin or Georgia.

Of the name of the Sophy of Persia, & why he is called the Shaugh, and of other customes.

THe king of Persia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there so called, but is called the Shaugh. It were there dangerous to cal him by the name of Sophy, because that Sophy in the Persian tongue, is a begger, & it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is situate in a goodly fertile valley of 3. or 4. dales iourny in length. The towne is but euil builded, and for the most part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but only dried at the sunne, as is the most part of the building of all Persia. The king hath not come out of the compasse of his owne house in 33. or 34. yeeres, whereof the cause is not knowen, but as they say, it is vpon a superstition of certaine prophesies to which they are greatly addicted: he is now about 80. yeeres of age, and very lusty. And to keepe him the more lusty, he hath 4. wiues alwayes, and about 300. concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about brought vnto him, whom he diligently perueseth, feeling them in all parts, taking such as he liketh, and putting away some of them which he hath kept before, & with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth some such as hath done him the best service. And if hee chance to take any mans wife, her husband is very glad thereof, and in recompense of her, oftentimes he grueth the husband one of his old store, whom he thankfully receiueth.

If any stranger being a Christian shall come before him, he must put on a new paire of shooes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entreth, there is digged as it were a causey all the way, vntil he come to the place where he shal talke with the king, who standeth alwayes aboue in a gallerie, when he talketh with any strangers: and when the stranger is departed, then is the causey cast downe, and the ground made euen againe. How strangers are vsed.

Of the religion of the Persians.

THeir religion is all one with the Turkes, sauing that they differ who was the right successor of Mahumet. The Turkes say that it was one Homer and his sonne Vsman. But the Persians say that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would proone in this maner. They say there was a counsell called to decide the matter who should be the successor: and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleasure therein, there came among them a litle Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleasure that Mortus Ali should be his successor. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man and slew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a sword that hee fought withall, with the which hee conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he stroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that shortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which he charged them to lay the body and sword of Mortus Ali, and to suffer the Camel to cary it whither he would. The which being performed, the said white camell caried the sword & body of Mortus Ali vnto the sea side, and the camell going a good way into the sea, was with the body & sword of Mortus Ali taken vp into heauen, for whose return they haue long looked in Persia. And for this cause the king alwayes keepeth a horse ready sadled for him, and also of late kept A goodly and well grounded religion.

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for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but she died in the yere of our Lord, 1573. And they say furthermore, if he come not shortly, they shalbe of our beliefe: much like the Iewes, looking for their Messias to come & reigne among them like a worldly king for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are now in among the Christians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

The Shaugh or king of Persia is nothing in strength & power comparable vnto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turks: neither hath he any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebusses. Notwithstanding his eldest sonne Ismael about 25. yeeres past, fought a great battell with the Turke, and slew of his armie about an hundred thousand men: who after his returne, was by his father cast into prison, and there continueth vntil this day: for his father the Shaugh had him in suspicion that he would haue put him downe, and haue taken the regiment vnto himselfe.

Their opinion of Christ.

Their opinion of Christ is, that he was an holy man and a great Prophet, but not like vnto Mahumet: saying, that Mahumet was the last prophet by whom all things were finished, & was therefore the greatest. To prooue that Christ was not Gods sonne, they say that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no sonne or children. They go on pilgrimage from the furthest part of Persia vnto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they visite also the sepulchre of Christ at Ierusalem, which they now call Couch Kaly.

The most part of spices which commeth into Persia is brought from the Island of Ormus, situate in the gulfe of Persia called Sinus Persicus, betweene the maine land of Persia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touch at Ormus both in their voyage to East India and homeward againe, and from thence bring all such spices as are occupied in Persia and the regions thereabout: for of pepper they bring very small quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they sell as good cheape as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine land of Persia, and the Portingals fetch their fresh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Persia.

Their money.

Within Persia they haue neither gold nor siluer mines, yet haue they coined money both of gold and siluer, and also other small moneys of copper. There is brought into Persia an incredible summe of Dutch dollars, which for the most part are there imploied in raw silke.

Their bookes and learning.

They haue few bookes and lesse learning, and are for the most part very brutish in al kind of good sciences, sauing in some kind of silke works, and in such things as pertaine to the furniture of horses, in the which they are passing good.

Such was the law of the Medonians for treason.

Their lawes are as in their religion, wicked and detestable. And if any man offend the prince, he punisheth it extremely, not onely in the person that offendeth, but also in his children, and in as many as are of his kin. Theft and murther are often punished, yet none otherwise then pleaseth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

Diuersion for religion.

There is oftentimes great mutinie among the people in great Townes which of Mortus Alis his sonnes was greatest: insomuch that sometimes in the towne two or three thousand people are together by the eares for the same, as I haue seene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouil, and also in the great City of Tiueris, where I haue seene a man comming from fighting, in a brauerie bringing in his hand foure or fiue mens heads, carying them by the haire of the head: for although they shaue their heads most commonly twise a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon their heads about 2. foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue the tuft of haire vpon their heads. They answered that thereby they may easiler be caried vp into heauen when they are dead.

For their religion they haue certaine priests who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vse euery morning and afternoone to go vp to the tops of their churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet and Mortus Ali: and other preaching haue they none. Their Lent is after Christmas, not in abstinence from flesh onely, but from all meats and drinks, vntill the day be off the skie, but then they eate somtimes the whole night. And although it be

against

against their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great excesse thereof and be drunken. Their Lent beginneth at the new Moone, and they do not enter into it vntill they haue seene the same: neither yet doeth their Lent end, vntill they haue seen the next new Moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seen in long time. Their priests and preaching. Their Lent.

They haue among them certaine holy men whom they call Setes, counted holy for that they or any of their ancestors haue been on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whosoeuer goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of Mahumet, both he and all his posteritie are euer after called Setes, and counted for holy men, and haue no lesse opinion of themselues. And if a man contrary one of these, he will say that he is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeued, and that hee cannot lie, although he lie neuer so shamefully. Thus a man may be too holy, and no pride is greater then spirituall pride of a mind puffed vp with his own opinion of holinesse. These Setes do vse to shaue their heads all ouer, sauing on the sides a litle aboue the temples, the which they leaue vnshauen, and vse to braid the same as women do their haire, and to weare it as long as it will grow. Their holy men. Pilgrimage.

Euery morning they vse to worship God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, & in praying turne themselues toward the South, because Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in trauell on the way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselues to the South, and will lay their gownes before them, with their swords and beads, and so standing vpright worship to the South: and many times in their prayers kneele downe and kisse their beads, or somwhat els that lieth before them. Their praier & worshipping of God and Mahumet. Sunset.

The men or women doe neuer goe to make water, but they vse to take with them a pot with a spout, and after they haue made water, they flash some water vpon their priuy parts, and thus doe the women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water the men do cowre downe as well as the women. Washing and outward cleanlinesse.

When they earnestly affirme a matter, they will sweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, and sometimes by all at ones: as thus in their owne language, saying, Olla, Mahumet, Ali. But if he will sweare by the Shaughs head, in saying Shaugham basshe, you may then beleeue him if you will. Their swearing.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although sometimes in a moneth or six weekes none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they daily to the court, and tary there a certaine time vntill they haue knowen his pleasure whether hee will commaund them any thing or not. Hee is watched euery night with a thousand of his men, which are called his Curshes, who are they that hee vseth to send into the Countreis about his greatest affaires. When he sendeth any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should beat any of them to death. The kings magnificence. Purueiours.

The Shaugh occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathstoue, and when he is disposed to goe thither, he taketh with him fiue or sixe of his concubines, more or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greatest part of his life hee spendeth amongst his wiues and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer esteeme their kings, if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or more: for they measure the fauour of God by a mans prosperitie, or his displeasure by a mans misfortune or aduersitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reuerence, because he hath reigned king so long time. The kings company with his wiues and concubines.

I haue sayd before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him listeth: and if he chance to haue any children by any of his concubines, and be minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whom hee so fauoureth, hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whom he so loueth best, he ordaineth to be king after him. The succession of ye Kingdom.

What I heard of the maner of their mariages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares, I may not commit to writing: their fasting I haue declared before. They vse circumci-ion vnto children of seuen yeeres of age, as do the Turkes. Circumcision.

Their houses (as I haue said) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned but only dried

Their houses, and manner of eating.

dried in the Sunne: In their houses they haue but litle furniture of houshold stuffe, except it be their carpets and some copper worke: for all their kettles & dishes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged as do Tailors. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet better or worse, and the whole house or roume wherein he sitteth is wholy couered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat roofes couered with earth: and in the Sommer time they lie vpon them all night.

Bondmen and bondwomen.

They haue many bond seruaunts both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of the best kind of merchandise that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women, they vse to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horses: when one hath bought a yong woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne vse as long as him listeth, and then selleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is sometimes sold in the space of foure or fiue yeeres, twelue, or twentie times. If a man keepe a bondwoman for his owne vse, and if hee find her to be false to him, and giue her body to any other, he may kill her if he will.

Women bought & sold, and let to hire.

When a merchant or traueller commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or somtimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when he commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the same also: for there they vse to put out their women to hire, as wee do here hackney horses.

Abundance of oile issuing out of the ground.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of Iauat, which falleth into the Caspian sea, by a towne called Bachu, neere vnto which towne is a strange thing to behold. For there issueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of oile, which oile they fetch from the vttermost bounds of all Persia: it serueth all the countrey to burne in their houses.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte: they vse to cary it throughout all the Countrey vpon kine & asses, of which you shall oftentimes meet with foure or fiue hundred in a company. There is also by the said towne of Bachu another kind of oyle which is white and very precious: and is supposed to be the same that here is called Petroleum. There is also not far from Shamaky, a thing like vnto tarre, and issueth out of the ground, whereof we haue made the proofe, that in our ships it serueth well in the stead of tarre.

Oleum Petroleum.

Two sorts of kine.

In Persia are kine of two sorts: the one like vnto ours in these partes: the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones and very leane, and but litle haire vpon them: their milke is walowish sweete: they are like vnto them which are spoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao signified the seuen deare yeeres: for a leaner or more euill fauoured beast can no man see.

Foxes in great plenty.

In the countrey of Shiruan (sometime called Media) if you chance to lie in the fields neere vnto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you shall haue about you two or three hundred foxes, which make a marueilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it shal scape them hardly but they will haue part with you.

The Caspian sea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except sometimes by rages of wind it swelleth vp very high: the water is very salt. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great riuer of Volga maketh the water fresh at the least twentie leagues into the sea. The Caspian sea is marueilous full of fish, but no kind of monstrous fish, as farre as I could vnderstand, yet hath it sundry sortes of fishes which are not in these parts of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the sheepe great, hauing very great rumpes with much fat vpon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The copy of a letter sent to the Emperour of Mosconie, by Christopher Hodsdon and William Burrough, Anno 1570.

MOst mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowship the company of English merchants, this last Winter sent hither to the Narue three ships laden with merchandise, which was left here, and with it Christopher Hodsdon one of the sayd felowship, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came first hither, and vntill such time as hee

hee had dispatched those ships from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelue or thirteene sailes of good ships, against this shipping, wherefore he wrote vnto the sayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to send hither this spring the sayd number of thirteene ships. And because that in their comming hither wee found the Freebooters on the sea, and supposing this yeere that they would be very strong, he therefore gaue the said sir William and his Companie aduise to furnish the sayd number of ships so strongly, as they should bee able to withstand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they haue according to his aduice sent this yeere thirteene good ships together well furnished with men and munition, and all other necessaries for the warres, of which 18. ships William Burrough one of the said felowship is captaine generall, vnto whom there was giuen in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoeuer robbers and theeues that are enimies to your highnesse, he should doe his best to apprehend and take them. It so hapned that the tenth day of this moneth the sayd William with his fleete, met with sixe ships of the Freebooters neere vnto an Island called Tuttee, which is about 50. versts from Narue, vnto which Freebooters he with his fleete gaue chase, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but three men, the rest were fled to shore in their boats amongst the woods vpon Tuttee, on which ship he set fire and burnt her. He also tooke foure more of those ships which are now here, and one ship escaped him: out of which foure ships some of the men fled in their boates and so escaped, others were slaine in fight, and some of them when they saw they could not escape, cast themselues willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in these fiue ships were left but 83. men. Fiue ships of Freebooters taken.

The said Wil. Borough when he came hither to Narue, finding here Christopher Hodsdon aforenamed, both the said Christopher and William together, in the name of sir William Garrard and the rest of their whole companie and felowship, did present vnto your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our ships 82. men, which we deliuered here vnto Knez Voiuoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we haue kept by vs, whose name is Haunce Snarke a captaine. And the cause why we haue done it is this: When wee should haue deliuered him with the rest of his felowes vnto the Voiuodaes officers, there were of our Englishmen more then 50. which fell on their knees vnto vs, requesting that he might be reserued in the ship, and caried back into England: and the cause why they so earnestly intreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their liues saued, with great fauour besides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will cary him home with vs into England, wherein we request your maiesties fauour: notwithstanding what you command of him shalbe obserued.

Wee haue also sent our seruant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings as wee found in those shippes: whereby your Maiestie may see by whom, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended, which writings wee haue commended vnto Knez Yoriue your Maiesties Voiuoda at Plesco, by our seruant. And haue requested his furtherance for the safe deliuerie of them to your maiesties hands: which writings when you haue perused we desire that they may be returned vnto vs by this our seruant, as speedily as may bee: for these ships which we now haue here will be soone dispatched from hence, for that we haue not goods to lade aboue the halfe of them. And the cause is, we haue this winter (by your maiesties order) bene kept from trafliquing, to the companies great losse. But hoping your maiestie will hereafter haue consideration thereof, and that we may haue free libertie to trafique in all partes of your maiesties Countries, according to the priuiledge giuen vnto vs, we pray for your maiesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Narue the 15 of July, Anno 1570.

Your Maiesties most humble and obedient,
Christopher Hodsdon. William Borough.

A letter of Richard Vscombe to M. Henrie Lane, touching the burning of the Citie of Mosco by the Crimme Tartar, written in Rose Island the 5. day of Au-
1571. gust, 1571.

MAster Lane I haue me commended vnto you. The 27. of Iuly I arriued here with the Magdalene, and the same day and houre did the Swalow and Harry arriue here also. At our comming I found master Proctor here, by whom wee vnderstand very heauie newes. The Mosco is burnt euerie sticke by the Crimme the 24. day of May last, and an innumerable number of people: and in the English house was smothered Thomas Southam, Tofild, Wauerley, Greenes wife and children, two children of Rafe, & more to the number of 25. persons were stifeled in our Beere seller: and yet in the same seller was Rafe, his wife, Iohn Browne, and Iohn Clarke preserued, which was wonderfull. And there went into that seller master Glouer and master Rowley also: but because the heate was so great, they came foorth againe with much perill, so that a boy at their heeles was taken with the fire, yet they escaped blindfold into another seller, and there, as Gods will was, they were preserued. The Emperour fled out of the field, and many of his people were caried away by the Crimme Tartar: to wit, all the yong people, the old they would not meddle with, but let them alone, and so with exceeding much spoile and infinite prisoners, they returned home againe. What with the Crimme on the one side, and with his crueltie on the other, he hath but few people left. Commend me to mistresse Lane your wife, and to M. Locke, and to all our friends.

The citie of Mosco burnt by y Crimme. Englishmen smothered at the burning of Mosco.

M. Glouer and M. Rowley preserued.

Yours to command, Richard Vscombe.

A note of the proceeding of M. Anthonie Ienkinson, Ambassadour from the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, to the Emperour of Russia, from the time of his arriuall there, being the 26. of Iuly 1571, vntill his departure from thence the 23. of Iuly 1572.

The said 26. day I arriued with the two good ships called the Swalow and the Harry in safetie, at the Baie of S. Nicholas in Russia aforesayd, and landed at Rose Island, from whence immediately I sent away my interpreter Daniel Siluester in post towards the Court, being then at the Mosco, whereby his maiestie might as well bee aduertised of my arriuall in his Dominions, as also to knowe his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse. And remaining at the sayd Island two or three dayes, to haue conference with your Agent about your affaires, I did well perceiue by the wordes of the sayd Agent and others your seruants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life: for they reported to mee that they heard said at the Mosco, that the princes displeasure was such against me, that if euer I came into his countrey againe, I should loose my head, with other words of discouragement. Whereat I was not a little dismaid, not knowing whether it were best for me to proceed forwards, or to returne home againe with the ships for the safegard of my life. But calling to mind mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my selfe not to haue offended his Maiestie any maner of wayes either in word or deed, or by making former promises not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falsly surmised: and being desirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to iustifie my true dealings, and to reprooue my sayd enemies, as well here as there, who haue not ceased of late by vntrue reports to impute the cause of the sayd Emperors displeasure towards you to proceed of my dealings, and promises made to him at my last being with him (although by his letters to the Queenes Maiestie, and by his owne words to me the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my selfe rather to put my life into his hands, & by the prouidence of God to prosecute the charge committed vnto me, then to returne home in vaine, discouraged with the words of such, who had rather that I had taried at home, then to be sent ouer with such credite, whereby I might sift out their euil doings, the onely cause of your losse.

Wherefore, leauing the said ships the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from

from the seaside, and the first of August arriued at Colmogro, where I remained attending the returne of my said messenger with order from his Maiestie.

But all the Countrey being sore visited by the hand of God with the plague, passage in euery place was shut vp, that none might passe in paine of death: My messenger being eight hundreth miles vpon his way, was stayed, and kept at a towne called Shasco, and might not bee suffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or sende vnto me: by meanes whereof in the space of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor know what was become of him, in which time my said messenger found meanes to aduertise the Gouernour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his stay, as of the cause of his comming thither, who sent him word that it was not possible to passe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maiestie, who was gone to the warres against the Swethens, and that he would aduertise his highnesse so soone as he might conueniently: And so my said messenger was forced to remaine there still without answere. During which time of his stay through the great death (as aforesaid,) I found meanes to send another messenger, with a guide by an vnknowen way through wildernesse, a thousand miles about, thinking that way he should passe without let: but it prooued contrary, for likewise hee being passed a great part of his iourney, fell into the handes of a watch, and escaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horses had not bene burnt, according to the lawe prouided for such as would seeke to passe by indirect wayes, and many haue felt the smart thereof which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither could that messenger returne backe vnto me.

And thus was I kept without answere or order from his Maiestie, and remained at the saide Colmogro, vntill the 18. of Ianuary following, neither hauing a Gentleman to safegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey fashion for Ambassadours, which argued his grieuous displeasure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiuing the same, vsed towards mee and my company some discourtesies: but about the 28. day aforesaid, the plague ceased, and the passages being opened, there came order from his Maiestie that I should haue poste horses, and bee suffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraslaue neere to the Court, his Maiestie being newly returned from the said warres. And I arriued at the said Peraslaue the 3. of February, where I remained vnder the charge of a gentleman, hauing then a house appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but so straightly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or sende vnto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March folowing, I was sent for to the Court, and being within three miles of the same, a poste was sent to the Gentleman which had charge of me, to returne backe againe with me to the said Peraslaue, and to remaine there vntill his Maiesties further pleasure, wherewith I was much dismayed, and marueiled what that sudden change ment, and the rather, because it was a troublesome time, and his Maiestie much disquieted through the ill successe of his affaires, (as I did vnderstand.) And the twentieth of the same, I was sent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Maiestie, who caused mee to kisse his hande, and gaue gratious audience vnto my Oration, gratefully receiuing and accepting the Queenes Maiesties princely letters, and her present, in the presence of all his nobilitie. After I had finished my Oration, too long here to rehearse, and deliuered her highnesse letters, and present (as aforesaid) the Emperour sitting in royall estate stood vp and said, How doth Queene Elizabeth my sister, is she in health? to whom I answered, God doth blesse her Maiestie with health, and peace, and doeth wish the like vnto thee Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maiestie sitting downe againe, commaunded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and auoyde the chamber, sauing the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counsell, and willing me to approch neere vnto him with my Interpretor, said vnto me these words.

Anthony, the last time thou wast with vs heere, wee did commit vnto thee our trustie and secret Message, to be declared vnto the Queenes Maiestie herselfe thy Mistresse at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time wee appointed, with a full answere of the same from her highnesse. And in the meane time there came vnto vs at seuerall times three meesengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward

Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narue about the Merchants affaires: to whom wee sent our messenger to know whether thou Anthony, were returned home in safetie, and when thou shouldest returne vnto vs againe: but those messengers could tell vs nothing, and did miscall, and abuse with euil words, both our messenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderstanding that the said Goodman had letters about him, we caused him to be searched, with whom were found many letters, wherein was written much against our Princely estate, and that in our Empire were many vnlawfull things done, whereat we were much grieued, & would suffer none of those rude messengers to haue accesse vnto vs: and shortly after wee were infourmed that one Thomas Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambassadour from the Queene, and we sent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Mosco, at which time wee looked that thou shouldest haue returned vnto vs againe. And the said Thomas being arriued at our said Citie, wee sent vnto him diuers times, that hee should come and conferre with our Counsell, whereby we might vnderstand the cause of his comming, looking for answere of those our princely affaires committed vnto thee. But hee refused to come to our said Counsell: wherefore, and for that our saide Citie was visited with plague, the saide Thomas was the longer kept from our presence. Which being ceased, foorthwith wee gaue him accesse and audience, but all his talke with vs was about Merchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the stay of our Princely treasures: But first Princes affaires are to be established, and then Merchants. After this the said Thomas Randolfe was with vs at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Maiestie and vs might bee established for euer, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambassadour and vs, and thereupon wee sent our Ambassadour into England with him to ende the same: but our Ambassadour returned vnto vs againe, without finishing our said affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the Agreement betwixt vs, and your said Ambassadour.

Thus when his Maiestie had made a long discourse, I humbly beseeched his highnesse to heare me graciously, and to giue me leaue to speake without offence, and to beleeue those wordes to be true which I should speake. Which he graunted, and these were my words.

Most noble and famous Prince, the message which thy highnesse did sende by mee vnto the Queene her most excellent Maiestie touching thy Princely and secret affaires, immediatly, and so soone as I came home, I did declare both secretly and truely vnto the Queenes Maiestie her selfe, word for word, as thou Lord diddest commaund mee. Which her highnesse did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to answere the same, the next shipping after, her Maiestie did sende vnto thee, Lord, her highnesse Ambassadour Thomas Randolfe, whose approoued wisedome and fidelitie was vnto her Maiestie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to bee sent to so worthy a Prince, who had Commission not onely to treate with thy Maiestie of Merchants affaires, but also of those thy Princely and secret affaires committed vnto mee. And the cause (most gracious Prince) that I was not sent againe, was, for that I was imployed in seruice vpon the Seas against the Queenes Maiesties enemies, and was not returned home at such time as Master Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Maiesties Countrey, otherwise I had bene sent. And whereas thy Maiestie saith, that Thomas Randolfe would not treate with thy Counsell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commission: which was: First to deale with thy Maiestie thy selfe, which order is commonly vsed among all Princes, when they send their Ambassadours about matters of great waight. And whereas the saide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the same time, and promised the same should bee performed by the Queene her Maiestie: Whereupon (Lord) thou diddest send thy Ambassadour with him into England, for answere thereof: It may please thy Maiestie to vnderstand, that as the saide Thomas Randolfe doeth confesse, that in deede hee had talke with thy Highnesse, and counsell diuers times about princely affaires: euen so hee denieth that euer hee did agree, conclude, or make any promise in any condition or order, as is alleaged, otherwise then it should please the Queene her Maiestie to like of at his returne

home,

hime, which hee did iustifie to thy Highnes Ambassador his face in England. Wherefore, most mighty Prince, it doth well appeare, that either thy Ambassador did vntruly enforme thy Maiestie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes highnes her Ambassador, for want of a good Interpretor, was not well vnderstood: and how thankefully the Queene her Maiestie did receiue thy highnes commendations, and letters sent by thy Maiesties Ambassador, and how graciously shee gaue him audience sundry times, vsing him with such honour in all points for thy sake, Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer shewed to any Ambassador in our Realme, and how honourably with full answere in all things, her Maiestie dismissed him, when hee had finished all thy princely affaires (as it seemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately sent with her highnes letter vnto thee Lord, by her messenger Robert Beast, and her Maiestie did suppose that that thy Ambassador would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy highnes would haue bene satisfied in all things: otherwise she would haue sent her Maiesties Ambassador with him vnto thee Lord againe. But now her highnes perceiuing that thy Maiestie is not fully satisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her highnes Ambassador, nor by thine owne Ambassador Andrea Sauin, nor yet by her Maiesties letter sent by the said Andrea: and also vnderstanding thy great griefe and displeasure towards sir William Garret, and his company, merchants trafficking in thy Maiesties dominions, hath thought good to send mee at this present vnto thee Lord Emperor, and great duke, as wel with her highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as also to know the iust cause of thy Maiesties said displeasure towards the said company of merchants: and hath commanded me to answere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her highnes doth suppose thy Maiesties indignation to proceede rather vpon the euill, and vntrue reports of thy late Ambassador in England, and of such wicked persons of our nation resident here in thy highnes dominions, rebels to her Maiestie, and their Countrey, then of any iust deserts of the said merchants, who neuer willingly deserued thy highnesse displeasure, but rather fauour in all their doings and meanings. And since the first time of their trafficking in thy Maiesties dominions, which is now nineteene yeres, the said merchants haue bene, and are alwayes ready and willing truely to serue thy highnesse of all things meete for thy Treasurie, in time of peace and of warre in despite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the East Seas were agreed to stoppe the sound, and the way to the Narue, and haue brought, and do bring from time to time such commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Maiestie doeth not suffer to be transported foorth of her Realme to no other prince of the world. And what great losses the said sir William Garret, with his company hath sustained of late yeeres in this trade, as well by Shipwracke, as by false seruants it is manifestly knowen: and what seruice the said companies Ships did vnto thy Maiestie against thy enemies, two yeeres past in going to the Narue, when they fought with the king of Poles shippes Freebooters, and burnt the same and slew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the Narue, I trust thy highnesse doth not forget. Wherefore most mighty prince, the premises considered, the Queene her most excellent Maiestie thy louing sister, doeth request thy highnes to restore the said sir William Garret with his company into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffique with thy accustomed goodnes and iustice, to be ministred vnto them throughout all thy Maiesties dominions, as aforetime: and that the same may be signified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, and thy highnesse commaundement or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. And further that if will please thy Maiestie, not to giue credite to false reports, and vntrue suggestions of such as are enemies, and such as neither would haue mutuall amitie to continue betwixt your Maiesties, nor yet entercourse betwixt your countries. And such rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy highnes dominions, seeking to sowe dissentions betwixt your Maiesties by false surmises, spending away their masters goods riotously, and will not come home to giue vp their accompts, aduancing themselues to be merchants, and able to serue thy highnes of all things fit for thy treasurie, whereas indeed they be of no credite, nor able of themselues to do thy Maiestie any seruice at all: the Queenes highnes

Andrew Sauin Ambassador from the Emperor.

request

request is, that it would please thy Maiestie to commaund that such persons may be deliuered vnto me to be caried home, least by their remayning here, and hauing practises and friendship with such as be not thy highnesse friendes, their euil doing might be a cause hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from sir William Garret and his company, who haue true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to serue thy highnesse at all times, vsing many other words to the aduancement of your credits, and the disgracing of your enemies, and so I ended for that time.

Then sayd his Maiestie, We haue heard you, and will consider of all things further when wee haue read the Queene our sisters letters: to whom I answered, that I supposed his Maiestie should by those letters vnderstand her highnesse full minde to his contentation, and what wanted in writing I had credite to accomplish in word. Wherewith his maiestie seemed to be wel pleased, and commaunded me to sit downe. And after pawsing a while, his Maiestie said these words vnto me, It is now a time which we spend in fasting, and praying, being the weeke before Easter, and for that we will shortly depart from hence, towards our borders of Nouogrod, wee can not giue you answere, nor your dispatch here, but you shall goe from hence, and tary vs vpon the way, where wee will shortly come, and then you shall knowe our pleasure, and haue your dispatch. And so I was dismissed to my lodging, and the same day I had a dinner ready drest sent me from his Maiestie, with great store of drinkes, of diuers sorts, and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of March aforesayde, the chiefe Secretary to his Maiesty, sent vnto mee a Gentleman, to signifie vnto mee, *that the Emperours Maiesties pleasure was, I should immediately depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles from the aforesaid Sloboda,* and there to tary his highnes *comming vnto a place called Staryts,* threescore miles from the sayd Otwer.

Then I sent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretary, requesting him to further, and shew *his fauour vnto our saide merchants in their sutes,* which they should haue occasion to moue *in my absence: who sent me word againe, that they* should be wel assured of his friendship, *and furtherance in all their sutes.* And *forthwith post horses* were sent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And so departing from the said Sloboda, I arriued at the said Otwer, the 28. of March aforesaid, where I remained *til the eight of May* following. Then I was sent for to come vnto his Maiestie, to the said Staryts, where I arriued the tenth of the same, and the twelfth of the same I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretary, who at our meeting said vnto me these words.

Our Lord Emperor, and great Duke, hath not onely perused the Queene her highnes letters sent by you, and thereby doeth perceiue her minde, as well touching their princely affaires, as also her earnest request in the merchants behalfe, but also hath well pondered your words. And therefore his Maiesties pleasure is, that you let me vnderstand what sutes you haue to moue in the merchants behalfe, or otherwise, for that tomorrowe you shall haue accesse againe vnto his highnes, and shall haue full answere in all things, with your dispatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of diuers matters I gaue him in writing certaine briefe articles of requests, which I had drawen out ready, as foloweth:

1 First the Queenes Maiestie her request is, that it would please the Emperors highnesse *to let me know the iust cause of his great displeasure fallen vpon Sir William Garrard, & his company, who neuer deserued the same to their knowledge.*

2 Also that it would please his highnes not to giue credite vnto false and vntrue reports, by such as seeke to sowe dissension, and breake friendship betwixt the Queenes highnesse, and his Maiestie.

3 Also that it would please his Maiestie to receiue the said sir William Garrard, with his company into his fauour againe, and to restore them to their former priuiledges and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of al his Maiesties dominions, in as ample maner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priuiledge, and accustomed goodnes.

4 Also it would please his highnes to graunt, that the said company of merchants may haue iustice of all his subiects, as well for money owing vnto them, as other their griefes and iniuries, throughout al his dominions suffred since the time of his displeasure, during which

which time, the merchants were forced by seuere iustice to answer to al mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Also that his Maiestie would vnderstand, that much debts are owing to the said merchants, by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and some executed, and the said merchants know not howe to be paide, and answered the same, except his highnes pitie their case, and commaund some order to be taken therein.

6 Also it would please his highnes to commaund that the saide merchants may be payde all such summe or summes of money as are owing, and due vnto them by his Maie-tie, for wares, as well English as Shamaki, taken into his highnes treasury by his officers in sundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the said company of merchants.

7 Also it would please his Maiestie to vnderstand, that at this present time there are in Persia of English merchants, Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their company, & goods, ready to come into his Maiesties countrey of Astracan, and would haue come the last yeere, but that the ship, with our merchants and mariners appointed to goe for them, were stayed at Astracan by his highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the said merchants. Wherefore it may now please his Maiestie to direct his princely letters vnto his Captaines, and rulers, both at Astracan and Cazan, not onely to suffer our people, as well merchants as mariners, quietly and freely to passe and repasse with their shippes, barkes, or other vessels downe the riuer Volga, and ouer the Mare Caspium, to fetch the sayd English merchants, with their company and goods, out of the sayd Persia, into his Maiesties dominions, but also that it would please his highnes streightly to command, that when the sayd Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their charge, shal arriue at the sayd Astracan, his Maiesties Captaine there, and in all other places vpon the riuer Volga, shall so ayde and assist the sayd merchants, as they may be safely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and other their enemies.

8 Also it may please his highnes to vnderstand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamaki, haue bene ill vsed by his Maiesties Customers, both at Astracan and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay custome for their wares, although they solde no part thereof, but brought the same into his highnesse treasury at Sloboda: and the sayd Customers did not only exact, and take much more custome then was due by his Maiesties lawes, but also for want of present money, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted custome, and doe keepe the same as a pawne. It may therefore please his highnes to direct his princely letters to the said Customers, to signifie vnto them his great goodnes againe restored vnto the said English merchants, as also to command them to send the said merchants their said goods so detained, vp to the Mosco, they paying such custome for the same as shall be by his Maiestie appointed.

9 Also that it would please his highnesse to grant, that sir William Garrard with his companie may establish their trade for merchandise at Colmogro in Dwina, and that such wares as shal be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treasurie might be looked vpon, and receiued by his officers there: and that his Maiesties people trafficking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the saide Colmogro, by meanes whereof the saide English merchants auoyding great troubles and charges, in transporting their goods so farre, and into so many places of his dominions, may sell the same better cheape, to the benefite of his Maiesties subiects.

10 Also if it seemed good to his highnes, that the whole trade likewise from Persia, Boghar, and all other those Countreys beyond the Mare Caspium, might be established at Astracan, the ancient Marte towne in times past, which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Maiesty, and subiects, as I am well able to proue, if it will please his highnesse to appoint any of his counsell to talke with me therein.

11 Also forasmuch as it pleased his Maiestie, immediatly after the burning of the Mosco, to command that the said English merchants should giue in a note into his Treasury, for their losses sustained by the said fire, which was done by William Rowly, then chiefe Agent

Agent for sir William Garrard and his company, and the particulars in the same note consumed with the said fire did amount to the summe of 10000. rubbles and aboue: It may please his highnes of his accustomed goodnes and great clemencie to consider of the same, and to giue the said company so much as shal seeme good vnto his Maiestie, towards their said losses.

12 Also that it will please his highnesse to vnderstand that the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, at the earnest sute and request of Andrea Sauin his Maiesties Ambassadour, did not onely pardon and forgiue Thomas Glouer his great and grieuous offences towards her highnesse committed, onely for his maiesties sake, but also commanded sir William Garrard with his company, to deale fauourably with the said Glouer in his accompts, to whom he was indebted greatly, and being their seruant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the said sir William Garrard with his company counted with the said Glouer, and ended all things euen to his saide contentation, and was found to bee debter to the said company 4000. rubbles and aboue, and bound himselfe both by his solemne othe, and his hand-writing, to pay the same immediatly after his returne into Russia with the said Andrea Sauin, vnto Nicholas Proctor chiefe Agent there, for the said company of merchants But although it is now two yeeres past, since the said agreement, and that the said Nicholas hath diuers and sundry times requested the said money of the said Thomas, yet will he not pay the same debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleadging that his Maiestie oweth him a great summe of money, without the payment whereof he cannot be able to pay the said merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In consideration of the premisses, It may please his highnesse to giue order that the said Glouer may be payd, and that he may discharge his debt to the said company of merchants, and the rather for that hee found such mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maiesties sake.

13 Also forasmuch as Ralfe Rutter a rebell to the Queenes Maiestie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to sir William Garrard and his company, hath of long time remained here, liuing of the spoyles and goods of the said merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his handes, riotously spending the same, during the time that he was their seruant, and would not come home when he was sent for, and also for that the Queenes Maiestie doth vnderstand, that the said Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe seeke by all false meanes to sowe dissension, and breake amitie betwixt their Maiesties, and to ouerthrowe the trade of the said merchants: Her highnes request is, that the said Ralfe with his complices may be deliuered vnto me, to be caried home, and none other of her Maiesties subiects, not being of the societie of the said Sir William Garrard and his company, to be suffered to traffike within his highnes dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to bee sent home: for that the said merchants with great charges and losses, both by shipwracke, and riotous seruants, did first finde out this trade, and haue continued the same these 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Also whereas diuers masters and artificers of our Nation are here in his Maiesties seruice, and do finde themselues grieued that they cannot haue licence to depart home into their natiue Countrey at their will and pleasure: the Queenes Maiesties request is, according to her highnes writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will please his Maiestie to permit and suffer such artificers here resident in the seruice of his highnes, to haue free libertie to depart, and go home with me, if they request the same, but also all other the like, which shall come hereafter to serue his Maiesty, to haue free libertie to depart likewise, without any let or stay.

15 Also it may please his Maiesty to vnderstand that during the time of my long being at Colmogro, attending his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse, I with my company haue not onely bene ill vsed and intreated there, and likewise the merchants there, by one Besson Myssereuy his Maiesties chiefe officer, who hath dishonoured me, and smitten my people, and oweth the saide merchants much money, and will not pay them: but also the saide Besson hath spoken wordes of dishonour against the Queenes Maiestie. Wherefore it

may

may please his highnesse to send downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to search foorth his euill behauiour towards her Maiestie, as towards me her highnesse Ambassador, and to punish him accordingly: and also that it would please his Maiestie to sende downe his letter of iustice, by vertue whereof the said Besson may be forced to pay all such money as he oweth to the sayd merchants, without delay.

16 Also that it would please his highnesse to vnderstand, that sir William Garrard with his company vnderstanding of the great dearth in his Maiesties dominions, by licence of the Queens Maiestie, (not otherwise permitted) hath sent certaine ships laden with corne into his highnesse Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Maiesties subiects, then for any gaine: yet the good will of the said merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to sel the said corne, to their great discouragement hereafter to send any more. Wherefore it may please his highnesse, to tender the good will of the said merchants, as well in sending the saide corne, as in all other things, ready to serue his Maiestie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwina, to suffer the saide merchants with their company, to sell the said corne by measure, great or small at their pleasure, without paying custome.

These articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretary, as aforesayde, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforesaid, I had warning earely in the morning, to prepare my selfe to be at the Court, betwixt the houres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I should haue accesse vnto the presence of the Prince, as well to receiue answere of all things, as to bee dismissed to goe home. At which houres I was sent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of presence, where his Maiestie did sit apparelled most sumptuously, with a riche Crowne vpon his head, garnished with many pretious stones, his eldest sonne sitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my duetie done, his highnesse commanded me to approch very neere vnto him, and sayde vnto me these wordes.

Anthony, the Queene our louing sister her letters wee haue caused to be translated, and doe well vnderstand the same, and of all things as well therein contained, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared wee haue well considered, and doe perceiue that our secret message vnto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were aduertised to the contrary) and nowe wee are by you fully satisfied. And when wee did sende our Ambassadour into England, about those our great and waighty affaires, to conclude the same with the Queene our sister, our Ambassadour coulde ende nothing for want of such assurance as was requisite in princely affaires, according to the maner of all Countreys, but was dismissed vnto vs againe, with letters of small effect, touching the same, and no Ambassadour sent with him from the Queene: which caused vs to thinke, that our princely affaires were set aside, and little regarded, wherewith wee were at that time much grieued: for the which cause, and for the euill behauiour of your merchants, resident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes transgressed and broken our lawes, liuing wilfully in al their doings) we did lay our heauie displeasure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commaunding that the same throughout all our dominions, should be voyd, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our sister, touching our griefes. The causes of the Emperors displeasure.

And nowe her highnesse hath sent vnto vs againe, you her Ambassadour, with her louing letters, and full minde, which we doe thankefully receiue, and are thereby fully satisfied. And for that our princely, and secret affaires were not finished to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all those matters, and set them aside for the time, because our minde is nowe otherwise changed, but hereafter when occasion shall mooue vs to the like, wee will then talke of those matters againe. And for that it hath pleased the Queene our louing sister, to sende vnto vs at this present, and doeth desire to continue in friendship with vs for euer (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the same) wee of our goodnesse for her highnesse sake, will not onely from hencefoorth put away, and forget all our displeasure towardes the same Sir William Garrard and his company (as though they had neuer offended vs) but also will restore them to their priuiledges, and liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will signifie the same

by our letters, in all Townes and Cities, where the said merchants do trafique, and we will shewe them fauour as aforetime, if they deserue not the contrary. And if the Queene our sister had not sent thee Anthony vnto vs at this present, God knoweth what we should haue done to the said merchants, or whether we would haue called back our indignation.

Then I humbly beseeched his Maiestie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the said merchants, and the offendors names, to the intent I might make report thereof, vnto the Queenes Maiestie, my mistres, accordingly, that the said offendors might receiue iust punishments for their deserts: but he said, I should not know them, because he had cleerely remitted al offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgiue, and after to accuse the parties, whereby her Maiesties displeasure might fall vpon them at home. Notwithstanding I did after vnderstand some part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Maiestie proceeding in talke, said: As touching the articles of request, concerning the marchants affaires, which you did yesterday deliuer vnto our Secretary, we haue not onely read the same our selfe, but also haue appointed our said Secretary to declare vnto you our mind, and answere to the same. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence shortly, we will dismisse you to ỹ Queene our louing sister, your mistres, with our letters, & full mind by word of mouth, touching all your requests, & will send a gentleman one of our houshold with you to safe conduct you to your ships: and of our goodnes will giue you victuals, boates, men, and post horses, so many as you shall neede. And therewith his Maiestie standing vp, and putting off his cappe, said vnto me these words. Doe our hearty commendations vnto our louing sister, Queene Elizabeth, vnto whom we wish long life, with happie successe: and therewith his highnes extended his hand to me to kisse, and commanded his sonne, sitting by him, to send the like commendations, which he did, whose hand likewise I kissed. And then his Maiestie caused me to sit downe, and commaunded wine and drinkes of diuers sorts to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke with his owne hand, and so after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14 of May aforesaid, I was sent for to come to the chief Secretary, & one other of the counsel with him, who at our meeting said vnto me these words: We are appointed by the Emperor his maiesty, to giue you answere from his Highnes, touching your requests deliuered in writing, which his Maiestie himselfe hath perused, & answered as followeth.

1 To the first request it is answered, that all his Maiesties griefes and displeasure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, because the Queenes Maiestie did not accomplish and ende with his ambassador, his secrete and waighty affaires, according to his expectation, and the promise made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and also of the ill behauiour of your merchants resident here in our Countrey, as his Maiestie did himselfe yesterday declare vnto you.

2 To the second, his Maiesty willeth you to vnderstand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moued to breake friendship with the Queenes Maiesty, without good and iust cause.

3 To the third, you are answered by the Emperors Maiestie himselfe, that his great goodnes and fauour againe vnto the merchants shall be restored, and the same to be knowen by his gratious letters of priuiledge now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his Maiesty hath commanded, that your merchants here resident shall exhibite, and put in writing vnto me his Maiesties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other iniuries offred them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall haue iustice truly ministred throughout all his Maiesties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his maiesty doth not know of any debts due vnto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not: the trueth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answere to be giuen: and hereafter his maiestie would not haue the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6 To

6 To the sixth, it is answered, that his maiesty hath commanded search to be made what money is owing to the marchants, for wares receiued into his treasury, as in the article: (the most of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the Mosco) and such as is due, & found meete to be paid, shall be paid forthwith to the marchants, their factors or seruants, which shall come for the same. And for paiment of the rest, his maiesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

7 To the 7 his Maiesties answere is, that letters shall be written forthwith to his captaines of Astracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, vpon the riuer Volga, to whom it appertaineth, not onely to suffer your people, both marchants, & mariners, to passe with their ships, or barkes, from Astracan, ouer the Mare caspium, to fetche Thomas Banister, and Geofry Ducket, with their cõpany, and goods out of Persia, but also when they shall arriue within his Maiesties dominions, to aide and assist them, and see them safely conducted vp the riuer Volga, from danger of enemies.

8 To the eight, his maiestie hath commanded letters to be written to the Customers, both of Astracan and Cazan, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods so detained by them for custome, & to take custome for the same, according to his maiesties letters of priuilege.

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maiestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11 To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treasury, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Mosco, in their houses there, his Maiesties plensure was to vnderstande the same, to the intent he might know the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glouer, his Maiestie was enformed by his Ambassador of the Queenes great mercy and clemencie towards the said Thomas, for his sake, which his Highnes receiued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said sir William Garrard, & his company, & the said Glouer, or what he doth owe vnto the said merchants, his Maiestie doth not know. And as for the money which the said Thomas saith is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maiesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due, & growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treasurie, out of the time of his Maiesties displeasure, shall be paid forthwith to the said Thomas, and the rest is forfeited vnto his Maiestie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter and Bennet, accompted traitors vnto his Highnes, during the time of his displeasure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be deliuered vnto you, to be caried home, the answere was, that as his Maiestie will not detaine any English man in his Countrey, that is willing to go home, according to the Queens request: euen so will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Maiesties request, is contented at this present to send the said Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written vnto his chiefe officer at the Mosco, to send the said Rutter away with speed, that he may be with you at Vologda, by the fine of May, without faile: and touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Maiesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of priuilege, granted to the said merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Maiestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart to their natiue countrey as are willing to goe.

15 To the 15, touching Besson Messeriuey, the Emperors maiestie is much offended with him, and will send down a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, as wel for speaking of vndecent words against the Queens maiestie as you haue alleaged, as also against you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, & the said Besson being found guilty, to be imprisoned & punished by seuere iustice accordingly, and after to put in suretie to answere the Emperors high displeasure, or els to be brought vp like a prisoner by the said gentleman to answere his offences before his Maiestie. And his highnes doth request that the Queenes highnes would doe the like vpon Middleton and Manlie her messengers

sengers sent thither two yeeres past, and of all others for their ill behauiour towards his maiestie, as may appeare by letters sent by Daniel Siluester from his highnes, least by the bad demeanor of such lewd persons, the amity and friendship betwixt their maiesties might be diminished.

16 To the 16 and last article, touching the corne brought into the Emperors dominions by the merchants, his maiestie doth greatly commend them for so wel doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his officers of Duina, to suffer the said merchants to sell their corne, by measure great or small at their pleasure without custome.

Thus I receiued a full answere from his maiestie by his chiefe Secretarie & one other of his counsel, to the 16 articles afore rehearsed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter also sent by me to the Queenes maiesty. Which being done, I requested that the new letters of priuilege granted by his highnes vnto you might be forthwith dispatched, to the intent I might carie the same with me. Also I requested that such money due to you, which it had pleased his maiesty to command to be payd, might be deliuered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of priuilege, the Secretary answered me, it is not possible you can haue them with you, for they must be first written and shewed vnto the Emperor, and then three to be written of one tenour according to your request, which cannot bee done with speede, for that his maiesties pleasure is, you shall depart this night before him, who remoueth himselfe to morrow towards Nouogrod: but without faile the sayd letters shall be dispatched vpon the way, and sent after you with speede to Colmogro. And as touching the money which you require, it cannot be paid here because we haue not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof we know not what to paie: wherefore the best is that you send one of the merchants after the Emperor to Nouogrod, & let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will paie all such money as shall be appointed by his maiestie to be paid after the bookes seene.

But forasmuch as there was none of your seruants with me at that present (although I had earnestly written vnto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne seruants, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my dispatch, that he should not faile to come himselfe, or send one of your seruants to mee hither, to follow all such suits as I should commence in your behalfe, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requested the said Secretarie that I might leaue Daniel my interpreter with him, aswell for the receipt of money, as for the speedy dispatch of the letters of priuiledge, but it would not be granted in any wise that I should leaue any of mine own companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leaue with full dispatch, and departed to my lodging, and foorthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as wel to conduct me, and prouide boates, men, post horses and victuals for me all the way to the sea side, being a thousand and three hundred miles, as also to doe iustice of the sayd Bessone, as aforesaid. And he said vnto me, the Emperours pleasure is, that you shall presently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the said Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforesayd. And passing a great part of my iourney, I arriued at the citie of Vologda the last of the sayd May, where I remained fiue daies as well expecting a messenger to bring vnto me the new letters of priuiledge, as the comming of Rutter, whom the Emperours Maiestie himselfe commanded before my face should bee sent vnto me without faile, and I did see the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Mosco for the same. Nenerthelesse the said Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the sudden cause of his stay contrary to the princes owne word and meaning, as I suppose. But I could not help the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redresse, because by absence I could not complaine. Notwithstanding I vsed my indeuour, and sent a messenger John Norton one of your seruants from Vologda to Nouogrod, where the court then lay, expressely with letters, as well to aduertise his maiestie that the sayd Rutter was not sent vnto me according to his highnes commandement & order, as also about the dispatch

patch of the said letters of priuiledge and receit of your money, with straight charge that he should in any wise returne vnto me againe before the departing of the ships. And the first day of Iune I departed from the said Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arriued the 21 of Iune aforesaid, and remained there vntill the 23 of July, looking for the said Iohn Norton to haue returned vnto me in al that time, which had respite fully enough in that space both to go to the court to dispatch his busines, and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwise determined before his going, as I did after vnderstand, and can more at large by worde of mouth declare vnto your worships the occasion thereof.

Neuerthelesse, I am well assured before this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the sayd letters of priuiledges, and shall haue dispatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maiesties grant by me obtained, and as he hath written to the Queenes maiestie at this present, wishing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grieuous displeasure from you, and restored you againe into his fauour, so your Agent and others your seruants there resident may behaue, & endeuour themselues to keepe & augment the same, whose euill doings haue bene the onely occasion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of such countries as I Anthony Ienkinson haue trauelled vnto, from the second of October 1546, at which time I made my first voyage out of England, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned last out of Russia.

First, I passed into Flanders, and trauelled through all the base countries, and from thence through Germanie, passing ouer the Alpes I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I haue throughly iourneied.

I haue also trauelled through the kingdomes of Spaine and Portingal, I haue sailed through the Leuant seas euery way, & haue bene in all the chiefe Islands within the same sea, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and diuers others.

I haue bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth stoode.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers other countries in Asia minor.

I haue passed ouer the mountaines of Libanus to Damasco, and trauelled through Samaria, Galile, Philistine or Palestine, vnto Ierusalem, and so through all the Holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Affrica, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the gollet within the gulfe of Tunis.

I haue sailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where we haue had continuall day, and sight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very strange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia and Moscouia, which extende from the North sea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland, euen to the Mare Caspium.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caspian sea, Gentiles, and Mahometans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremisi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagaia, with diuers others of strange customes and religions.

I haue sailed ouer the Caspian sea, & discouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Chircassi, Comul, Shascal, Shiruan, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40 daies iourney beyond the said sea, towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, through diuers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through 5 kingdomes of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and so to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers sundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I passed againe ouer the Caspian sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, & from thence trauelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Persia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamasco

Tamasso, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes Maiestie, and remained in his court 8 moneths, and returning homeward, passed through diuers other countries. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Russia, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe, in that my seruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her maiestie and the rest by whom I haue bene imploied.

A letter of Iames Alday to the Worshipfull M. Michael Lock, Agent in London for the Moscouie company, touching a trade to be established in Lappia, written 1575.

I Haue in remembrance (worshipful Sir) the talke we had when I was with you, as touching the trade in Lappia: And certeinly I haue something marueiled that in all this time the right wor. your societie haue not giuen order that some little conference (by you, or with some other) might haue bin had with me touching those parts, considering they know (as I thinke) that I remained there one whole yere & more, by which meanes reason would that I should haue learned something. But the cause why they haue not desired to conferre with me (as I iudge) resteth only in one of these 4 cases, that is to say, either they thinke themselues so throughly certified of that trade, as more neede not be spoken therof, or that they haue no iust more to deale that waies, or that they hold mee so vntrusty to them that they dare not open their minds, for feare or doubt, I should beare more affectiō to others then to them, & so discouer their secrets: or els they think me of so simple vnderstanding, that I am not worthy to be spoken with in these matters. To which 4 cases I answere as followeth: First, if they think themselues so throughly certified as more need not to be spoken: certeinly I something mariel by whom it should be: for in ỹ winter past there lay but 5 English persons there, viz. Christopher Colt, Roger Leche, Adam Tunstal cooper, one lad, & I: for Henry Cocknedge was the whole winter at Mosco. And of these persons, as touching Colt, I think him (if I may without offence speake my conscience) the most simple person that was there, (as touching the vnderstanding of a marchant) although indeed he tooke vpon him very much to his owne harme & others I doubt, for he vsed himselfe not like a marchant, neither shewed diligence like a worthy seruant or factor, but lay stil in a den al ỹ whole winter, hauing wares lying vpon his hand, which he would not imploy to any vse: although sundry waies there were that he might haue put his wares in ready money with gaine, & no great aduenture, which money would haue bin more acceptable to the poore Lappes & fishermen at the spring, then any kind of wares: but his lond head did as he that had the talent in the Gospel, & yet he had counsel to the contrary which he disdained, so that men perceiuing his captious head, left not only to counsell him, but also some, in as much as they might, kept him from knowledge of the trade that might be in that countrey, the winter time, which is better paraduenture then most men think of. Wherfore if Colt haue written or said any thing touching those countries, it is doubtful whether it toucheth the effect or not, considering he lay still all the winter without trial of any matter. And for Henry Cocknedge assuredly speaking so much as I do perfectly know, I must needs say, that he is a very honest yong man, & right carefull of his business, and in that respect worthy to be praised. But yet he being absent in the winter other then by hearesay he could not learne, so that his instructions may be something doubtful. And like as of the lad nothing can be learned, so am I sure that Tunstal the Cooper hath not yet bene spoken with, so that of those parts certaine knowledge cannot as yet be learned, except by Roger Leche, of whom I confesse knowledge may be had, for indeed there is no English man liuing that hath like knowledge in those countries as he hath, nor that is able to do so much with the people as he may: he in the winter trauailed one waies & other nere 300 miles: he of a litle made somthing, and learned not only the maners, conditions & customs of the people, but also he learned of al kind of commodities in those regions how they may be bought at the most aduantage, that gaine may be made of them: So that I confesse, if he hath giuen intelligence to the right Wor. company, then haue they no neede to speake with me or any other for to learne of those countries (except it be to heare mine opinion) which

He marueileth the company do not conferre with him of Lappia.

1574.

ỹ English men wintered in Lappia.

Christopher Colt a simple marchant.

Good trade in winter in Lappia.

Henry Cocknedge, honest but ignorant.

Roger Leche' expert of Lappia.

in

in truth I wil alwaies open vnto them. But the effect of ȳ beneficial secrets of that countrey is to be inquired of him, & in mine opinion worthy to be learned, except, as in the second case, they list no more to deale that waies. To which I answere, that if they deale not that waies, & that with speede they seeke not to preuent others ȳ mean to deale there, although not English men, let them then not thinke long to haue any profitable trade in Russia: for the greater part of that benefit wil be wiped from them, or ȳ yeere to an end, as I will shew good reason, if I be demanded the question. Therefore if they will maintaine the Russia trade with aduantage, then ought they to looke to this in time, and so may they keepe the Russia trade as it is, and likewise make a trade in Lappia more profitable then that, and therfore this is to bee considered, rather then to prohibite Englishmen frō the trade of Vedagoha. For if they looke not to this, and that in time, they may be likened (if it might be without offence spoken) to two dogs that striue for the bone whiles the third run away with it: and yet meane I not otherwise, but in such order, as not Englishmen only, but also Hollanders, Brabanders, & others may be iustly and vtterly put from the trade in Lappia, and the company to keepe the whole trades to themselues without interruption of any, to their great benefit, which I wish to them from the bottome of my heart, as euer I wished wealth to mine own person: And thereby hold me excused in the third case I write of. And for the fourth as touching my iudgement, as I confesse it is not very deepe, so I thanke God I am not vtterly without vnderstanding (although I be poore) & therfore peraduenture holden out of reputation, yet God doth distribute his gifts as it pleaseth him. I haue seen wise men poore in my time, & foolish men rich, and some men haue more knowledge then they can vtter by speech, which fault was once obiected against me by a great learned man of this realme: but surely how weak soeuer my vtterance is, my meaning is faithful and true, and I wish in my heart to your laudable company al the gaine that may be, or els I pray the Lord God to confound me as a false dissembler. It greeueth me to see how of late they haue bin brought to great charges, beating the bush, as the old terme is, & other men taking the birds: this last yere hauing in Lappia 2 ships, as I am partly informed, they both brought not much aboue 300 barrels of traine oile, yet am I sure there was bought besides them of the Russes, Corels, & Lappes, 1183 barrels, besides 27 barrels Colt sold to Iacob the Hollander, at two barrels for one Northerne dozen. And yet there is a greater inconuenience springing, which if it take a litle deeper roote it will be (I feare) too hard to be pulled vp, which for loue & good will (God is my witnes) I write of, wishing as to my deare friends that they should looke to it in time, if they meane to keepe the trade of Russia or Lappia. And thus loue hath compelled me to write this aduertisement, which I wish to be accepted in as good part, as I with good will haue written it.

If the company do not enioy also the trade of Lappia, others will preuent them.

The trade of Vedagoha.

He can say somewhat though not much.

1183 barrels of oyle bought by others.

Colt sold 27 barrels to a Hollander.

The request of an honest merchant to a friend of his, to be aduised and directed in the course of killing the Whale, as followeth. An. 1575.

I pray you pleasure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder specified.

FOr the prouision and furniture for a shippe of 200 tunnes, to catch the Whale fish in Russia, passing from England. How many men to furnish the ship.

How many fishermen skilful to catch the Whale, & how many other officers and Coopers.

How many boats, and what fashion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of such skilfull men and other officers, as we shall neede out of Biskay.

How many harping irons, speares, cordes, axes, hatchets, kniues, and other implements for the fishing, and what sort and greatnes of them.

How many kettles, the greatnesse and maner of them, and what mettall, and whether they bee set on triuets or on furnaces for boiling of the traine oyle, and others.

What quantitie of caske, and what sort of caske, and what number of hoopes and twigges, and how much thereof to be stawed for the traine.

What quantitie of victuals, and what kinde of victuals for the men in all the ship for 4 moneths time.

For the common mariners and officers to gouerne the ship, we shall not neede any out of Biskaie, but onely men skilfull in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper skilfull to set vp the stained caske.

Also what other matters are requisite to be knowen, and done for the said voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

These requests were thus answered, which may serue as directions for all such as shall intend the same voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the setting forth of a ship of 200. tunne, for the killing of the Whale.

There must be 55 men who departing for Wardhouse in the moneth of April, must bee furnished with 4 kintals and a halfe of bread for euery man.
250 hogsheds to put the bread in.
150 hogsheds of Cidar.
6 kintals of oile.
8 kintals of bacon.
6 hogsheds of beefe.
10 quarters of salt.
150 pound of candles.
8 quarters of beanes and pease.
Salt fish & herring, a quantitie conuenient.
4 tunnes of wines.
Halfa quarter of mustard seed, and a querne.
A grindstone.
800 empty shaken hogsheds.
350 bundles of hoopes, and 6 quintalines.
800 paire of heds for the hogsheds.
10 Estachas called roxes for harping irons.
10 pieces of Arporieras.
3 pieces of Baibens for the Iauelines small.
2 tackles to turne the Whales.
A halser of 27 fadom long to turne ỹ whales.
15 great Iauelines.
18 small Iauelins.

50 harping irons.
6 machicos to cut the Whale withall.
2 doozen of machetos to minch the Whale.
2 great hookes to turne the Whale.
3 paire of Can hookes.
6 hookes for staues.
3 dozen of staues for the harping irons.
6 pullies to turne the Whale with.
10 great baskets.
10 lampes of iron to carie light.
5 kettles of 150 li. the piece, and 6 ladles.
1000 of nailes for the pinnases.
500 of nailes of Carabelie for the houses, and the wharfe.
18 axes and hatchets to cleaue wood.
12 pieces of lines, and 6 dozen of hookes.
2 beetles of Rosemarie.
4 dozen of oares for the pinnases.
6 lanternes.
500 of Tesia.
Item, gunpouder & matches for harquebushes as shalbe needfull.
Item, there must be caried from hence 5 pinnases, fiue men to strike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5 coopers, & a purser or two.

A note of certaine other necessarie things belonging to the Whalefishing, receiued of master W. Burrough.

A sufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
A dozen of great baskets.
4 furnaces to melt the Whale in.
6 ladles of copper.

A thousand of nailes to mend the pinnases.
500 great nails of spikes to make their house.
3 paire of bootes great and strong, for them that shall cut the Whale.
8 calue skins to make aprons or barbecans.

The deposition of M. William Burrough to certaine Interrogatories ministred vnto him concerning the Narue, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are subiect, made the 23 of Iune, 1576.

These articles seeme to haue bene ministred vpon the quarel between Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscouie company, for his trade to the Narue without their consent.

The first Interrogatorie. First, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes of the same townes, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of priuilege

uilege by the Emperour to our merchants, as also in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. respectiuely were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect to the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia: and whether the saide Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaide, was chiefe lord and gouernour respectiuely of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the said townes and places, and either of them be situated towards the North and Northeast or Northwest, and between the North and the East point: and be the same places whereunto by force of the said priuilege, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffike, sauing to the societie aforesaid.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent saith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the said priuilege (as he iudgeth) were reputed respectiuely to be vnder the iurisdiction, & subiect to the Emperour of Russia, and so from the time of the said grant, vnto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. respectiuely they were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect vnto the mighty prince the Emperour of Russia, and the same Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaid, was chiefe gouernour respectiuely of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the said places are situated from London Northwards, betweene the East and the North, and within the grant of the letters patents, and priuileges of the said companie of merchants for the discouery of new trades, and the same places whereunto by force of the said letters patents, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffike sauing to the societie aforesaid. The deputies answere.

Notwithstanding the Deponent saith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeres, or euery yeere once, hath had one of his subiects or more by him selfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places Cola, Kegor, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certain tribute or head pence, which the said Lappies haue willingly giuen to winne fauour of the saide prince, and to liue quietly by his subiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their countrey, whereof Wardhouse is the strongest hold, & bordereth neere vnto them. Hee hath also heard that in the time of peace betweene the saide Emperour of Russia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes seruant vseth to doe, and did demaund of them some tribute or duetie which they willingly paide: but since the late warres betweene the saide Emperour and king of Sweden, hee hath not heard of any thing that hath bene paide by them to the king of Sweden: such is the simplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather giue tribute to all those that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill willes.

But the trueth is, as this Deponent saith, that the saide mightie prince the Emperour of Russia is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the saide countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are obserued by them, hee takes toll and custome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become Christians it is after the Russe law. If there happen any controuersie betweene those people, such as cannot be ended amongst themselues, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Mosko as their highest Court, and there haue it ended. Betweene the place specified Kegor, and the confines of Finmarke aforesaide in Lappia, is the monasterie Pechingo, which are monkes, and vse the Russe lawe, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwayes appointed by the clergie in Mosko. Pechingo abbey.

Also in the yeere of our Lord 1557. the said Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of Iune, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great assembly of people at a mart there, the Russes, Kerils and Lappians on the one side subiects to the said mighty prince the Emperour of Russia, and the Norwegians or Norses and people of Finmarke subiects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fish for other commodities. The deputie for the Russe had the chief gouernment of the said Mart, and tooke toll of those people ỳ were subiect to his master, and the captaine of Wardhouse had then

then the gouernment of the people subiect to his master the king of Denmark. He saith also, that betweene the abbey Pechingo, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Russia, vpon the border of the said coast of Lappia, he hath bene vpon the shore at diuers places, where fresh riuers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken fresh salmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the subiects of the said Emperour, and he the said Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he saith that it hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that there is not any such riuer or creek of fresh water which falleth out of the said coūtrey of Lappia into the sea, between the said abbey Pechingo, and the bay of S. Nicholas, but they are all and euery of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiueth the rent for them.

The second Interrogatorie.

Item, whether as well before, as also within the memorie of men, till the time of the graunt of the said letters patents any of the English merchants (sauing the merchants of the said societie) subiects of this realme of England, haue commonly exercised or frequented businesse or trade in the said villages or townes called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo, and Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the said Emperour of Russia.

The deponents answer.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent answereth, that the subiects of this realme before the graunt of the said letters patents did not commonly exercise, neither frequent or trade to any of the said places called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo or Cola, or to any of them.

Certaine reasons to disswade the vse of a trade to the Narue aforesaide, by way through Sweden.

THe merchandise of the Narue are grosse wares, viz. flaxe, hempe, waxe, tallow and hides.

The traffique at that place standeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Russia, with the king of Sweden: for all these merchandises that are brought thither come from Plescoue, Nouogrod, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For transporting those merchandises from Narue to Stockholm, or what other place shall bee thought conuenient in Sweden, it must be in vessels of those countries, which wilbe of smal force to resist Freebooters, or any other that shall make quarel or offer violence against them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they must be discharged, and new laden into smaller vessels, to cary the same by riuer or lake a part of the way, and againe to be vnladen and transported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinary charges for transporting of goods from Narue to Newles by way as aforesaid, besides the spoile by so often lading and vnlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the seas, pirats, &c. will be such as when it shalbe so brought to Newles it wil be as deare to the merchants in that place as it shall be worth to be sold in London, wherefore the trade that wayes cannot be profitable to our nation.

Note.

Moreouer, when the goods shall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtfull to bring it thence quietly without disliking or forcible resistance of the king of Denmarke, forasmuch as he maketh quarell, and alleageth damage vnto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater aduantage may he performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Russia by way of S. Nicholas, through the displeasure that the Emperour may conceiue by our trade with the Sweden to Narue is also to be considered.

A remembrance of aduise giuen to the merchants, touching a voyage for Cola abouesaid. 1578.

WHereas you require my counsell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be set forth, I answere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore vsed, which is after this maner. First of all we haue hired the ship by the great, giuing so much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the shippe, as the ship may be in bignesse: as if shee bee about the burden of an hundred tunnes, we pay fourescore pound, and so after that rate: and thereunto we doe victual the ship our selues, and doe ship all our men our selues, shipping no more men, nor giuing them more wages then we should doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene

bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to haue our men to fish with one boate, & costing vs no more charges then it should do, if our men should lie & doe nothing sauing the charges of salt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this last yere past our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. or 10. thousand fish, which yeelded to vs in money with the oile that came of it, about 15. or 16. score pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And besides al this, our ship did take in so much oile and other commodities as we bestowed 100. whole clothes in. But because, as I doe suppose, it is not the vse of London to take ships to fraight after that order before prescribed, neither I think that the mariners will take such paines as our men will: Therefore my counsell is, if you thinke good, to freight some ship of Hul or Newcastile, for I am sure that you may haue them there better cheap to freight, then here at London. Besides al this, one may haue such men as wil take paines for their merchants. And furthermore when it shal please God that the ship shal returne to come to discharge at Hull, which will be the most for your profit for the sales of all such like commoditie as comes from that place, as for fish, oyle, and Salmon chiefly, hee that will seeke a better market for the sales then at Hull, he must seeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the best way that I can deuise, and most for your profite, and if you will, I will also set you downe all the commodities that are necessarie for such a voyage, and which way also that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leaue off the trade of Cola which may easily be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would vse the matter so that they should either leaue off the trade, or els cary light ships with them home againe.

Hull the best market of England for sale of fish.

A dedicatorie Epistle vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, written by Master William Burrough late Comptroller of her Highnesse naule, and annexed vnto his exact and notable mappe of Russia, briefly containing (amongst other matters) his great trauailes, obseruations, and experiments both by sea and land, especially in those Northeastern parts.

To the most high and renowmed Princesse ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c.

MY minde earnestly bent to the knowledge of nauigation and Hydrographie from my youth (most excellent my dread Soueraigne) hath eftsoones beene moued by diligent studie to search out the chiefest points to them belonging: and not therewith sufficed hath also sought by experience in diuers discoueries and other voyages and trauailes to practise the same. I was in the first voyage for discouerie of the partes of Russia, which begun in anno 1553. (being then sixteene yeeres of age) also in the yeere 1556. in the voyage when the coastes of Samoed and Noua Zembla, with the straightes of Vaigatz were found out: and in the yeere 1557. when the coast of Lappia, and the bay of S. Nicholas were more perfectly discouered. Since which time, by my continuall practise in the voyages made yeerely to S. Nicholas in Russia, or to the Narue, and to some other countreys also by Sea: as likewise in passing from S. Nicholas to Mosco, and from Mosco to Narue, and from thence backe againe to S. Nicholas by land, in the yeeres 1574. and 1575. (being then Agent in those countreis for the companie of English merchants for discoueries of new trades) setting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, true obseruations & notes of al those countreys, Islands, coasts of the sea, and other things requisite to the artes of Nauigation and Hydrographie: and with like diligence gathering exact notes and descriptions of the wayes, riuers, cities, townes, &c. as I passed by land: I finde my selfe sufficiently furnished to giue report vnto your Maiesty, and to make description of those North parts of the world in forme and maner of euery leagues distance that I haue passed & seene in all those my trauels. The places herein described, which I haue not seene and tried my selfe, I haue set downe by the best authorities that I could finde, and therein may erre with the learned Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, and the rest: but for the maine part which is from Rochel in France hither to London, and from hence Eastward to Narue by sea, and from thence to Mosco and to S. Nicholas by land: also from hence Northwards and Northeastwards by Sea to Saint Nicholas,

choles, and to the straight of Vaigatz (first craving humbly your highnesse pardon) I dare boldly affirme (and that I trust without suspect of arrogancie, since truely I may say it) I haue here set it open to the view, with such exactnesse and trueth, and so placed euery thing aright in true latitude and longitude, (accompting the longitudes from the meridian of London, which I place in 21. degrees) as till this time no man hath done the like: neither is any man able by learning onely, except he trauaileth, as I haue done. For as it may be truely saide of nauigation and Hydrographie, that no man can be cunning in the one which wanteth conuenient knowledge in the other: and as neither of them can be had without the helpes of Astronomie and Cosmographie, much lesse without these two grounds of all artes, Arithmetike and Geometrie: so none of the best learned in those sciences Mathematicall, without conuenient practise at the sea can make iust proofe of the profite in them: so necessarily dependeth art and reason vpon practise and experience. Albeit there are diuers both learned and vnlearned, litle or nothing experienced, which in talke of nauigation will enter deeply and speake much of and against errours vsed therein, when they cannot reforme them. Such also haue written therof, pretending singular great knowledge therein, and would so be accompted of, though in very deede not worthy the name of good and sufficient pilots. To whom I thinke it shall not be amisse in defence of rules builded vpon reason, and in practise allowed, thus much to say for answere. It is so, that there are rules vsed in nauigation which are not perfectly true: among which the streight lines in sea-cardes, representing the 32. points of the compasse or windes, are not holden to be the least, but noted of such talkers for principall, to condemne the occupiers thereof for ignorant: yet hath the famous and learned Gerardus Mercator vsed them in his vniuersal mappe. But such as condemne them for false, and speake most against their vse cannot giue other that should serue for nauigation to better purpose and effect. Experience (one of the keyes of knowledge) hath taught mee to say it. Wherein with my abilitie, together with some part of my studie, I am the rather moued (in this my plot) to make some triall vnto you maiestie: for that I perceiue that such attempts of newe discoueries (whereunto this noble Island is most aptly situated) are by your royall maintenance so willingly furthered: beseeching your highnesse so to accept of these my trauailes, as a pledge of my well willing to my countrey, and of my loyall service to your maiestie, whose healthfull happie life and reigne God continue which is Almightie. Amen.

Your Maiesties most humble subiect,
William Burrough.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to Shaugh Thamas the great Sophi of Persia, sent by Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, and Peter Gerard appointed Agents for the Moscouie companie, in their sixt voyage to Persia, begun in the yeere 1579.

To the most noble and inuincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassan, and great Gouernour of the Indies.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the most noble and inuincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassan, and great gouernour euen vnto the Indies, sendeth greeting. Most noble
‖ 1568 and inuincible Prince, it is now ‖ tenne yeeres since, or thereabouts, wherein (after the ho-
pag. 443. nourable ambassade of the noble man Anthony Ienkinson our welbeloued subiect, to your most noble and inuincible father performed) we laboured to bring to passe by Thomas Bannister and Gefferey Ducket merchants, our subiects, that throughout all the kingdomes subiect to his empire, free power might be giuen to Will. Garrard, Thomas Offley, William Chester knights, Rowland Haiward, Lionel Ducket, William Allen, Thomas Bannister, Gefferey Ducket, Lawrence Chapman Merchants, and vnto their societie, to enter into his lands and countreys at al times when they would and could, there to exercise & vse their trade of merchandise, and from thence likewise after exchange or sale made of those wares, which they

they should bring with them with his like good leaue and fauour, to carie from thence those things wherwith his dominions do abound & with vs be scant. Which our petition the most noble prince your father took so thankfully and in such good part, that he not onely graunted franke and commodious leaue, as was desired: but the same he would to bee vnto them most free and beneficiall, and to haue continuance for many yeeres and times. The benefite of the which his wonderfull liberality, our subiects did enioy with such humanitie & freedome as there could be no greater, till the time that by reason of wars more and more increasing in those partes, by the which our subiects were to make their iourney into Persia, they were debarred and shut from that voyage & traffique. The which traffique the said societie being eftsoones desirous to renew to the weale and commoditie of both our dominions they haue now sent into Persia their factors & Agents Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, Peter Gerrard merchants, with their associats, whom we beseech your inuincible maiesty to entertaine with that fauour wherewith your father did imbrace Tho. Bannister & Geffrey Ducket, and to enfranchise their whole societie with that freedome, that neither they through any their misdemeanours towards your subiects, may thereof seeme vnworthy (as we hope they will not) neither we our selues otherwise enioy them, then with the perpetuall remembrance of your good affection towards vs, and with the like fauourable inclination of our part towards you. The matter it selfe & tract of time shall sufficiently proue the foresaid maner of traffike vnprofitable to neither of vs. For so hath one God the chiefe gouernor of all things disposed of our affaires on earth, that ech one should need other. And as for our people & subiects of the English nation, in verie deed your maiesty shal find them made and fashioned so pliant to the performance of all dueties of humanity, that it can neuer repent you to haue graunted them this franke traffike, nor shame vs to haue obteined it for them at your hands. That therefore it may please your maiesty to yeeld vnto them this at our request, most earnestly we beseech you. And we (as it wel beseemeth a prince) if euer hereafter we may, wil shew our selfe not to bee vnmindfull of so great a benefit. We wish your maiesty wel & prosperously to fare. Giuen at our palace of Westminster the 10. day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1579. and of our reigne the 21.

Aduertisements and reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, for the companie of English merchants for the discouerie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of sundrie letters written by Christopher Burrough, seruant to the saide companie, and sent to his vncle Master William Burrough.

First it is to be vnderstood, that the ships for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Russia, in which the factors and merchandise for the Persian voiage were transported, departed from Graueseend the 19. of Iune, 1579. which arriued at S. Nicholas in Russia the 22. of Iuly, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandise were discharged & laden into doshnikes, that is, barkes of the countrey, to be caried from thence vp by riuer vnto Vologda. And the 25. day of ỹ said Iulie, the doshnikes departed from Rose Island by S. Nicholas vp the riuer Dwina, Peremene, that is to say, in poste, by continual sailing, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of me, which came to Colmogro the 27. day, and departed thence the 29. of Iulie vp the said riuer Dwyna, and came to Vstyoug (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9. of August, where they stayed but a small time, prouiding some victuals, and shifting certaine of their cassacks or barkmen, & so departed thence the same day vp the riuer Sughano, and came to Totma (which is counted somewhat more then halfe the way from Vstioug) the 15. day, where they shifted some of their cassaks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19. of August, where they landed their goods, and staied at that place till the 30. of the same. Hauing prouided at Vologda, Telegas, or wagons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the same by land towards Yeraslaue the said 30. of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and Yeraslaue. came to the East side of the riuer Volga ouer against Yeraslaue, with 25. Telegas laden with the said goods the seuenth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three

stroogs

stroogs or barks prouided to transport the saide goods to Astracan (where they should meete the ship that should carie the same from thence into Persia) came ouer from Yeraslaue vnto the same side of the riuer Volga, and there tooke in the said goods. And hauing prepared the said barks ready with all necessary furniture they departed with them from Yeraslaue downe the riuer of Volga on the 14 day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arriued at Niznouogrod the 17 day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperors letters to passe free without paying any custome, and taried there about three houres to prouide necessaries, and then departing, arriued at Cazan (or neere the same towne) on the 22. of September at fiue of the clock afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for prouiding new casseks in the places of some that there went from them) they remained till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at Tetushagorod, which is on the Crim side of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the 28. day at ten in the forenoone, where they ankered, and remained about 3. houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crims side (on the Westerne side of Volga) the fift of October about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Astracan: and heere there groweth great store of Licoris: the soile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oueak is 51. degrees 30. minutes. At this place had bene a very faire stone castle called by the name Oueak, & adioyning to the same was a towne called by ye Russes, Sodom: this towne & part of the castle (by report of the Russes) was swalowed into the earth by the iustice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remaineth at this day to be seene a part of the ruines of the castle, and certaine tombs, wherein as it seemeth haue bin laid noble personages: for vpon a tombe stone might be perceiued the forme of a horse and a man sitting on it with a bow in his hand, and arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a scutchion also vpon one of the stones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof some part had beene consumed with the weather, and the rest left vnperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen also vpō another tombe stone. Nowe they departed from Oueak the said fift of October at fiue of the clocke after noone, and came to Perauolok the 10. day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This worde Perauolok in the Russe tongue doeth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land betweene two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the riuer Volga, at that place, to the riuer Don or Tanais, is counted thirty versts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foote in one day. And seuen versts beneath, vpon an Island called Tsaritsina the Emperour of Russia hath fiftie gunners all the summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Astracan are fiue other Carawools or watches.

Great store of Licoris.

Perauolok.

1 The first is named Kameni Carawool, and is distant from Perauolok 120, versts.
2 The second named Stupino Carowool, distant from the first 50. versts.
3 The third called Polony Carowool, is 120. versts distant from the second.
4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50. versts distant from the third.
5 The fift named Ichkebre, is 30. verst distant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Astracan is 30. versts.

Astracan.

The 16. of October they arriued at Astracan, with their three stroogs in safetie about nine of the clock in the morning, where they found the ship prouided for the Persia voyage in good order & readinesse. The 17. day the foure principal factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbois, and Peter Garrard, were inuited to dine with the chiefe diake or secretary of Astracan (Vasili Pheodoronich Shelepin) who declared then vnto them the troubles that were in Media and Persia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and did possesse the greatest part of Media: also he laid before them that Winter was at hand, & if they should put out with their ship to the sea, they should bee constrained to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to returne: whereupon

Peter Garrard.

upon the said factors determined to stay there all Winter to learne further of the state of those countreis.

The 19. of Nouember the winde being Northerly, there was a great frost, and much ice in the riuer: the next day being the 20. of Nouember the ice stood in the riuer, and so continued vntill Easter day. Ice at Astracan for foure monthe.

The 22. of December departed this life John Moore the gunner of the ship.

Thursday the 7. of Ianuary betweene 8. and 9. of the clocke at night there appeared a crosse proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof. Anno 1580.

The 6. of Ianuary being Twelfe day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuer Volga, & hallowed the water with great solemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the souldiers of the towne shot off their smal pieces vpon the ice, and likewise to gratifie the captaine of the castel being a Duke, whose name is Pheodor Michalouich Troiocouria, who stood hard by the ship, beholding them as they were on the riuer, was shot off all the ordinance of our ship being 15. pieces, viz. 2. faulcons, 2. faulconers, 4. fowlers, 4. fowlers chambers, and 3. other small pieces made for the stroogs to shoote hailestones, and afterwards the great ordinance of the castle was shot off.

On the 31. of Ianuary there happened a great eclipse of the moone, which began about 12. of the clocke at night, and continued before she was cleare an houre and a halfe by estimation, which ended the first of February about halfe an houre past one in the morning: she was wholly darkned by the space of halfe an houre.

The 26. of February the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within 3. quarters of a mile of the castle of Astracan, by casualty was set on fire about 10. of the clock at night, & continued burning til midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell destroyed. The Nagayes that inhabite that towne, are the Emperour of Russia his vassals: It is supposed there are of them inhabiting that place of men, women, and children, the number of seuen thousand. That night the Allarum was made in the castle and towne of Astracan. The captaine thereof had all his souldiers in very good order and readinesse, being of them in number two thousand gunners and cassaks, that is to say, a thousand gunners, which are accounted meere souldiers, and are not put to any other seruice then the vse of their pieces, watch, &c. as souldiers which alwaies keepe the castle, and the cassaks also vsing their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly set to all kind of labourage.

The 7. of Mareh 1580. the Nagayes and Crims came before Astracan to the number of one thousand foure hundred horsemen, which incamped round about, but the neerest of them were two Russe versts and a halfe off from the castle and town: some of them lay on the Crims side of Volga, and some on the Nagay side, but none of them came vpon the Island that Astracan standeth on. It was said that two of the prince of the Crims his sonnes were amongst them. They sent a messenger on the eight day to the captain of Astracan, to signifie that they would come and visit him: who answered, he was ready to receiue them: and taking a great shot or bullet in his hand, willed the messenger to tel them that they should not want of that geare, so long as it would last. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to assault the towne or castle, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpose. The tenth day two Russes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, and came into Astracan. The same day word was brought to the Duke of two Nagayes which were seene at Gostine house, supposed to be spies, but were gone againe from thence before they were suspected. This Gostine house is a place a litle without the towne where the Tisiks (or Persian merchants) do vsually remaine with their merchandize. The 11. day the said Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that house earely in the morning, where they were taken by the Russes, and brought to the captaine of the castle, and being examined, confessed that their comming was onely to seeke two of their bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon their bondmen were deliuered to them: which fauour the said captaine comonly sheweth if they be not Russies, and they were set at libertie. The 13. day they brake vp their camps, and marched to the Northwards into the countrey of Nagay. Astracan stande vpon an Iland.

The variation of the compas in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. minuts.

The 17. of April the variation of the compasse obserued in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. min. from North to West. This spring there came newes to Astracan that the queene of Persia (the king being blind) had bene with a great army against the Turks that were left to possesse Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithstanding Derbent, & the greatest part of Media were still possessed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company consulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at Astracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ship on their purposed voyage to the coast of Media, to see what might be done there: where, if they could not find safe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coast of Gilan, which is a prouince nere the Caspian sea bordering vpon Persia: and therupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboord the ship, and tooke into her also some merchandize of Tisiks or Persian merchants.

The 29. of April Amos Riall, and Anthony Marsh, the companies seruants were sent from Astracan by the said factors, vp the riuer Volga to Yerasiaue, with letters of aduise to be sent for England, and had order for staying the goods in Russia that should come that yeere out of England for maintening the trade purposed for Persia, vntill further triall were made what might be done in those parts.

May. The first day of May in the morning, hauing the shippe in readinesse to depart, the factors inuited the duke Pheodor Micalouich Proiocoorow, and the principall secretary Vasili Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefest about the duke to a banket aboord the ship, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was shot off all the ordinance of the ship, and about nine of the clocke at night the same day they weyed anker, and departed with their ship from Astracan, and being but litle winde, towed her with the boat about three versts, & then ankered, hauing with them a pauos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The second day at foure of the clocke in the morning they weyed & plyed downe the riuer Volga toward the Caspian sea. The seuenth of May in the morning they passed by a tree that standeth on the left hand of the riuer as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, & about three versts further, that is to say, to the Southwards of the said tree is a place called Vchoog, that is to say, the Russe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certain cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fishermen that keepe the weare. This Vchoog is counted from Astracan 60. versts: they proceeded downe the said riuer without staying at the Vchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with shoald water, and were forced to lighten their ship by the pauos: the 11. day they sent backe to the Vchoog for an other pauos: This day by mischance the shippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pauos, whereby the company had sustained great losses, if the chiefest part of their goods had not beene layde into the pauos: for notwithstanding their pumping with 3. pumps, heauing out water with buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the shippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The 12. day the pauos came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lighted the shippe of all the goods. The 13. day in the morning there came to them a small boat, sent by the captaine of Astracan, to learne whether the shippe were at sea cleare of the flats. The 15. day by great industry and trauell they got their ship cleere off the shoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to passe their shippe in three foot water or lesse. The 16. day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Island of Foure Hillocks, which are counted forty versts from Vchoog, and are the furthest land towards the sea. The 17. day they bare off into the sea, and being about twelue versts from the Foure hillocks, riding in fiue foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pauoses into the shippe, and filled their shippe with all things necessary. The 18. day in the morning about seuen of the clock, the pauoses being discharged departed away towards Astracan, the winde then at Southeast, they road still with the shippe, and obseruing the eleuation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minuts. The 19. day, the wind Southeast, they road still. The 20. day the winde at Northwest they set saile about one

Vchoog.

Should water.

Flats.

Chetera Bougori. The Caspian sea.

45 degrees 20. minuts. The first obseruation in the Caspian sea.

of

of the clocke in the morning, & stered thence South by West, & Southsouthwest about 3. leagues, and then ankered in 6. foot and a halfe water, about nine of ½ clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the elevation of the pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minuts. The 21. hauing the winde at Northwest, they set saile, and stered thence South by West, and South vntill eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obserued the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47. minuts: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare of the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the sea about fiftie versts. From the said noonetide vntill foure of the clocke they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe: then had they fiue fathoms and a halfe and brackish water: from that till twelue at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East tenne leagues: then had they eleuen fathome, and the water salter. From that till the 22. day three of the clocke in the morning they sayled three & fifty leagues, then had they sixtene fathome water: from thence they sayled vntil noone South and by West seuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obserued 43. degrees 15. minuts, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground: from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the 23. foure a clocke in the morning, they sailed Southsouthwest three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude obserued was 42. degrees 20. minuts. From that till the 24. day at noone they sayled South by West seuenteene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obserued was 41. degrees 32. minuts. From noone till seuen of the clocke at night, they sailed Southsouthwest foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high land or hilles, which were almost couered with snow, and the mids of them were West from the ship, being then about twelue leagues from the nearest land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sailed Southwest vntil midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25. day foure of the clock in the morning, they sayled West three leagues, being then litle winde, and neere the land, they tooke in their sayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obserued, was 40. degrees 54. minuts: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At four of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde Northwest, they set their sailes, & from thence till the 26. day at noone they sailed East southeast foure leagues. From thence they sailed till eight of the clocke at night Southwest three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sailed vntill the 27. day two of the clocke in the morning, Westsouthwest eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the sayd two til foure of the clocke they sailed South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the land plaine, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the sea, about fiue leagues from the same land, (which are called Barmake Tash) they sayled betweene those rocks and the land, and about fiue of the clocke they passed by the port Bilbill, where they should haue put in but could not: and bearing longst the shoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildih in the countrey of Media or Sheruan, against which place they ankered in 9. foot water. Presently after they were at anker, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were seuen or eight persons, two Turks, the rest Persians, the Turkes vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their arriuall, who told the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Sheruan, and how that the Turks Basha remained in Derbent with a garrison of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly spoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basha, sent one of the Tsikes (or merchants that went ouer with them from Astracan, passingers) and one of the companies seruants Robert Golding, with those souldiours, to the captaine of Bachu, which place standeth hard by the sea, to certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendshippe to haue quiet and safe traffike for the same. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes iourney, on foote easily to be trauelled, which may be sixe leagues the next way ouer land: it is a walled towne, and strongly fortified. When the sayd messenger came

Brackish water neere vnthe the sea.

43. degrees 15. minuts.

41. degrees 32. minuts.

40 degrees 54. minuts.

Bachu port.

came to the captaine of Bachu, the said captaine gaue him very friendly intertainment, and after he vnderstood what they were that were come in the shippe, and what they had brought, he seemed to reioyce much thereat: who gaue the said Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentieth day: and promised that he would himselfe come to the shippe the next day following: with which answere the said Golding returned and came to the shippe the sayd eight and twentieth day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentieth day in the morning the factours caused a tent to be set vp at shoare neare the shippe, against the comming of the sayd captaine: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie souldiers, that attended on him in shirts of male, and some of them had gauntlets of siluer, others of steele, and very faire. The factors met him at their tent, and after very friendly salutations passed betweene them, they gaue him for a present a garment of cloth of veluet, and another of scarlet, who accepted the same gratefully. After they had talked together by their interpretors, as well of the state of the voyage and cause of their comming thither, as also learned of the sayde captaine the state of that countrey, the factours made request vnto him, that he would helpe them to the speech of the Basha, who answered that their demand was reasonable, and that he would willingly shew them therein what pleasure he could, and sayd, because the way to Derbent, where the Basha remayned, was dangerous, he would send thither and certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and such commodities as they would desire to exchange or barter the same for he would procure the said Basha to prouide for them: and therefore willed the factors to consult together, and certifie him what they most desired, and what quantity they would haue prouided: so whilest the factors were consulting together thereupon the captaine talked with a Tisike merchant that came ouer in the ship with them from Astracan, which Tisike, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before, the factors & their company were determined to haue returned backe againe to Astracan, and that they were aboute to wey their ankers, which indeed was true, but the maister of the barke Thomas Hudson of Limehouse perswaded them that the wind was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they desired to goe to the Basha, and that he would safely conduct them thither: he granted their requests willingly, desiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they should go to Bachu, and from thence proceede on their iourney to Derbent. They were vnwilling to go that night with him, because their prouision for the way was not in readinesse, but requested that they might stay til the morning. Thereupon the captaine sayd it was reported vnto him, that they ment the night before to haue gone away: and if it should so happen, he were in great danger of losing his head: for which cause he requested to haue some one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factors offered himselfe to go, who, because he could not speake the Russe tongue, tooke with him Christopher Burrough, and a Russe interpretour: that night they road from the seaside, to a village about ten miles off, where at supper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countreys were neare vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Russe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we should be: but when by the situation he perceiued we were Englishmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Enghilterra, is it not? answere was made, it was so: whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainety. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himselfe, and Christopher Burrough, with the Russie interpretour for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gillan merchant with him at that present, of whom he seemed to make great account: him he placed next to himselfe on the other side, and his gentlemen sate round about him talking together. Their sitting is vpon the heeles, or crosse legged.

Thomas Hudson of Limehouse, maister of the English barke.

M. Christopher Burrough.

Supper being brought in, he requested them to eate. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewise their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice sodden thicke, and hony mingled with all: after all which, came a sheepe rosted whole, which was brought

brought in a tray, and set before the captaine: he called one of his seruitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying therof vpon diuers platters, set the same before the captaine: then the captaine gaue to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he cast meat from the platters which were before him. Diuers questions he had with M. Garrard and Christopher Burrough at supper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fish or flesh voluntarily or by order. Their drinke in those partes is nothing but water. After supper (walking in the garden) the Captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the vse was in England to lie in the house or in the garden, and which he had best liking of: he answered, where it pleased him, but their vse was to lie in houses: whereupon the captaine caused beds to be sent into the house for them, and caused his kinsman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himselfe with his gentlemen and souldiers lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he sent horse for the rest of the company which should go to Derbent, sending by them that went tenne sheepe for the shippe. In that village there was a stoue, into which the captaine went in the morning, requesting M. Garrard to go also to the same to wash himselfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stoue, whilest they were at breakfast, M. Turnbull, M. Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudson the M. of the shippe, came thither, and when they had all broken their fasts, they went to Bachu: but Christopher Burrough returned to the ship, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that trauell. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promised, being accompanied on their way for their safe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine souldiers, which had the captaine of Bachu his letters to the Basha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their iourney to Derbent they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow woods till they came almost to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Basha, to certifie him of the English merchants comming, who receiuing the letters and vnderstanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receiue them certaine souldiours gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, saluting them with great reuerence, and afterwardes road before them: then againe met them other souldiours, somewhat neerer the castle, which likewise hauing done their salutations road before them, and then came foorth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receiue them into the castle and towne. As they entred the castle, there was a shot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, & the Basha sent M. Turnbull a very faire horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and so they were conueyed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a coate of cloth of golde, and caused it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when ỹ factors came againe to the presence of the Basha according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priuilege, whereby they might traffike safely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Maiestie to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his mind thereof to the captaine of Bachu, it should be deliuered him accordingly. The Bashaes answere was, that he would willingly giue them his priuilege: yet for that he regarded their safetie, hauing come so farre, & knowing the state of his countrey to be troublesome, he would haue them to bring their commodity thither, & there to make sale of it, promising he would prouide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, so that they should not be iniured by any: whereupon the factors sent Thomas Hudson backe for ỹ ship to bring her to Derbent, and the Basha sent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Bachu, to certifie him what was determined, which message being done, the captaine of Bachu, and the Bashaes messenger, accompanied with a doozen souldiours, went from Bachu with Thomas Hudson, & came to the ship at Bildih the 11 day of Iune. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and seene the ship, they all departed presently, but the gentleman, messenger from ỹ Basha, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the ship till she came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by diuers obseruations

The receiuing of the English into Derbent.

The latitude of Bildih 40. deg. 55. min. The variation of the compas 11. deg. 40. min.

is 40. degrees 25. minuts: the variation of the compasse 10. degrees 40. minuts from North to West. After the returne of Thomas Hudson backe to Bildih, they were constrayned to remaine there with the shippe through contrary windes vntill the 16. day of Iune foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, set saile and departed thence towards Derbent, and arriued at anker against Derbent East and by South from the sayd castle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of Iune at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke vp their ordinance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the shippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Basha came downe to the waterside against the shippe, and hauing the said ordinance placed, and charged, it was all shotte off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the shippe. The 29. day their goodes were vnladen and carried to the Bashaes garden, where he made choyce of such things as he liked, taking for custome of euery fiue & twenty karsies, or whatsoeuer, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factors after his choyce made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Bachu, for the speedier making sale thereof, for which cause they obteyned the Bashaes letter to the captaine of Bachu, written very fauourably in their behoofe: and thereupon was laden and sent in a small boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thousand pound sterling: videlicet, one hundreth pieces of karsies, seuen broad clothes, two barrels of cochenelio, two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of shalle. There went with the same of the companies seruants William Wincle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Russies, whereof one was an interpretor, besides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the said barke the 19. of July, and arriued at Bildih the 25. day: their passage and carriage of their goods to Bachu was chargeable, although their sales when they came thither were small: they had great friendship shewed them of the captaine of Bachu, as well for the Bashaes letter, as also for the factors sakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding desirous to vnderstand what might be done at Shamaky, which is a dayes iourney from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeues, and was shot into the knee with an arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life & goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues horses with his caliuer, and shot a Turke thorow both cheeks with a dag. On the sixt day of August the factors being aduertised at Derbent that their ship was so rotten & weake, that it was doubtfull she would not cary them backe to Astracan, did therupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whose name was Iacob, for a barke called a Busse, being of burden about 35. tunnes which came that yere from Astracan, and was at that instant riding at an Island called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eastwardes of Bildih, which barke for their more safety, they ment to haue with them in their returne to Astracan, and therupon wrote vnto Wincoll and the rest at Bachu, that they should receiue the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at Bildih to be returned to Derbent, and to discharge their first boate, which was obserued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the sayd Busse at Bildih, and being ready to haue departed thence for Derbent, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the sea, by force whereof the cables and halsers were broken, and their vessell put a shoare, and broken to pieces against the rockes: euery of them that were in her saued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheste, wherein were dollers, and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the company, which they sold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the barkes side into the water amongst the rockes, and so was lost. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost, other things that were more profitable they saued.

Zere Island.

The English suffer shipwracke.

The 18. of August, the Factors receiued from the Basha 500. Batmans of raw silke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the rest of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the Basha according to his appointment, but that day they could not speake with him, but it was deliuered them as from him, that they should looke and consider whether any thing were due vnto him or not, which grieued the Factors: and thereupon

upon M. Turnebull answered, that their heads & all that they had were at the Bashaes pleasure: But then it was answered there was no such matter in it: but that they should cast vp their reckonings, to see how it stood betweene them. The 20. day they cast vp their reckonings. The 21. they went to haue spoken with the Basha, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Busse that came from Astracan, that Arthur Edwards (whom the Factors left at Astracan with the moietie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the of Arthur Edward dieth at Astracan.

The 23. day the Factors receiued more from the Basha 500. Batmans of silke. The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamaky was set on by theeues (Turkes) and had hurt one of them. September.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Castle of Derbent, where the Armenian Christians do vsually bury their dead. About the 20 of September newes came to Derbent, that the Busse which they had bought of Iacob the Armenian as before, was cast away at Bildih, but they receiued no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the ship 40. bales of silke. From the 26. til the 2. of October, they tooke into the ship, bread, water, and other necessary prouision for their sea store: the said 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the suddaine to auoide their house, and get them with their prouision out of the towne: Whereupon they were constrained to remoue and carry their things to the sea side against the ship, and remained there all the night. The cause of this sudden auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the Basha had receiued newes of a supplie with treasure that the Turke had sent, which was then neare at hand comming toward him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the sheare aboord the ship: and that day the Factors went to the Basha to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended those the Companies seruants, &c. which they had sent to Bachu, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the Countrey: who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be iniured of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboord purposing presently to haue set saile and departed towards Astracan, the winde serning well for that purpose at South Southeast: And as they were readie to set saile, there came against the ship a man, who weued: whereupon the boate was sent a sheare to him, who was an Armenian sent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the said Wincoll had written briefly, the mishap of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from Bildih towardes Derbent, they, and such things as they saued with a small boate, forced to put a sheare in a place by the sea side called the Armenian village: Whereupon the Factors caused the shippe to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ship, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to saile with the shippe, with the next wind that would serue them, against the place where they were, & take them in, if they could: which stay and losse of those Southerly windes, was a cause of great troubles, that they afterwardes sustained through yce, &c. entering the Volga as shalbe declared. The Armenian village.

The 4. day the winde South Southeast, the shippe rode still: This day Christopher Burrow was sent to shore to Derbent to prouide some necessaries for the voyage, & with him a Tisike or two, which should goe in the shippe passengers to Astracan. And being on shoare he saw there the comming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers, and one hundreth pioners, besides Captaines and Gentlemen: the Basha with his Captaines and souldiers very gallantly apparelled and furnished went out from Derbent about three or foure miles, to meete the said treasure, and receiued the same with great ioy and triumph. Treasure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their pay: there was a great mutinie amongst them, because hee had long differred and not payed them their due. The treasure came in seuen wagons, and with it were brought tenne pieces of brasse. The Turke his treasure sent to Derbent.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to be bought of any value, but

but raw silke, neither was that to be had but at the Bashaes hands: who shortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so it was not extreme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefest part, for which he gaue but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth, and because he had prouided such quantitie of commoditie for them, which otherwise they could not haue had, the Countrey being so troublesome, and trauaile by land so dangerous, he vsed them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported vnto them at Astracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes & Persians differed litle from the truth: for the Turkes armie with aide of the Crims, (being in number by § information of two Spaniards that serued in those wars, about 200000) inuaded and conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke vnderstood of the conquest, he appointed Osman Basha (the said Basha, and now Captaine of Derbent) gouernour of the whole Countrey, who settled himselfe in Shamaky the chiefe Citie of Media, and principall place of traffike, vnto whom was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the grateful acceptation of his seruice and the great conquest, a sword of great value.

Osman Basha.

After the said Basha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrisons where he thought conuenient, the armie was dissolued and sent backe: when the Persians vnderstood that the Turkes armie was dissolued and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and ouerranne the same with fire and sword, destroying whatsoeuer they found, as well people, cattell, as whatsoeuer els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so ouerrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamaky, where the said Basha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was settled, and besieged it: whereupon the Basha seeing hee could not long indure to withstande them, fled thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Derbent is a strong Castle which was built by Alexander the great, the situation whereof is such that the Persians being without ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamaky, the Persians entred the same and spoyled it, leauing therein neither liuing creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into Persia, and settled themselues about Teueris, where there grewe some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themselues together in a great armie and encountring the said Turkes, set vpon them on the sudden, and vanquished them, putting them all to the sword. This ouerthrow of the Turkes grieued the Basha of Derbent, and made him to haue the more care for his owne safetie. Moreouer, newes was brought vnto him that the Kisel Bashaes, (that is to say the nobles and Gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set vpon him, and that neere vnto Bachu there lay an army readie to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of Derbent viewing the same, and the springs that did come to it, and where he saw any cause of reformation it was amended.

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg. 52. min. The variation of the Compasse.

The latitude of Derbent (by diuers obseruations exactly there made) is 41. deg 52. min. The variation of the Compasse at that place about 11. degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by land 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by land 45. leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles. From Bachu to Bildih fiue or sixe leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Castle Derbent Eastwards, there reach two stone wals to the border of the Caspian sea, which is distant one English mile. Those wals are 9. fotte thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space betweene them is 160. Geometricall paces, that is 800. foot. There are yet to be perceiued of the ruine of those wals, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile: also from the castle Westward into the land, they did perceiue the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did passe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the Castle Derbent was made.

The 5 of October about noone the winde Northnortheast they wayed anere, and set saile from Derbent, being alongst the coast to the Southwards to seeke their men: but as they had sailed

sailed about foure leagues the winde scanted Easterly, so that they were forced to ancre in three fathom water.

The 6 day they wayed ancre, and bare further off into the sea, where they ancred in seuen fathom water, the ship being very leake, and so rotten abaft the maine mast, that a man with his nailes might scrape thorow her side.

The 7 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they set saile, the winde Southwest. They considered the time of the yere was far spent, the ship weake, leake and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leaue them behinde, bent themselues directly towards Astracan: and sailing Northnortheast vntill midnight about 16 leagues, the winde then came to the Northnorthwest, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in all their sailes, sauing the fore corse, with which they were forced to steere before the sea, South by West, and Southsouthwest. And on the 8 day about two of the clocke in the morning their great boat sunke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the ship to their great griefe and discomfort: for in her they hoped to saue their liues if the ship should haue miscaried. About 10 of the clocke before noone they had sight of the land about 5 leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longst the coast to the Southeastwards vnto Nezauoo, where they came at ancre in three fathoms, and blacke oze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the Northwest, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the rest of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18 versts to the Westwards of Nezauoo, the place where against they rode at ancre, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following alongst the coast after her, who came against the ship where she rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree made signes, which was perceiued by them in the shippe, whereupon they hoised out their skiffe, and sent her ashore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might with the same goods be taken into the ships. The 9 day it was litle winde, they wayed and bare a little further off into the sea towards the said village, and ancred. The 10 day they sent their skiffe to the Armenian village to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde serued, that they could not returne to fetch the ship, they of the ship promised to come for them, against the said village. This day it was calme. Nezauoo.

The 11 day the winde Northwest they rode still. The 12 day the winde Southeast they wayed ancre, & bare against & nere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the skiffe came aboord and tolde them that our people at shore were like to be spoiled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the skiffe sent backe againe to charge them at any hand they should hasten aboord the ship whatsoeuer it cost them. Whereupon, all the company came aboord the same day sauing Richard Relfe and two Russes, but assoone as the skiffe was returned aboord the ship, the winde blew at Southeast, and the sea was growen, so as they were forced to take in their skiffe into the ship, and rode stil till the 13 day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the skiffe was hoised out of the ship, and sent to shore to fetch the said Relfe and the two Russes, which were ready at the shore side, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captiues at the Goletta in Barbary, which serued the Turke as souldiers. Those Spaniards (of Christian charity) they brought also aboord the ship to redeeme them from their captiuity, which were brought ouer into England, and set free and at liberty here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at Northnortheast, faire weather. The 14 day they sent the skiffe to shore, and filled fresh water. The 15 day they rode still, being litle winde and fog. The 16 day the winde Eastsoutheast, they wayed ancre and set saile, bearing Northwards towards Astracan, and the same night they ancred in ten fathoms water, about fiue miles from the shore of the Shalkaules countrey, which place is eight leagues Northnorthwest from Derbent. The 17 day the winde at North very stormy, they rode still all that day and night. The 18 the winde all Southeast about one of the clocke afternoone, they wayed ancre, and sailed thence till foure of the clocke Northnortheast sixe leagues, then they might see the land Northwest about tenne leagues Two Spaniards deliuered by our Englishmen.

leagues from the winde Southeast: from thence they sailed til midnight Northnortheast twelue leagues. From thence till the 19 day seuen a clocke in the morning they sailed Northnortheast eight leagues: the winde then Eastsoutheast, a faire gale, they sounded and had 17 fathoms, and sand, being (as the Master iudged) about the head of Shetly: from thence till 12 of the clocke at noone they sailed North 5 leagues, the winde then at East a faire gale, they sounded and had 5 fathoms. From thence till 8 of the clocke at night, they sailed North 7 leagues, the winde then at Northeast with small raine, they tooke in their sailes, and ancred in 3 fathoms water and soft oze, where they rode still all night, and the 20 day and night the winde Northeast, as before with small raine.

The 21 day the winde Northwest, they likewise rode still. The 22 day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, they wayed ancre, the winde Westnorthwest, and sailed from thence till sixe of the clocke at night North 4 leagues, then they ancred in 2 fathoms and a halfe soft oze, the winde at West a small breath.

The 23 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they wayed ancre, and set saile, being litle winde Easterly, and sailed till 2 of the clocke after noone Northwest in with the shore about sixe leagues, and then ancred in 6 foot water, hauing perfect sight of the low land (sand hilles) being about 3 miles from the nerest land. This place of the land that they were against, they perceiued to be to the Westwards of the 4 Islands (called in the Russe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they found it afterwards by due proofe, to be about 50 versts, or 30 English miles to the Southwest, or Southwest by South, from the sayd Chetera Bougori.

The 24 day the winde at East, and by South, a Sea winde called Gillauar, caused them to ride still. The 25 day they thought good to send in their skiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Russes, to row him alongst Northwards by the shore, to seeke the foure Islands, and so to passe vnto the Vchooge, and there to land the sayd Robert Golding to proceed to Astracan, to deliuer Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to prouide Pauoses to meet the shippe at the sayd Islands, and the skiffe with the Russes were appointed to returne from the Vchooge with victuals to the shippe, which skiffe departed from the shippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28, and 29 dayes, the windes Easterly and Northeast, they rode still with their ship. The 30 day the winde Southeast, they wayed, and set saile to the Northeastwards: but the ship fell so on the side to the shorewards, that they were forced eftsoones to take in their saile, and ancre againe, from whence they neuer remoued her. That day they shared their bread: but in their want God sent them two couies of partridges, that came from the shore, and lighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recouered his health.

A strange accident of prouision for their reliefe.

November

The 4 of Nouember the skiffe returned to the ship with some victuals, and certified that the foure Islands were about 60 versts from them to the Northeastwards. When Robert Golding came to Astracan, and deliuered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, captaine of that place, was done to vnderstand of the ships arriuall, & of the state they were in, and their request for Pauoses, who was very glad to heare of their safe returne, and appointed to be sent with all speed two Pauoses and a Stroog, with gunners to gard and to defend them. With the which Stroog and Pauoses, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4. Islands aforesayd, where he stayed with those barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5 day they purposed to send from the ship their skiffe with the carpenter, and 4 Russes to row him to the 4 Bougories, to request Amos Riall to come from thence with the Pauoses to the shippe with all possible speed. The skiffe with those men departed from the ship in the morning, and within one houre they met with a small boat with Russes rowing towards the ship, which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde swine and other victuals to sell: with the same boat the skiffe returned backe to the ship after the Russes had receiued and were satisfied for the victuals they brought: the same day they returned with their boat backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the same boat was sent the Carpenter of the shippe to the Chetera Bougori, which were in their way, to declare vnto Amos Riall the message before appointed him. From the 5 vntill the 9 day the ship rode still with contrary winds Easterly. The same 9 day came to the shippe certaine Russes in a small boat, which brought with them some victuals

tuals sent by Amos Riall, and declared that he with the Pauoses and Stroog had remained at the Chetera Bougori fiue dayes, expecting the comming thither of the ship. The 10 day being doubtfull of the Pauoses comming, they sent Thomas Hudson Master of the ship in the skiffe (and with her went the foresayd skiffe boat) towards the Chetera Bougori to the Pauoses to bring word whether they would come to the ship or not, the wind then at Northeast with fogge. The 11 day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ship rode still. The 12 day Amos Riall, Christopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ship, and with them the M. Thomas Hudson returned; but the Stroog with the gunners remained at the Chetera Bougori; and from thence (when it began to freese) returned to Astracan. Amos Riall declared that he sent the carpenter backe from the Chetera Boogori in a small boat on the 10 day, and marueiled that he was not come to the shippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) missed the shippe, and ouershot her, and afterwards returning backe, he found the ship at ancre, and nothing in her but the Russes that were left to keepe her, and then he departed thence, and went to the Vchooge, and there stayed. Presently vpon the comming of the Pauoses to the ship they vsed as much speed as might be, to get the goods out of the shippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in also of the shippes ordinance, furniture and prouision, as much as they could.

The 13 day in the morning Amos Riall was sent away in a small boat towards Astracan, to prouide victuals and cariages to relieue and helpe them, who could passe no further then the foure Islands, but was there ouertaken with yce, and forced to leaue his boat, and from thence passed poste to Astracan, finding at the Vchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremity of the colde. The same day they departed also in those lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leauing the ship at ancre, and in her two Russes, which with three more that went in the Pauoses, to prouide victuals for themselues and the rest, & therewith promised to returne backe to the ship with all speed, had offered to vndertake for twenty rubbles in money to cary the ship into some harborow, where she might safely winter, or els to keepe her where she rode all winter, which was promised to be giuen them if they did it: and the same day when with those lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Islands being about eight versts Southwest from them, the winde then at Northeast, did freese the sea so as they could not row, guide, stirre or remoue the said lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them. And so they continued driuing with the yce, Southeast into the sea by the space of forty houres, and then being the sixteenth day the yce stood. Whiles they droue with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the same happened at sometimes so neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it would haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter destruction: but God who had preserued them from many perils before, did also saue and deliuer them then.

In the 13 of Nouember in the mouth of the riuer of Volga.

The 16 day.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the yce, when it was firme and stroog, they tooke out all their goods, being fourty and eight bales or packes of raw silke, &c. layde it on the yce, and couered the same with such prouisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the yce, and to go to the shore: and thereupon brake vp their Chests and Corobias, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made sleddes for euery of them to draw vpon the yce, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conueniently cary, and so they departed from the sayd goods and Pauoses very earely about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauailing on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had sight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillocks of Islands so called) vnto the same they directed themselues, and there remained that night.

Trouble vpon the yce.

Chetera Babbas

The goods and Pauoses which they left on the yce they iudged to be from those Chetera Babbas about 20 versts.

And the next morning departed thence Eastwards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure

foure Islands before spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about 15 versts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Astracan: the next morning very early they lost their way through the perswasion of the Russes which were with them, taking too much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of M. Hudson) whereby wandering vpon the yce foure or fiue dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had bene trauailed, which crost backwards towards the sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two dayes trauaile it brought them to a place called the Crasnoyare (that is to say in the English tongue) Red cliffe, which diuers of the company knew.

There they remained that night, hauing nothing to eat but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde with the two Russes that were left in the ship to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Astracan, about fiue miles before they came to the sayd Crasnoyare, who certified them that the ship was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard scaping with their lines.

The English ship cut in pieces with yce.

In the morning they departed early from Crasnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about 9 of the clocke before noone, being within 10 versts of the Vchooge, they met Amos Riall, with the carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and also 65 horses with so many Cassaks to guide them, and 50 gunners for gard, which brought prouision of victuals, &c. and were sent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Astracan. The meeting of that company was much ioy vnto them.

The Factors sent backe with Amos Riall and the sayd company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudson the Master, Tobias Paris his Mate, and so they the sayd Factors and their company marched on to the Vchooge, where they refreshed themselues that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards Astracan, where they arriued the last day of November. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors trauailed the same day vntill they came within 10 versts of the Chetera Babbas, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babas, where they stayed all night; but presently departed thence Thomas Hudson with the Carpenter and gunner to seeke where the goods lay: who found the same, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared vnto them in what sort they had found the sayd goods.

December.

The 3 day early in the morning they departed all from the 4 Babbas towards the said goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could find vpon the said sleds, and with all conuenient speed returned backe towards Astracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars horsemen, which came shouting and hallowing with a great noise, but our people were so inuironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter vpon them, but ranne by, and shot their arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Russe, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day, they shewed themselues a good distance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not assault them any more. The same day our men with those cariages, departed from thence towards Astracan, where they arriued in safety the 4 of December, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue escaped so many hard euents, troubles and miseries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cause therefore to praise the Almighty, who had so mercifully preserued and deliuered them. They remained the winter at Astracan, where they found great fauour and friendship of the duke, captaine, and other chiefe officers of that place: but that Winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

Their returne to Astracan.

The breaking vp of the yce.

In the spring of the yeere 1581, about the mids of March, the yce was broken vp, and cleare gone before Astracan, and the ninth of Aprill, hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media, laden into a Stroog, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthew Taileboyes, Giles Crow, Christopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouse gunner, Randolfe Foxe, Tho. Hudson, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the dier, Rich. the Surgean, Rob. Golding,

Morgan Hubblethorne dier sent into Persia.

Golding, Ioh. Smith, Edw. Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, hauing also 40 Russes, whereof 36 were Cassacks to row, the rest merchants passengers, departed from Astracan with the sayd Stroog and goods vp the Volga towards Yeraslaue. They left behinde them at Astracan, with the English goods & merchandise there remaining, Amos Riall, W. Wincoll, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to sell & barter the same, or so much thereof as they could to the Tsiks, if there came any thither that spring, and to others as they might, & the rest with such as they should take in exchange to returne vp to Yeraslaue that Summer, when the Emperors carriage should passe vp the Volga. The 21 day they came with their Stroog to the Perauolok, but made no stay at that place: for they had beene much troubled with yce in their comming from Astracan. The 3 of May about noone they came to Oueak, and from thence proceeding vp the riuer, on the 17 day William Turnebull departed from the Stroog in a small boat, and went before towards Tetusha to prouide victuals, and send downe to the Stroog, from which place they were then about 230 verst. The 23 day they met a boat with victuals, which William Turnebull sent from Tetusha, and the same day they arriued with their Stroog at Tetusha, where they stayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnebull was gone in the small boat before to Cazan, to prouide necessaries from thence, and to make way for their dispatch. The 26 day they arriued with their Stroog at Cazan, where they remained till the fourth of Iune: the Factors sent Giles Crow from Cazan to the Mosco, with their letters the 30 of May. The 4 day of Iune they departed from Cazan with their Stroog, and arriued at Yeraslaue the 22 day about 5 of the clocke in the morning. Mer.

The 23 day they prouided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda. The 24 day hauing the goods laden vpon Telegos, they departed with the same towards Vologda, and remained there fiue versts from Yeraslaue.

The 29 day they came to Vologda, with all their goods in safety, and good order. The same 29. William Turnbull and Peter Garrard departed from Vologda post by water towards Colmogro, the third of Iuly, hauing their goods laden in a small doshnik, they departed with the same from Vologda towards Rose Island by S. Nicholas, where they arriued in safety the 16 of Iuly, and found there the Agents of Russia, and in the rode the ships sent out of England, almost laden ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for England (out of the rode of S. Nicholas) the ship Elizabeth.

The 26 day departed thence the Thomas Allen and Mary Susan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbul, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudson, and others. The goods returned of the Persia voyage were laden into the ship, William and Iohn, whereof was Master, William Bigat, and in her with the same goods came Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris.

The 11 of August, the same ship being laden and dispatched departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in company another of the companies fraighted ships, called the Tomasin, whereof was M. Christopher Hall. In their returne homewards they had some foule weather, and were separated at the sea, the William and Iohn put into Newcastle the 24 of September: from whence the sayd Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris came to London by land, and brought newes of the arriuall of the ship.

The 25 of September both the sayd ships arriued at the port of London in safety, and ankered before Limehouse and Wapping, where they were discharged, 1581.

Obseruations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of diuers places in Russia, from the North to the South: Anno 1581.

Michael Archangel.	Meridian altitude obserued at Michael the Archangel, 42. degres, 30. minuts.
	The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minuts.
The English house in Colmogro.	The English house in Colmogro, in latitude, 64. d. 25. m.
	The meridian altitude there obserued, the 29 of Iuly, 42. d. 15. m.

Recola

Recola.	Meridian altitude the 30 of July, 41. d. 40. m. Declination, 16. d. 6. m.	64. d. 20. m.
Yeegris.	Meridian, 4 of August, 41. d. 50. m. Declination Northerly, 14. d. 49. m.	62. d. 59. m.
Towlma.	Meridian altitude, the 15 of August, 40. d. 45. m. Declination Northerly, 11. d. 2. m.	60. d. 17. m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, the 20 of August, 40. d. Declination Northerly, 9. d. 17. m.	59. d. 17. m.
Vologda.	Meridian Altitude, 21 of August, 39. d. 36. m. Declination, 8. d. 56. m.	59. d. 20. m.
Yeraslaue.	Latitude by geese, 57. d. 50. m.	
Swyoskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31. d. Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	56. d. 4. m.
Ouslona Monastery.	Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30. d. 26. m. Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	55. d. 51. m.
Tetuskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28. d. 28. m. Declination, 5. d. 35. m.	55. d. 22 m.
Oueek.	Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30. d. 12. m. Declination, 8. d. 18. m.	51. d. 30. m.
Astracan.	Astracan meridian altitude, 22. October, 29. d. 36. m. Declination, 14. d. 16. m.	46. d. 10. m.
Astracan.	Meridian altitude, 1 of Nouember, 26. d. 35. m. Declination, 17. d. 16. m.	46. d. 9. m

Certaine directions giuen by M. Richard Hackluit of the Middle Temple, to M. Morgan Hubblethorne, Dier, sent into Persia, 1579.

1 FOr that England hath the best wool & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the realme haue no good vent, if good dying be not added: therfore it is much to be wished that the dying of forren countreyes were seene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cause most principally you are sent ouer at the charge of the city: and therfore for the satisfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooues you to haue care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of cloth, for a fifth, sixth and seuenth part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefore to deuise to die as good colours with the one halfe of the present price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by sauing of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must haue great care to haue knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you shall passe thorow, that may be vsed in dying, be they hearbs, weeds, barks, gummes, earths, or what els soeuer.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrummed wooll, the best of the world, and excellently coloured: those cities & townes you must repaire to, and you must vse meanes to learne all the order of the dying of these thrummes, which are so died as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger can staine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not need

to

to feare dying of cloth: For if the colour holde in yarne and thrumme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Persia they haue great colouring of silks, it behooues you to learne that also, for that cloth dying & silke dying haue a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisit you learne the same.

5 In Persia there are that staine linnen cloth: it is not amisse you learne it if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They haue a cunning in Persia to make in buskins of Spanish leather flowers of many kindes, in most liuely colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there: to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the East parts of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint yourselfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by seed or by plant, to cary into England, you may do well to endeuour to enrich your countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may send the same dry into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances that they die withall in Russia, and also in Persia, that your company may see all.

10 In some little pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatsoeuer you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercy: and by ech returne I wish you to send in writing whatsoeuer you haue learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that come death or life your countrey may enioy the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and trauell bestowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fixe and make sure the colour to be giuen by logge wood: so shall we not need to buy woad so deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note from whence euery of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey ech of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of ech of them is, as how neere to such a city, or to such a sea, or to such a portable riuer in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15 If before you returne you could procure a singular good workeman in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.

Commission giuen by sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen and gouernours of the company of English Merchants, for discouery of new trades, vnto Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, for a voyage by them to be made, for discouery of Cathay, 1580. in forme following.

IN the Name of God Almightie, and euerlasting, Amen. This writing for commission Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1580. and in the 22. yeere of the reigne of our Souereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and Gouernours of the company of English Merchants, for discouery of new trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the said company, on the first partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe, in the Countie Middlesex, Captaine, Master, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the second partie, and Charles Iackman of Popler, in the said Countie of Middlesex, Captaine, Master and ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are now riding at anker in the riuer of Thames against Limehouse) on the third partie: witnesseth, that the said

said Gouernours, and company haue hired the saide Arthur Pet, to serue in the said barke, called the George, with nine men and a boy: And likewise the said Charles Iackman, to serue in the said barke, called the William, with fiue men and a boy, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for search and discoueries of a passage by sea from hence by Boroughs streights, and the Island Vaigats, Eastwards, to the countreis or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the same vnto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinsay, or to either of them.

Burrough's aduise.

The which passage (vpon authoritie of writers, and great reason) is conceiued to bee from the Vaigats Eastwards, according to the description in plat of spirall lines, made by master William Burrough, whereof either of the saide Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, haue one deliuered vnto them, and also one other soiling carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it should not be in all points, according to that description, yet we hope that the continent or firme land of Asia doth not stretch it selfe so farre Northwards, but that there may be found a sea passeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we haue appointed you with these two barkes to make triall of the same: wishing you both to ioyne in friendship together, as most deere friends and brothers, to all purposes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the same voyage. And likewise order your companies, that they of the one barke may haue such loue and care, to helpe and succour them of the other, as most deere friends and brothers would doe: so as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is so appointed for your greater comfort and assurance) yet that you are wholy of one minde, and bend your selues to the vttermost of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you obserue good order in your dayly seruice, and pray vnto God, so shall you prosper the better.

We would haue you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, consult, and agree how, and by what meanes you may best performe this purposed voyage, according to our intents. And at such meeting we thinke it requisite, that you call vnto you your mates, and also Nicholas Chanceler, (whom wee doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandise you shall buy or sell, barter or change) to the ende that whatsoeuer God should dispose of either of you, yet they may haue some instructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your assemblies and consultations together, and the substance of matter you shal at euery time agree vpon, we would haue you to note them in the paper bookes that wee giue you for that purpose, vnto each barke one. We do appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admiral, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Iackman in the William, as Viceadmirall. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of company together, which we wish may be such, as you should neuer lose sight the one of the other, except by both your consents, to discouer about an Island, or in some riuer, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, we referre the same to your discretions.

And now for your good direction in this voyage, we would haue you with the next good winde and weather, that God shall send thereunto meete and conuenient, after the 22. day of this present moneth of May, saile from this riuer of Thames, to the coast of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouse, and from thence direct your course to haue sight of Willoughbies land, and from it passe alongst to the Noua Zembla, keeping the same landes alwayes in your sight on your larboordsides (if conueniently you may) to the ende you may discouer, whether the same Willoughbies land be continent and firme land with Noua Zembla, or not: notwithstanding we would not haue you to entangle your selues in any Bay, or otherwise, so that it might hinder your speedy proceeding to the Island Vaigats.

The land of Samoeda.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would haue you to get sight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is ouer against the South part of the same Island, and from thence with Gods permission, to passe Eastwards alongst the same coast, keeping it alwayes in your sight (if conueniently you may) vntill you come to the mouth of the riuer Ob, and when you come vnto it, passe ouer the said riuers mouth vnto the border of land, on the Eastside of the

the same (without any stay to bee made for searching inwardly in the same riuer) and being in sight of the same Easterly land, doe you in Gods name proceed alongst by it, from thence Eastwards, keeping the same alwayes on your starboordside in sight, if you may, and follow the tract of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may do both) vntill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God prosper your voyage with such good successe, that you may attaine to the same, doe you seeke by all meanes you can to arriue to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinsay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you cannot conueniently come to either of those places, or shalbe driuen to remaine & winter in some other port or place of his dominion, do you seeke by all meanes possible to winne fauour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or do wrong to any people or nation whatsoeuer, but therein to be innocent as doues, yet wilie as serpents, to auoid mischiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you shall haue gotten friendship through your discreete ordering of your selues, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and shewe them one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, which she sendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one substance and effect, for ech of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Maiestie hath subscribed, and caused her signet seale to be set, the effect of the same letters you haue also written in English, for your owne vnderstanding thereof. The Queenes letters.

The same her Maiesties letters you shall procure to deliuer vnto the same mightie Prince, or Gouernour, with some present to be giuen, such as you shall thinke meete and conuenient, vsing your selues in all points according to the effect of the same letters, and procure againe from the same Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God so prosper your voyage, that you may this Summer passe the Streights, and compasse about the Northermost land of Asia, vnto the countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priuiledge against the next yeeres spring, you may then after your first setting foorth, search and discouer somewhat further then you had discouered before your wintering, so farre as you shall thinke conuenient, with regard had, and alwayes prouided, that you may returne home hither, to giue vs aduise of your proceedings the same Summer, or before the sharpenes or extremitie of winter ouertake you.

And if it happen you cannot this summer attaine to the border of Cathay, and yet find the land beyond the Ob, to stretch it selfe Easterly, with the sea adioyning vnto it nauigable, doe you then proceed on your discouery (as before said) alongst the same continent, so farre as you can this summer, hauing care in the trauel to finde out some conuenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it conuenient, put your selfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you shall deale with them, as we haue before aduised you to do with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour, do you procure to deliuer vnto the same Prince or gouernour one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, as before said, and seeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you so happen to winter & obtaine letters of priuiledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to bee such, that by vsing trade thither with the people, and for the commodities, it may be beneficial vnto vs (as we hope you may) the same will be some good liking vnto vs: notwithstanding we would haue you the next summer (by the grace of God) at your first setting out of your wintering harborough, proceed alongest that tract of land to Cathay, if you see likelihood to passe it (for that is the Countrey that we chiefly desire to discouer) and seeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and vpwards, which you may very wel make to serue you for two yeres and a halfe, though you finde no other help, you may therefore be the bolder to aduenture in proceeding vpon your discouery: which if you do, we doubt not, but you shall atchieue the Countrey of Cathay, & deliuer to the prince there, one of her Maiesties letters, bringing from thence the same princes letters answerable: and so in the yeere of our Lord 1582. returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not

onely vnto vs the aduenturers in this voyage, but also to our whole Countrey and nation, which God graunt you may do, Amen.

But if it happen that the land of Asia, from beyond the riuer Ob, extende it selfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the poole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that small or no hope may be looked for, to saile that way to Cathay, doe you notwithstanding followe the tract of the same land, as farre as you can discouer this Summer, hauing care to fiade out by the way a conuenient place for you to Winter in, the which (if you may discouer the same lande of Asia this Summer to extend it selfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and vpwards or to 85. degrees) we wish then that the same your wintering place may be in the riuer of Ob, or as neere the same riuer as you can, and finding in such wintering place, people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, &c. doe you gently entreat with them as aforesaide, and if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour amongst them, doe you deliuer him one of her Maiesties letters, and procure thereof an answere accordingly: do you procure to barter & exchange with the people, of the merchandise and commodities that you shall cary with you, for such commodities as you shall finde them to haue, &c.

The Queenes letters.

If you so happen to winter, we would haue you the next Summer to discouer into the riuer Ob, so farre as conueniently you may: And if you shall finde the same riuer (which is reported to be wide or broad) to be also nauigable and pleasant for you, to trauell farre into, happely you may come to the citie Siberia, or to some other towne or place habited vpon or neere the border of it, and thereby haue liking to winter out the second winter: vse you therein your discretions.

The Citie of Siberia.

But if you finde the said riuer Ob to be sholde, or not such as you may conueniently trauell in with your barkes, do you then the next summer returne backe through Boroughs streights: And from that part of Noua Zembla, adioyning to the same streights, doe you come alongst the tract of that coast Westwards, keeping it on the starbord side, and the same alwayes in sight, if conueniently you may, vntil you come to Willoughbies land, if outwards bound you shall not happen to discouer and trie whether the said Willoughbies land ioyne continent with the same Noua Zembla, or not. But if you shall then proue them to be one firme and continent, you may from Noua Zembla direct your course vnto the said Willoughbies land, as you shall thinke good, and as you may most conueniently: and from Willoughbies land you shall proceed Westwards alongst the tract of it, (though it incline Northerly) euen so farre as you may or can trauell, hauing regard that in conuenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering.

Willoughbies land.

And for your orderly passing in this voyage, and making obseruations in the same, we referre you to the instructions giuen by M. William Burrough, whereof one copie is annexed vnto the first part of this Indenture vnder our seale, for you Arthur Pet, another copie of it is annexed to the second part of this Indenture, vnder our seale also, for you Charles Iackman, and a third copy thereof is annexed vnto the third part of this Indenture, remaining with vs the saide companie, sealed and subscribed by you the said Arthur Pet and Charles Iackman.

And to the obseruing of all things contained in this Commission (so neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the said Arthur Pet doe couenant by these presents to performe them, and euery part and parcell thereof. And I the said Charles Iackman doe for my part likewise couenant by these presents to performe the same, and euery part thereof, so neere as God will giue me grace thereunto.

And in witnes thereof these Indentures were sealed and deliuered accordingly, the day and yeere first aboue written. Thus the Lorde God Almightie sende you a prosperous voyage, with happie successe and safe returne, Amen.

Instructions and notes very necessary and needfull to be obserued in the purposed voyage for discouery of Cathay Eastwards, by Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman: giuen by M. William Burrough, 1580.

WHen you come to Orfordnesse, if the winde doe serue you to goe a seabord the sands, doe you set off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being against the saide Nesse, turning then your glasse, whereby you intende to keepe your continuall watch, and apoint such course as you shal thinke good, according as the wind serueth you: and fro that time forwards continually (if your ship be lose, vnder saile, a hull or trie) do you at the end of euery 4 glasses at the least (except calme) sound with your dipsin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and also the ground. But if it happen by swiftnes of the shippes way, or otherwise, that you cannot get ground, yet note what depth you did proue, and could finde no ground (this note is to be obserued all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come vpon any coast, or doe finde any shalde banke in the sea, you are then to vse your leade oftener, as you shal thinke it requisite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the deeping and shalding. And so likewise doe you note the depthes into harboroughs, riuers, &c.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very necessary that you doe note at the ende of euery foure glasses, what way the shippe hath made (by your best proofes to be vsed) and howe her way hath bene through the water, considering withall for the sagre of the sea, to leewards, accordingly as you shall finde it growen: and also to note the depth, and what things worth the noting happened in that time, with also the winde vpon what point you finde it then, and of what force or strength it is, and what sailes you beare.

How to note downe in his booke all of the voyage, his dead reckoning, and other obseruations.

But if you should omit to note those things at the end of euery foure glasses, I would not haue you to let it slip any longer time, then to note it diligently at the end of euery watch, or eight glasses at the farthest.

Doe you diligently obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possible, and also the variation of the Compasse (especially when you may bee at shoare vpon any land) noting the same obseruations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you do the same.

When you come to haue sight of any coast or land whatsoeuer, doe you presently set the same with your sailing Compasse, howe it beares off you, noting your iudgement how farre you thinke it from you, drawing also the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares vnto you, noting diligently how the highest or notablest part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames also in sight of the same land at both ends, distinguishing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you haue sailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glasses (at the most) noting diligently what way your barke hath made, and vpon what point of the Compasse, do you againe set that first land seene, or the parts thereof, that you first obserued, if you can well perceiue or discerne them, and likewise such other notable points or signes, vpon the land that you may then see, and could not perceiue at the first time, distinguishing it also by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the shape of the same land, as it appeareth vnto you, and so the third time, &c.

For noting the shape and shew of the land at first discouery, &c.

And also in passing alongst by any and euery coast, doe you drawe the maner of biting in of euery Bay, and entrance of euery harborow or riuers mouth, with the lying out of euery point, or headland, (vnto the which you may giue apt names at your pleasure) and make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether sande, hils, or woods, or whatsoeuer, not omitting to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any good purpose. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the obseruations in your booke, as aforesaid, and afterwards make demonstration thereof in your plat, you shall thereby perceiue howe farre the land you first sawe, or the parts thereof obserued, was then from you, and consequently of all the rest: and also how farre the one part was from the other, and vpon what course or point of the Compasse the one lieth from the other.

For obseruing of tides and currants.

And when you come vpon any coast where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the highest and lowest water in euery place, and the slake or still water of full sea, and lowe water, and also which way the flood doeth runne, how the tides doe set, how much water it hieth, and what force the tide hath to driue a ship in one houre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can iudge it, and what difference in time you finde betwene the running of the flood, and the ebbe. And if you finde vpon any coast the currant to runne alwayes one way, doe you also note the same duely, how it setteth in euery place, and obserue what force it hath to driue a ship in one houre, &c.

To take the platformes of places within compasse of view vpon land.

Item, as often, and when as you may conueniently come vpon any land, to make obseruation for the latitude and variation, &c. doe you also (if you may) with your instrument, for tryal of distances, obserue the platforme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conueniently see from time to time. These orders if you diligently obserue, you may thereby perfectly set downe in the plats, that I haue giuen you your whole trauell, and description of your discouery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, vnderstand or perceiue of the maner of the soile, or fruitfulnesse of euery place and countrey you shall come in, and of the maner, shape, attire and disposition of the people, and of the commodities they haue, and what they most couet and desire of the commodities you cary with you. It behoueth you to giue trifling things vnto such people as you shall happen to see, and to offer them all courtesie and friendship you may or can, to winne their loue and fauour towardes you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you should be offered wrong at their handes, yet not to reuenge the same lightly, but by all meanes possible seeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wisely and with such circumspection that you keepe your selues out of their dangers.

Thus I beseech God Almightie to blesse you, and prosper your voyage with good and happie successe, and send you safely to returne home againe, to the great ioy and reioycing of the aduenturers with you, and all your friends, and our whole countrey. Amen.

Certaine briefe aduises giuen by Master Dee, to Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, to bee obserued in their Northeasterne discouerie, Anno 1580.

IF we recken from Wardhouse to Colgoieue Island 400. miles for almost 20. degrees difference onely of longitude very neere East and West, and about the latitude of 70. degrees and two thirde parts: From Colgoieue to Vaigats 200. miles for 10. degrees difference onely in longitude, at 70. degrees of latitude also: From Vaigats to the promontorie Tabin 60. degrees difference of longitude (the whole course, or shortest distance being East and West) in the latitude likewise of 70. degrees, maketh 1200. miles: then is summa totalis from Wardhouse to Tabin 600 leagues, or 1800. English miles. Therefore allowing in a discouery voiage for one day with another but 50. English miles, it is euident that from Wardhouse to Tabin, the course may bee sailed easily in sixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finished in much shorter time, both by helpe of winde prosperous, and light continuall for the time requisit thereunto.

M. Dee giue there a Chart of his owne making, which here he ecfers them vnto.

When you are past Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142. degrees, as your chart sheweth, or two, three, foure, or fiue degrees further Easterly, it is probable you shall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eastward, in which course you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous riuer Oechardes, or some other, which yet I coniecture to passe by the renowmed Citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50. or 52. degrees, and within 300. or 400. miles of Cambalu it selfe, being in the latitude of 35. degrees Southerly of the saide riuers mouth, or els that you shall trend about the very Northerne and most Easterly point of all Asia, passing by the prouince Ania, and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping still the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with safetie) you may enter into Quinsay hauen, being the chiefe citie in the Northern China, as I terme it for distinctions sake, from the other better knowen.

And in or about either or both of these two warme places, you may to great good purpose bee

bee occupied the whole winter, after your arriuall in those quarters, as sometime by sea, sometime in notable fresh riuers, sometime in discreet view and noting downe the situation of the Cities within land, &c. and euer assaying to come by some charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by some of their bookes likewise for language, &c. You may also haue opportunitie to saile ouer to Iapan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Iesuits of many countreys of Christendome some, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes you may haue great instruction and aduise for your affaires in hand.

Notes in writing, besides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen by M. Richard Hakluyt of Eiton in the Countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580: to M. Arthur Pet, and to M. Charles Iackman, sent by the Merchants of the Moscouie companie for the discouery of the Northeast straight, not altogether vnfit for some other enterprises of discouery, hereafter to be taken in hand.

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.

WHereas the Portingals haue in their course to their Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to diuers great purposes: so you are to see what Islands, and what ports you had neede to haue by the way in your course to the Northeast. For which cause I wish you to enter into consideration of the matter, and to note all the Islands, and to set them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to say, That we may deuise to take the benefit by them, And also foresee how by them the Sauages or euill Princes may in any sort annoy vs in our purposed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go, be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scithian sea, where we might plant, fortefie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serue) wee might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels of their countrey.

And to which Island (if neede were, and if wee should thinke so good) wee might allure the Northeast nauie, the nauie of Cambalu to resort with their commodities to vs there planted, and stapling there.

And if such an Island might be found so standing as might shorten our course, and so standing, as that the nauie of Cambalu, or other those parties might conueniently saile vnto without their dislike in respect of distance, then would it fal out well. For so, besides lesse danger and more safetie, our ships might there vnlade and lade againe, and returne the selfe same summer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if such an Island may be for the stapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not saile, yet we might, hauing ships there, imploy them in passing betweene Cambalu and that stapling place.

Respect of hauens and harborowes.

ANd if no such Islands may bee found in the Scithian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Noua Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in short time come vnto Cambalu, and vnlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Noua Zembla: that the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedier discharge of your Mariners: if you cannot go forward and backe in one selfe same Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Noua Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate Zone, you are to haue regard: for if you finde the soyle planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme woollen clothes may be

A good consideration.

be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall specially note what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the ende we may turne our newe found land fishing or Island fishing, or our whalefishing that way, for the ayde and comfort of our newe trades to the Northeast to the coasts of Asia.

Respect of fish and certaine other things.

ANd if the aire may be found vpon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish, then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingals do in Brasill, and so they may in our fishing in our passage, and diuers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling vs.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld masts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the Nauie, as plentifully as Eastland doth.

The Islands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

TO note the Islands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine, or flat, grauelly, clay, chalkie, or of what soile, woody or not woody, with springs and riuers or not, and what wilde beastes they haue in the same.

And whether there seeme to be in the same apt matter to build withall, as stone free or rough, and stone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the same withall.

To note the goodnesse or the badnesse of the hauens and harborowes in the Islands.

If a straight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

ANd if there be a straight in the passage into the Scithian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be kept. I say it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince soeuer shall be Lorde of the same, and shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doeth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall haue the trade out of these regions into the Northeast parts of the world for himselfe, and for his priuate profit, or for his subiects onely, or to enioy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the same, like as the king of Denmarke doth enioy of his straights, by suffring the merchants of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the eleuation, the high or lowe land, the hauens neere, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and al the Mariners in the voyage are to be sworne to keepe close all such things, that other Princes preuent vs not of the same, after our returne vpon the disclosing of the Mariners, if any such thing should hap.

Which way the Sauage may bee made able to purchase our cloth and other their wants.

IF you find any Island or maine land populous, and that the same people hath need of cloth, then are you to deuise what commodities they haue to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile, and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to inrich them, that hereafter they may haue something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable riuer, and shall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of, that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, masts, dealeboord, clapboord, or for building of ships or houses, for so, if the people haue no vse of them, they may be brought perhaps to vse.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

YOu must haue great care to preserue your people, since your number is so small, and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

BRing home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other chiefe place, one or other yong man, although you leaue one for him.

Also the fruites of the Countreys if they will not of themselues dure, drie them and so preserue them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the stones of such stonefruits as you shall find there.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs & flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fansie of many for the strangenesse, and for that the same may grow, and continue the delight long time.

If you arriue at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for so shall you haue the perfect description, which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they haue had print there before it was deuised in Europe as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

IF you arriue in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Nauie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armour, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the wals and bulwarks of their cities, their ordonance, and whether they haue any caliuers, and what powder and shot.

To note what armour they haue.

What swords.

What pikes, halberds and bils.

What horses of force, and what light horses they haue.

And so throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make coniectures by.

TO take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a Merchant may make a gesse as well of their commoditie, as also of their wants.

To note their Shoppes and Warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see their Shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the Markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so giue a gesse of many things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plenty or scarsitie of fish they haue.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made.

KArsies of all orient colours, specially of stamell, broadcloth of orient colours also.

Frizadoes, Motlies, Bristow friezes, Spanish blankets, Baics of al colours, specially with Stamel, Worsteds, Carels, Saies, Woadmols, Flanels, Rash, &c.

Felts of diuers colours.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof if ample bent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Leuant taffeta of diuers colours, for the night.

Knit stocks of silke of orient colours.

Knit

Knit stocks of Ierzie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude should be set in worke.
Stocks of karsie of diuers colours for men and for women.
Garters of silke of seuerall kinds, and of colours diuers.
Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and vngilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of veluet.
Gloues of all sorts knit, and of leather.
Gloues perfumed.
Points of all sorts of silke, threed, and leather, of all maner of colours.
Shooes of Spanish leather of diuers colours, of diuers length, cut and vncut.
Shooes of other leather.
Velues shooes and pantophles.
These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a shew then for any other cause.
Purses knit, and of leather.
Nightcaps knit, and other.
A garnish of pewter for a shew of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.
Glasses of English making.
Venice glasses.
Looking glasses for women, great and faire.
Small dials a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do here.
Spectacles of the common sort.
Others of Christall trimmed with siluer, and otherwise.
Hower glasses. } {Combes of boxe.
Combes of Iuorie. } {Combes of horne.
Linnen of diuers sorts.
Handkerchiefs with silke of seuerall colours wrought.
Glazen eyes to ride with against dust.
Knines in sheaths both single and double, of good edge.
Needles great and small of euery kind.
Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundry colours.
Boxes with weights for gold, and of euery kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to shew that the people here vse weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisedom, and of certaine gouernment setled here.
All the seuerall siluer coynes of our English monies, to be caried with you to be shewed to the gouernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more then you imagine.
Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haspes, &c. great and small of excellent workemanship, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we shall set our subiects in worke, which you must haue in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more woorth to our people besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Sauoy, and all the Hospitals of England.

For banketting on shipboord persons of credite.

FIrst, the sweetest perfumes to set vnder hatches to make § place sweet against their comming aboord, if you arriue at Cambalu, Quinsey, or in any such great citie, & not among Sauages.
Marmelade. } {Figs barrelled.
Sucket. } {Raisins of the sunne.
Comfets of diuers kinds made of purpose by him that is most excellent, that shal not dissolue.

Prunes

Prunes damaske. } {Walnuts.
Dried Peares. } {Almonds.
Smalnuts.

Oliues to make them taste their wine.

The apple John that dureth two yeres to make shew of our fruits.

Hullocke. Sacke.

Vials of good sweet waters, and casting bottels of glasses to besprinkle the ghests withall, after their comming aboord.

Suger to vse with their wine if they will.

The sweet oyle of Zante, and excellent French vineger, and a fine kind of Bisket stieped in the same do make a banketting dish, and a little Sugar cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man.

Cynamon water } is to be had with you to make a shew of by taste, and also to comfort your Imperiall water } sicke in the voyage.

With these and such like, you may banket where you arriue the greater and best persons.

Or with the gift of these Marmelades in small boxes, or small vials of sweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England set out in faire colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come.

And also the large Mappe of London to make shew of your Citie. And let the riuer be drawen full of Ships of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all these Regions, it were not amisse: and if need were, to present the same to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of maruelious account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.

Such a booke caried with you and bestowed in gift would be much esteemed, as I perswade my selfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball and such Bookes as make shew of herbes, plants, trees, fishes, foules and beasts of these regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobilitie, and also their merchants to haue the view of them: for all things in these partes so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them, by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

TAke with you the booke of Rates, to the ende you may pricke all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinsey, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lieth in small roume.

Glew.

To carie Glew, for that we haue plenty and want vent.

RedOker for Painters.

To seeke vent because we haue great mines of it, and haue no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may haue, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

To try what vent you may haue of Saffron, because this realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatly in worke to their reliefe.

Aquauitæ.

By new deuises wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.

To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.

Threed of all colours.

The vent may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.

To see the vent for it may set our people in worke.

A note and Caueat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indeuour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither veluet, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

Seeds for sale.

Carie with you for that purpose all sorts of garden seeds, as well of sweete strawing herbs and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sorts for roots, &c.

Lead of the first melting.

Lead of the second melting of the slags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

English iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To try the sale of the same.

Brimstone.

To try the vent of the same, because we abound with it made in the Realme.

Antimonie a Minerall.

To see whether they haue any ample vse there for it, for that we may lade whole nauies of it and haue no vse of it vnlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bels, or a litle that the Alcumists vse: of this you may haue two sortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Iuniper to auoid the offence of Brimstone.

To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the vse.

Candles of Waxe to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they haue not the vse of them.

A pot of cast iron.

To try the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be sold there or to the lesse ciuil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would haue you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they vse in these regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses, and to see their Die houses and the Materials & Simples that they vse about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serue this clothing realme to great purpose.

To

To take with you for your owne vse.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come: so false and Sophisticate commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

A letter of Gerardus Mercator, written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, touching the intended discouery of the Northeast passage, An. 1580.

LIteræ tuæ (vir humanissime) 19. Iunij demùm mihi redditæ fuerunt: vehementer dolui visis illis tantam, non modo temporis, sed multò magis tempestiuæ instructionis iacturam factam esse. Optassem Arthurum Pet de quibusdam non leuibus ante suum discessum prænonitum fuisse. Expeditissima sanè per Orientem in Cathaium est nauigatio: & sæpè miratus sum, eam fœliciter inchoatam, desertam fuisse, velis in occidètem translatis, postquàm plus quàm dimidium itineris vestri iam notum haberent. Nam post Insulam Vaigats & Nouã Zembla continuò ingens sequitur Sinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quæ vniuersam Regionem Sericam perluentia vtq; existimo in intima continentis vsq; magnis nauigijs peruia; facillimam ratione exhibent quaslibet merces ex Cataio, Mangi, Mien, cæterisque circumfusis regnis contrahendi, atque in Angliam deportandi. Cæterùm cùm non temerè eam nauigationem intermissam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Russorum & Moscouiæ obstaculum aliquod interiectum fuisse. Quod si verò cum illius gratia vlterior illac nauigatio detur, suaderem profecto nò primùm Tabin promontorium quærere, atque explorare, sed Sinum hunc atque flumina, in ijsq; portus aliquem commodissimum, stationémq; Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo deinceps maiore opportunitate, minoribúsque periculis Tabin promontorium, & totius Cathai circumnauigatio indagari posset. Esse autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrens promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantùm, verùm & alijs scriptoribus, & tabulis aliquot (licèt rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longè vltra Tabin situm esse, certis Magnetis obseruationibus didici: circa quem & Tabin plurimos esse scopulos, difficilémq; & periculosam nauigationem existimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium accessum fore opinor, ea qua nunc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet hæc nauigatio polo Magnetis quàm altera, ad quem propiùs accedere non puto tutum esse. Quia verò Magnes alium quam Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte respicit: quò propiùs ad eum accedítur, eò directorium illud Nauticũ magnetis virtute imbutum, magis à Septentrione deuiat, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientalior, vel occidentalior est illo Meridiano qui per vtrumq; polum Magnetis, & Mundi ducitur. Mirabilis est hæc varietas, & quæ nauigantẽ plurimùm fallere potest, nisi hanc Magnetis inconstantiam nôrit, & ad poli eleuationem per instrumenta subinde respiciat. In hac re si non sit instructus D. Arthurus, aut ea sit dexteritate, vt deprehenso errore eum inuenire & castigare possit timeo ne deuias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, & semperacto negotio, à gelu præoccupetur: Aiunt enim Sinum illum fortiùs quotannis congelari. Quod si contingat: hoc quod consultius mihi visum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, vt in eo sinu, ijsq; fluminibus quæ dixi, portum quærat & per Legatum aliquem, cum magno Cham nomine Serenissimæ Reginæ notitiam, amicitiámque contrahat: quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratissimam fore propter remotissima commercia. Opinor ab ostijs Bautisi & Oechardi fluminum maximorum, vsque ad Cambalu Regiam summam Chami, non vltra 300. milliaria Germanica esse, & iter sumendum per Ezinam vrbem regni Tangut, quæ 100. tantùm milliarijs Germanicis ab ostijs distare videtur, & paret Magno Cham.

Valde optarem cognoscere, quàm alte communiter exurgat æstus maris in eo Moscouiæ portu quem vestri pro statione habent, & in alijs versùs orientem locis vsque ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc districtu semper in vnam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentem fluat, an verò pro ratione æstuum fluat & refluat, in medio inquam canali, hoc est, an ibi sex horis in occasum, & iterum sex in ortum fluat, an verò semper in eandem partem: aliæ enim speculationes non parum vtiles hinc dependent. Idem optarem à D. Frobiscero in occidentem obseruari.

Ingens æstus post Insulam Vaigats & Nouam Zemblam.

Tabin promontorium ingens.

Quo propior ad polum accedit, eo directorium Nauticum magis a Septentrione deuiat.

Beutisi & Oechardus maxima flumina in hunc finum illabentia.

Portulata Mercatoris, de quibus certior fieri cupit.

obseruari: Quod ad sinum Merosro, & Canadam, ac Nouam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis desumpta sunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quæ à quodam sacerdote ex earum ditionum Nauclerì peritissimi Galli descriptione excerpta fuit, & illustrissimo Principi Georgio ab Austria episcopo Leodiensi oblata. Non dubito, quin quantum ad littorum situm attinet & poli eleuationem, ad veritatem ea quàm proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula præter scalam graduum latitudinis per medium sui extensam, aliam præterea particularem Nouæ Franciæ littoribus adiunctam, qua deprauatæ latitudines, occasione erroris Magnetis ibi commissæ, castigarentur. Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis itinerarium per omnem Asiam, Africam, & Septentrionem, olim mihi Amicus Antuerpiæ ab alio mutuò acceptum communicauit, eo usus sum, & reddidi: post multos annos eundem ab amico repetij, & reminisci ille non potuit à quo accepisset. Gulielmi Tripolitani & Ioannis de plano Carpini scripta non vidi, tantùm excerpta ex illis quædam in alijs scriptis libris inueni. Abilfadæ Epitome gaudeo verti, vtinam citò habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis respondenda putaui: si quid est aliud quod à me desideres, libentissimè tibi communicabo: hoc vicissim amanter à tua humanitate petens, vt quæ ex vtriusq; nauigationis cursu obseruata nancisci poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, & quæcunque inde collegero, fideliter ad te perscribam, si forte ad pulcherrimum, vtilissimúmq; orbi Christiano hoc nauigationis instituturn aliquid opis & consilij adferre possint. Bene vale, vir doctissime. Duisburgi in Cliuia, 28. Iulij 1580.

Dulce mare inter Nouam Zemblam & Tabin nauigatur.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæso discas ab illo quæ optaui, & num alicubi in suo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum salsum inuenerit: suspicor enim mare inter Noua Zembla, & Tabin dulce esse.

T. H. paratissimus quantus quantus sum,
Gerardus Mercator.

The same in English.

Sir I receiued your letters the 19. of Iune: it grieued me much that vpon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not giue any conuenient instructions: I wish Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of some speciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doutlesse very easie and short, and I haue oftentimes marueiled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that more then halfe of your voiage was discouered. For beyond the Island of Vaigats and Noua Zembla, there followeth presently a great Baie, which on the left side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the mids hereof there fall great riuers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke nauigable with great vessels into ỹ heart of the continent, may be an easie means whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and transport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England. But considering with my selfe that that nauigation was not intermitted, but vpon great occasion, I thought that the Emperor of Russia and Moscouie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If so be that with his grace and fauour a further nauigation may be made, I would counsell them certainly not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this baie and riuers aforesayd, and in them to picke and chuse out some conuenient port and harborough for the English merchants, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and lesse perill, the promontorie Tabin and all the coast of Cathaio may bee discouered. And that there is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not onely out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Maps (though somewhat rudely drawen:) and that the pole of the Loadstone is not farre beyond Tabin, I haue learned by the certaine obseruations of the Loadstone: about which pole and Tabin I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing: and yet a more hard and difficile passage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadstone, to the which I thinke it not safe to approch. And because the Loadstone hath another pole then that of the world, to the which from all parts it hath a respect, the neerer you come vnto it, the more the needle of the Compasse doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and

A great gulfe is beyond Vaigats, whereinto mighty riuers do ascend.

The best course to be taken in discouerie.

and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceiue the Sailer, vnlesse hee know the vnconstancie and variation of the Compasse, and take the eleuation of the pole somtimes with his instruments. If master Arthur be not well prouided in this behalfe, or of such dexteritie, that perceiuing the errour he be not able to correct the same, I feare least in wandering vp and downe he lose his time, and be ouertaken with the ice in the midst of the enterprise. For that gulfe, as they say, is frozen euery yere very hard. Which if it be so, the best counsel I could giue for their best safetie, were to seeke some harborough in that haie, and those riuers whereof I haue spoken, and by some Ambassador to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Can, in name of the Queenes maiestie, which I beleeue will be gratefull to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty riuers Bautistis and Oechardus to Cambalu the chiefest seat of the prince the Can, there are not past 300. Germaine miles, and to passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which seemeth to be but 100. Germaine miles from the mouthes of the sayd riuers, and is subiect to the great Can.

The mouthes of Bautius and Oechardus 300. leagues from Cambalu.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the port of Moscouia where your men do harborow, and in other Easterly places vnto Tabin. And also whether the sea in this streight do flow alwaies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it do ebbe and flow according to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanel, that is to say, whether it flow there sixe houres into the West, and as many backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance. I would wish M. Frobisher to obserue the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfe of Merosro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawn by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman, a Pilot very skilfull in those partes, and presented to the worthy prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege: for the trending of the coast, and the eleuation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: For the Charte had beside a scale of degrees of latitude passing through the middest of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, wherewith the errour of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected. The historie of the voyage of Iacobus Cnoyen Buschoducensis throughout al Asia, Affrica, and the Nurth, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had vsed it, I restored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Ioannes de Plano Carpini I neuer saw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abilfada is translated, I would we might haue it shortly.

Vpon the obseruations of the tides depend great speculations.

Thus much Sir I thought good to answere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will most willingly communicate it with you, crauing this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoeuer obseruations of both these voyages shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoeuer I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie vnto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light vnto this most excellent enterprise of nauigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth. Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburg in Clueland, 28. of Iulie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I haue requested, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt: for I suppose the Sea betweene Noua Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours wholly to my power to be commanded,
Gerardus Mercator.

The

The discouerie made by M. Arthur Pet, and M. Charles Iackman, of the Northeast parts, beyond the Island of Vaigatz, with two Barkes: the one called the George, the other the William, in the yeere 1580. Written by Hugh Smith.

May. VPon Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the winde being at South, and to the Eastward. The ebbe being spent we could not double the pole, and therefore were constrained to put in againe vntill the next day in the morning, being the last of May: which day wee wayed our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being West southwest. The same day we passed Orfordnesse at an East Sunne, and Stamford at a West Sunne, and Yarmouth at a West northwest sunne, and so to Winterton, where we did anker al night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

Iune. The next day being the first of Iune, we set saile at 3. a clocke in the morning, and set our course North, the wind at the Southwest, and at Southsouthwest.

Kene an Island of Norway. The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the sound is called Bottel: the other headland is called Moile. There is also an Island called Kene. Heere I did find the pole to be elevated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foote, not aboue.

The 11. day in the morning the winde came to the South and to the Southeast: the same daye at sixe in the afternoone we set saile, and bare along the coast: it was very foule weather with raine and fogge.

The North cape doubled. The 22. day the wind being at West, we did hall the coast East northeast, and East. The same day at 6. in the morning we did double the north cape. About 3. in the afternoone wee past Skites bearenesse, and hald along the coast East, and East southeast, and all the same night wee halled Southeast, and Southeast by East.

Wardhouse. The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouse, the wind at the Northwest. The cause of our comming in was to seeke the William, whose companie we lost the 6. day of this moneth, and to send letters into England. About one of the clock in the after noone the William also came into Wardhouse to vs in good safetie, and all her company in good health.

The 24. the wind came to the East Northeast. This day the William was hald a ground, because she was somewhat leake, and to mend her steerage. This night about 12. of the clocke she did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at East northeast.

The 26. day the Toby of Harwich departed from Wardhouse for London, Thomas Greene being master, to whom we deliuered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South southeast, and the 28. also.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the West northwest for the space of one houre, and presently to the East againe, and so was variable all the same night.

The 30. about sixe in the morning, the winde came to East southeast, and continued so all the same day.

The first of July about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at Northnorthwest: and about 7. of the clocke we set saile from Wardhouse East and by South.

July. The second day about 5. in the morning, the wind was East, and East southeast, and we did lie to the shorewards. And about 10. in morning the wind came to South southeast, and we laid it to the Eastward: sometime we lay East by South, sometime East southeast, and sometimes East by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Kegor, because we thought her to be out of frie, and sailed very ill, where we might mend her steerage: whereupon master Pet not willing to go into harborough said to master Iackman, that if he thought himselfe not able to keepe the sea, he should doe as he thought best, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Veroue Ostroue, or Vaigats, and so we set our course East northeast, the winde being at Southeast.

Willoughbies land.

The 3 day the winde at Southeast we found the pole to be elevated 70. degrees 46. minuts.

nuts. The same night at 12. of the clocke we sounded, but had no ground, in 120. fathoms, being fifty leagues from the one side by our reckoning East northeast from Kegor. 50. leagues from Kegor.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeast with a gentle gale, we hald along Southeast by East.

The 5. day the wind at Northwest, we hald East and East by South: this day we saw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, so that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North northwest, we halde East southeast with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme: we with saile and oares laide it to the Northeast part, hoping that way to cleare vs of it: for that way we did see the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night we gate cleere of it. We did thinke it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not as we found afterwards.

The seuenth day we met with more yce, at the East part of the other yce: we halde along a weather the yce to finde some ende thereof by east northeast. This day there appeared more land North from vs being perfect land: the ice was betweene vs and it, so that we could not come neerer to it. A sight of perfect land.

The same morning at sixe of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde some way through it, wee continued in it all the same day and all the night following, the winde by the North Northwest. Wee were constrained to goe many pointes of our compasse, but we went most an Easterly course.

The eight day the winde at North northwest, we continued our course, and at fiue in the morning we sounded, and had 90. fadoms red oze. This day at foure in the afternoone we sounded againe, and had 84. fadoms oze, as before. At sixe in the after noone we cleared our selues of the ice, and hald along Southeast by South: we sounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fathom sandy oze.

The 9. day at 2. in the morning, we sounded againe, and had 45. fadoms, then there appeared a shadow of land to vs East Northeast, and so we ran with it the space of 2. houres, and then perceiuing that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeast.

This day at 2. in the afternoone wee sounded and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze. Our latitude was 70. degrees three minutes. At tenne a clocke at night wee sounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze. 70. deg. 3. min.

The tenth day the wind being at North northwest, we haled East and by North, which course we set, because at ten of the clocke afore noone wee did see land, and then wee sounded hauing 35. fadoms blacke oze. All this day there was a great fogge, so that wee durst not beare with the land to make it, and so we kept an outwardly course. This day at 6. in the afternoone we espied land, wherewith we halled, and then it grew calme: we sounded and had 120 fadoms blacke oze: and then we sent our boat a land to sound and proue the land: The same night we came with our ship within an Island, where we rode all the same night. The same night wee went into a bay to ride neere the land for wood and water. An Island.

The 11. day the wind came to the East southeast: this day about a league from vs to the Eastwards, we saw a very faire sound or riuer that past very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Island in the midst. The maine land.

The 12. of Iuly the wind was East Southeast. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare down to the water side, and tooke the water of his owne accord, we chased him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he gote to land and escaped from vs, where we named the bay Bearebay. This day at 7. in the after noone we set saile, for we had good hope that the winde would come Westerly, and with saile and oares we gate the sea. All the night it was calme with fogge. Bearebay.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fog, and as it cleared vp wee met with great store of ice, which at the first shewed like land. This ice did vs much trouble,

trouble, and the more because of the fog, which continued vntill the 14. day 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were so imbayed with ice, ⁊ we were constrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodnesse of God, otherwise it had bene impossible, and at 12. of the clock we were cleere of it, the wind being at South and South by West. The same day we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: we lay along the coast Northwest, thinking it to be an Island, but finding no end in rowing so long, we supposed it to be the maine of Noua Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not doe vpon that boorde, so that we cast about againe and lay West along vnder the ice. About seuen in the afternoone we gote about the greatest part thereof. About 11. a clock at night we brought the ice Southeast of vs, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time.

70. deg. 26. min.

The supposed maine of Noua Zembla.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at South southwest: wee cast about and lay to the Eastwards: the winde did Wester, so that wee lay South southwest with a flawne sheete, and so we ranne all the same day. About 8. in the after noone we sounded, and had 23. fadoms small grey sand. This night at twelue of the clocke we sounded againe, and had 29. fadoms sand, as afore.

The 16. day vnto 3. in the morning we hald along East Southeast, where we found 18. fadoms red sand, then we hald along Northeast. In these soundings wee had many ouerfals. This day at 10. of the clocke we met with more ice, which was very great, so that we coulde not tell which way to get cleere of it. Then the winde came to the South Southeast, so that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleere our selues of it, but that way we had more ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the East. Then we lay to the Southwards that wee had 30 fadoms blacke oze. This day we found the pole to bee eleuated 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. a clocke we had 41. fadoms red sand.

Many ouerfals.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by West, at the depth aforesaid, red sand, being but shallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the winde with a showre and thunder came to the Southwest, and then wee ranne East Northeast. At 12. at night it came to the South and by East, and all this was in the bay of Pechora.

The bay of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the moruing we bare with the headland of the bay, where wee founde two Islands. There are also ouerfals of water or tides. We went between the maine and the Island, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole eleuated 69. deg. 13 minutes. This day we had sight of Vaigatz: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend Southeast, we hald East southeast, and had 10. fadoms oze all the same day vntill 4. in the after noone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the same night.

They had sight of Vaygatz.

The 19. day at two in the morning we set saile, and ran South and South southwest all the same day at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigatz, this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found shallow water sometime 4. fadoms, sometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe: there we ankered and sent our boate away to sound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigatz & the other side: finding no more water, there was no other way but to goe backe as we came in, hauing the wind Northwest, so at twelue at night we set saile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the winde by the Northwest, we hald along the coast North and North northwest, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southwest, wee bare along the coast of Vaygatz, as wee found it to lie North and by West, and North northwest, and North. The winde blewe very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Island where wee founde great store of wood and water, there were three or foure goodly sounds. Vnder two points there was a crosse set vp, and a man buried at the foote of it. Vpon the said crosse Master Pet did graue his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewise vpon a stone at the foote

An Island hauing store of wood & water.

foote of the crosse, and so did I also, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might haue knowledge that wee had bene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northwest, we set saile and turned out of the Bay. The same night the winde came to the West, so that wee lay North along the land.

The 23. day at fiue in the morning, the wind came to the Southwest, a Sea boord we sawe a great number of faire Islands, to the number of sixe: a sea boord of these Islands, there are many great ouerfals, as great streames or tides: we halde Northeast and East northeast as the lande did trend. At eight aforenoone the winde came to the Southeast with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great store of ice a sea boorde: so we lay to the Southwest to attaine to one of the Islands to harbour vs if the weather did so extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete so to doe, and not to towe her in such weather. About twelue of the clocke it became very calme vpon the sudden, and came vp to the West Northwest, and Northwest by West, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe so much winde, as we were not able to steere afore it, with corse and bonnets of each, we hald South with the land, for so the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we sailed vnder a great land of ice, we sailed betweene the land and it, being not able to crosse it. About twelue at night we found the ice to stretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eastward, so we laide it to the shore, and there we founde it cleare hard aboord the shore, and we found also a very faire Island which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms. 6. faire Islands.

This Island is to ȝ Eastwards of Vaigatz, 4 or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doth trend Southeast, and Southeast by East. It is a very faire coast, and euen and plaine, and not full of mountaines nor rocks: you haue but shallow water of 6. or 7. fadoms, about a league from the shore, all this morning we halled East southeast. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 69. degrees 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke we were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to haue some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had sight of the William, and when wee sawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and vs, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag vpon her foretop-maste in token that she did see vs: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foresaile & mainetopsaile, seeking the best way through the broken ice, she making away the best that she could to follow vs, we put out our flagge to answere her again with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then we moared our ship to a piece of ice to tarie for the William. An Island to the East of Vaigatz 4. or 5. leagues.

The 25. day about fiue in the morning, the William came to vs, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang cleane besides the sterne, so that she could in no wise port her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, wee brought a cable vnder her sterne, and with our capstaine did wind vp her sterne, and so we made it as wel as the place would giue vs leaue, and in the ende wee brought her to steere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and so gaue his Maiestie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our rest being made fast vpon a piece of ice: the winde was at West Northwest, but we were so inclosed with ice that we coulde not tell which way to passe. Windes wee haue had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our willes, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise. The William and the George meete again.

The 26. day the wind was at West Northwest: we set saile to the Northwardes, to seeke if we could finde any way cleare to passe to the Eastward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that wee coulde goe no further. So about foure in the afternoon we were constrained to moare vpon another piece of ice. I thinke we sailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadoms oze, and this oze is all the chanell ouer. All the same day after foure of the clocke, and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despaire. This day Master Iugman did see land East Northeast from vs,

as he did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land; but the fogges haue many times deceiued vs.

The 27. day the winde was at Northwest. This day at nine in the morning we set saile to seeke the shore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at seuen in the afternoone we moored to a piece of ice, and the William with vs, here we had 14. fathoms oze. At three in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At nine in the afternoone we moored againe to a piece of ice vntill the next day. All this night it did snow with much wind, being at West Northwest, and at Northwest, and by West.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southwest, and Southsouthwest: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone master Pet and master Iackman did conferre together what was best to be done considering that the windes were good for vs, and we not able to passe for ice, they did agree to seeke to the land againe, and so to Vaygatz, and there to
Their returne. conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another to get from them if it were possible: here were pieces of ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped vntil 9. in the afternoone, and then we moored both our shippes to a great and high piece of ice, vntill the next morning.

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the Southwest, wee set saile at fiue in the
The currant runneth with the winde. morning to plie into the shore if it were possible, we made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This day by misfortune a piece of ice stroke of our greepe afore at two aforenoone, yet for all this we turned to doe our best. The William beeing incumbred with ice, and perceiuing that shee did litle good, tooke in all her sailes, and made her selfe fast to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone she set saile to followe vs. We were afraide that shee had taken some hurt, but she was well. At seuen afore noone we tooke in all our sailes to tarie for the William, and made our shippe fast to a piece of ice: the William before she came to vs tooke in all her sailes, and moared to another piece of ice, and thus we continued vntill the next morning.

The 30. day the winde at Southeast, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we set saile, and sooner would haue done if the William had bene by vs, but we did tary for her to know whether all was well with her: But as soone as we made saile, she did the like. All this day we did our best to seeke our way as the ice would giue vs leaue, sometime we lay South, sometime West, and sometime East, and thus we continued vntill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ship fast to a piece of ice, and went to supper. In the meane time the wind with a faire gentle gale came vp to the East, and East and by South, but there came downe a showre of raine with it, which continued the space of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, so that wee could doe no good all that night, but tooke our rest vntill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southwest, we set saile to turne to windeward at three a clock in the morning. In this turning we did litle good, for the currant would not giue vs leaue. For as the winde is, so is the currant. We did our best vntill ten of the clocke, and then perceiuing that we did no good, and being inclosed with ice, wee made our ships fast to a piece of ice: All this day the William lay still, and did as much good as we that did labour all the forenoone. Thus we took our rest all the same day.

In the afternoone we set saile, the winde being at South & by East, we lay to the Westwards, as Southwest and Southwest and by South, and sometime to the Westward as wee might. Thus we continued vntil 9. at night, and then we could go no further for ice: so we with the William were constrained to make our ship fast to a piece of ice al the same night. This day we found the pole eleuated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here we had 17. fathoms oze.

August. The first day of August was verie calme in the morning, the winde beeing at West Northwest. About twelue the winde came to the West, and continued so all the same night with great fogge.

The second day the winde was at Southwest all day with rayne and fogge. All this day wee were inclosed with ice, so that we were forced to lye still. Here we had one and twentie

twentie fathoms oze. At sixe in the afternoone the winde was at West with very much foule weather, and so continued all the same night.

The third day the winde was at West, and West by North, and West Northwest, this day we lay still inclosed with yce, the weather beeing darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leasure, we continued with patience. And sounding we found 21. fathoms.

The fourth day we lay still inclosed with ice, the winde being at West Northwest, this ice did euery day increase vpon vs, yet putting our trust in God, we hoped to be deliuered out of it in good time.

The fift day all the morning it rained with very much wind, being at South Southeast: about 3. in the afternoone we set sayle, and presently it became calme for the space of one houre, then the wind came to the North Northeast, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southwest, and Southsouthwest, & West, as we might finde our way for the space of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, so that we could go no further: here we moared our ship to tarie for a further opening. Here we found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge. A whole land of yce.

The sixt day hauing no opening of the yce wee lay still, the winde being at West, and West by South: here we had sixty three fathoms oze: all the same night the winde was at the West Northwest.

The 7. day the winde was at West, and West and by North all day. And all this day we lay still being inclosed with yce, that we could not stirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came vpon vs. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggy. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South Southwest: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze: all the night was foggy.

The 9. day the winde was at Northwest, and by West, all the afternoone we lay still because of the yce, which did still inclose vs. This day we found the pole elevated seuenty degrees, 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very fayre night, but it freezed: in the morning we had much adoe to goe through the same: and we were in doubt that if it should haue freezed so much the night following, we should hardly haue passed out of it. This night there was one star that appeared to vs. 70. degr. 4. min. Frost. The appearing of the starres, signe of Winter.

The tenth day the winde was at East Northeast with a very small gale. Wee with saile and oares made way through the yce: about fiue in the morning we set saile: sometime wee laye Southwest, and sometime South, and sometime West, as wee might best finde the way. About three in the afternoone the gale began to fresh: about sixe in the afternoone the winde was at Northeast with fogge. Here we had eighty eight fathoms: we bare saile all the same night, and it snowed very much. Much snow.

The eleuenth day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impossible: but extremity doth cause men to doe much, and in the weakenesse of man Gods strength most appeareth. This day we had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southwest, we were forced to make our shippe faste to a piece of yce, for we were inclosed with it, and taried the Lordes leasure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the wind was at the Southeast not very much but in a maner calme: at a 11. of the clocke the winde came to the West Southwest: all the day was very darke with snowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we set saile the winde being at the North Northeast: all this night we bare away Southwest, and Southsouthwest, as well and as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: all this night we found the yce somewhat fauourable to vs, more then it was before, wherupon we stood in good hope to get out of it.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeast, and Northeast and by East: all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow against a piece of yce we brake the stocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had against the yce, that it was marueilous that the ship was able to abide them: the side of our boate was broken with our ship which did reeule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the

ship, and it perished the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with vs: at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, so that we lay in drift with the yce, & our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great store of snowe.

Great store of snowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our shippe fast to a piece of yce, and let her driue with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our steerage: all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had threescore and two fathoms. Thus we lay a drift all the same night.

The 15. day we set saile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeast. At 9. afore-noon we entred into a cleare Sea without yce, whereof wee were most glad, and not without great cause, and gaue God the praise. We had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in Southwest all the morning vntill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we hailed West, til we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northwest, for so the land doeth trend. At 12. of the clocke we had sight of the land, which we might haue had sooner, but it was darke and foggie all the same day: for when wee had sight of the lande, wee were not passing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole eleuated 69 degrees 49 minutes. All day we ran along the coast in ten and nine fadoms, pepered sand. It is a very goodly coast and a bolde, and faire soundings off it, without sandes or rocks.

69 degrees 49 minutes.

They are thwart against Vaigats.

The 16 day the winde was at East: this day we were troubled againe with ice, but we made great shift with it: for we gotte betweene the shoare and it. This day at twelue of the clocke we were thwart of the Southeast part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great store of yce, so that we stood in doubt of passage, yet by much adoe we got betwixt the shoare and it: about 6 in the afternoone was found a great white beare vpon a piece of ice: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all the night we haled North and North by West, and sometime North and by East, for so doth the land trend.

Sands.

The 17 day in the morning we haled West, for so doth the land lie. The wind was at Southeast, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the shoare we fell a ground, but God be praised without hurt, for wee came presently off againe. The William came to an anker to stay for vs, and sent some of their men to help vs, but before they came we were vnder saile, and as we came to the William we did stowe our boates, and made saile, we went within some of the Islands, and haled Westsouthwest.

The Islands.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we set our course Southwest and by South: so we ranne Southwest vntill twelue at night, the wind came to the Northnortheast, and then we haled West.

The 18 day at 6 in the morning we had 16 fadoms red sand: at 6 in the morning 13 fadoms. At 10, 14 fadoms, and we haled Westnorthwest. At 12 a clocke the winde came to the East, and East by South, we haled West and by North all the same day and night. At 6 in the afternbone we had 17 fadoms red sand.

The 19 day the wind was at Eastnortheast: at 6 in the morning wee had 19 fathoms red sand: at 12 of the clocke the wind blew North and North by East, we had 17 fadoms of water, at 3 in the afternoone 15.

The 20 day the wind was at Northeast, and Northnortheast: at 7 in the morning we had 30 fadomes blacke oze: at twelue of the clocke we were vpon the suddaine in shoale water, among great sands, and could find no way out. By sounding and seeking about, we came aground, and so did the William, but we had no hurt, for the wind was off the shoare, and the same night it was calme: all night we did our best, but we could not haue her afloate. These shoales doe lie off Colgoyeue: it is very flat a great way off, and it doth not high aboue 2 or 3 foote water: it floweth Northeast, and Southwest.

Shoales off Colgoyeue.

The 21 day the wind was at Southwest, and being very faire weather we did lighten our ships as much as was possible for vs to doe, by reason of the place. The same high water, by the helpe of God, we got both a floate, and the wind being at the Southwest did help vs, for it caused it to flow the more water.

This day we found the pole to be eleuated 68 degrees 40 min. In the afternoone we both

set

set saile to seeke way to get out of these sands, our boate a head sounding, hauing 6, 7, and 8 fadomes all within the sand which was without vs. We bare to the Southward, and the William bare more to the Eastwards, and night being at hand the wind came to the Southeast, whereupon we layd it to the Southwards, lying Southwest, and South and by West, and ran to 19, and 12 and 14 fadoms, and presently we had but sixe fadoms, which was off the sands head, which we were a ground vpon the day before. Then we cast about to the Eastwards for deepe water, which we presently had, as 10, 15, and 20 and so to 23 fadoms.

The 22 day at eight in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we saw the William vnder our lee as far as we could see her, and with a great fogge we lost the sight of her, and since we haue not seene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fadomes blacke oze, which we had at twelue of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone we had twenty and three fadoms, and then we ranne Westnorthwest, and West by North, all the same night following. They lose the William here.

The 23 day we had at 6 in the morning 27 fadoms, at 8 a clocke 28 fadoms: at 9 the winde being at Eastsoutheast, we haled Westnorthwest: this day we had sight of the land of Hugri side. At twelue of the clocke we had thirty two fadoms sand. This day we ranne West and by North, and came to fiue fadoms off the bay of Morzouets. Then we layd it to the Northwards, so that we lay Northnortheast off. The wind after came to the North, and North by East, and we lay East and East by North, then we layd it to the Westward againe: and thus we lay till we came to fortie fadoms, and then we went Northwest till wee came to fourteene fadoms, and so to tenne fadoms. Then we cast about to the Eastwards and lay East, and East by North all the same night. The land of Hugry. The bay of Morzouets.

The 24 day at 8 in the morning we had 32 fadoms. We ran Northwest till we came to 11 fadoms, then we lay to the Northwards till 12 at night, and then we came to forty fadoms, then the wind at Northeast we lay to the Westwards, and haled Northwest along.

The 25 at 4 in the morning we had 37 fadoms, wee ranne Northwest, the winde at Northnortheast very much.

The 26 day we ran with the same winde, and found the pole to be elevated 70 deg. 40 min.

The 27 at 7 in the morning we saw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we haled Northwest, and North by West to double the North Cape.

The 28 day at 3 in the morning we ran Northwest, and so all day. At night the wind came to the Southwest, and we ran Northwest all that night.

The 29 day we put into a sound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: we came to an ancre at 5 in the afternoone, at 25 fadoms very faire sand. This sound is very large and good, and the same night we got water aboord. The towne of Hungon.

The 30 day in the morning the winde at Northeast, and but litle, we set saile, and with our boate on head we got the sea about 12 of the clocke: the wind with a faire gale came to the East Southeast, and all this day and night we ran Westnorthwest.

The 31 day at 12 of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the wind being at Eastsoutheast, we haled West all the same day, and at night we ran Westsouthwest. They double the North Cape in their iornie.

The 1 day of September the wind was at Northeast with very much fogge: all this day we ran Westsouthwest: at 2 in the afternoone the wind came North.

The second day at 3 in the morning we doubled Fowlnesse, & the wind was this day variable at all parts of the Compasse. In the afternoone we made but little way: at 6 a clocke the wind came to the Southwest, and we went Northwest. At 9 in the night there came downe so much winde by the Westsouthwest, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we haled it to Northwards for the space of 2 houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the breake of day we saw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the countrey Foulenesse. It is within ful of small Islands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you haue fayre sand at 20 fadoms. Foulenesse.

The 3 day in the morning we bare with the sound aforesaid: Within it is but shoale water,

4 5 and 3 fadoms, sandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is seene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not aboue 8 or 9 foote.

Lowfoote. The 12 day at 3 in the afternoone, we put into a sound by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southwest, and by South, and doth high 7 or 8 foote water.

The 13 day much wind at West: we had a ledge of rocks in the wind of vs, but the road was reasonable good for all Southerly and Westerly winds. We had the maine land in the winde of vs: this day was stormie with raine.

The 23 day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a sound
The sound of Romesal. called Romesal, where it floweth Southsoutheast, and doth high 8 foote water: this place is full of low Islands, and many good sounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great store of wood growing, as firre, birch, oke, and hasell: all this night the wind was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 28 day in the morning the wind being at Eastnortheast we set saile at 8 of the clocke, and haled out of the bay Westsouthwest, and Southwest, hauing a goodly gale vntill one of the clocke, and then the wind came to Southeast, and to the South with raine and fogge, and very much winde: at sixe of the clocke we came into a very good rode, where we did ride all the same night in good safetie.

The 29 day we put into a good sound, the wind by the Southwest: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blastes, and raine.

The 30 day all day the wind was at Westsouthwest. And in this sound the pole is eleuated 63 deg. 10 min.

October. The first day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, and vehement blastes.

The 7 day we set saile: for from the first of this moneth vntill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but specially the fourth day when the wind was so great, that our cables brake with the very storme, and I do not thinke that it is possible that any more wind then that was should blow: for after the breaking of our cable, we did driue a league, before our ankers would take any hold: but God be thanked the storme began to slacke, otherwise we had bene in ill case.

The 7. day at night we came to an anker vntil the next day, which was the 8. day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon we set saile and returned into the sound againe: and at our first comming to an anker, presently there blew so much winde, that although our best anker was out, yet the extremitie of the storm droue vs vpon a ledge of rocks, and did bruse our ship in such sort, that we were constrained to lighten her to saue her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ship and stopped our leakes, and moared her in good safetie abiding for a wind. We rid from this day by reason of contrary winds, with fogge and raine vntill the 24 day, which day in the morning the wind came to the Northeast, and at 8 of the clocke we set saile. This sound is called
Moore sound. Moore sound, where it higheth about 5 foote water, & floweth Southsoutheast. The next day being the 25 day we put into a sound which is called Vlta sound, where was a ship of the king of Denmark put into another sound there by, being 2 leagues to the southwards of vs, that came out of Island: & wind was contrary for vs at Southsouthwest.

The 12 day of Nouember we set saile the wind being at the East Southeast, and past through the sound where the kings ship did lie: which sound is called Sloure sound. But as we did open the sound, we found the wind at the Southwest, so that we could doe no good, so that we moared our ship betweene 2. Islands vntil the 18 day, and then the weather being faire and calme, we set saile, & went to sea hoping to find a faire wind, but in the sea we found the wind at the Southwest, and Southsouthwest, so that we were constrained to returne into the same sound.

The next day being the 19 the kings ship came out also, because she saw vs put to sea, & came as farre out as we, and moared were we did moare afore: And at our returne backe againe, we moared our ship in an vtter sound called Scorpe sound, because the kings ship

was

was without victuals, and we did not greatly desire her company, although they desired ours. In this sound the pole is elevated 62 deg. 47 min. Thus we lay stil for a wind vntil the 1 of December, which day we set saile at 6 a clocke in the morning, & at four in the afternoone we laid it to the inwards.

The 9 day we had sight of the coast of Scotland which was Buqnhamnesse.

The 10 day we were open off the Frith.

The 11 day at 4 in the morning we were thwart of Barwike: at 6 we were thwart of Bamburch: the same day at 10 at night we were shot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the wind came to the South and Southeast, so that we lay still vntill the next day in the morning, and then we were constrained to put with Tinmouth. The same day at night wee haled aground to stoppe a leake, which we found to be in the skarfe afore. The wind continued by the Southeast & Southsoutheast vntill the 20 day, and then we set saile about 12 at night, bearing along the coast.

The 22 day by reason of a Southeast wind, we thought we should haue bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the West, so that we haled Southeast: and at 3 in the afternoone we haled a sea boord the sands, and had shoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4 fadomes off them. The next day we haled as we might to sease Orfordnesse.

The 24 day we came thwart of the Nase, about 8 in the morning.

The 25 day being the Nativity of Christ, we came to an anker betweene Old hauen, and Tilberie hope. The same day we turned as high as Porsher.

The 26 day we turned as high as Ratcliffe, and praised God for our safe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

The William with Charles Jackman arriued at a port in Norway betweene Tronden and Rostock in October 1580, and there did winter: And from thence departed againe in Februarie following, and went in company of a ship of the King of Denmarke toward Island: and since that time he was neuer heard of.

Instructions made by the company of English merchants for discouery of new trades, vnto Richard Gibs, William Biggat, Iohn Backhouse, William Freeman, Iohn Haly, and Iames Woodcock, &c. masters of the 9. ships, and one barke that we haue freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. Nicholas in Russia, and backe againe: which ships being now in the riuer of Thames are presently ready to depart vpon the said voyage, with the next apt winds that may serue thereunto: and with this Fleet afterwards was ioined M. Christopher Carlisle with the Tyger. The 1 of Iune 1582.

FOrasmuch as the number of shippes which we purpose to send in this Fleete together for Saint Nicholas in Russia is greater then at any time heretofore wee haue sent thither, as also for that some speeches are giuen out that you shall be met withall by such as with force & violence will assault you as enemies, to the end that good order may be established among you for keeping together in company, and vniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your nauigation, as also for your more safety and strength against the enemie, we haue thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and euery one particularly shall be bound in the summe of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Because the Salomon is the biggest ship, best appointed, and of greatest force to defend or offend the enemie, we doe therefore appoint that ship Admirall, which shall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ship and well appointed, and for that the master of her is the ancientest master of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the same ship to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the foretop.

4 And for that the master of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the master of the Admirall and Viceadmirall shall conferre,

ferre, consult and agree vpon the courses and directions that shall be vsed in this voyage, and it shall be lawfull vnto the master of the Admiral, with the consent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggat, or one of them to make his courses and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and obserue the same without straying or breaking of company at any time vpon the penaltie before specified.

5 The appointing of the ships for Admiral and Viceadmiral, and those men to consult and agree vpon the courses and directions of the voyage, as aforesaid, hath bene done by the consents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly obserue the premisses.

6 Item, we haue thought good to put you in mind, that at such times as you may conueniently from time to time, you do assemble and meete together, to consider, consult, and determine vpon such articles as you shall think necessary to be propounded touching your best safetie and defence against all forces that may be offered you in this voyage, as well outwards bound, and while you shall remaine in the roade and bay of S. Nicholas, as also homewardes bound, and that which you shall agree vpon, or that which most of you shal consent vnto, cause it to be set down in writing for record, which may serue for an acte amongst your selues to binde you all to obserue the same.

7 We haue appointed Iames Woodcock in the smal barke to attend vpon you, & to receiue his directions from you. You are therefore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching y sayd barke, to what purposes she may best serue, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to giue your order and direction vnto him, as the time and place shall require.

8 Item, if you shall vnderstand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone be- Berozoua Vstia. fore you to S. Nicholas, remember what aduice hath bene giuen you for your stay at Berozoua Vstia, till you haue by espials viewed and vnderstood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the sea either outwards or homewards, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you shall be assaulted by force of any, as enemie whatsoeuer, you are to defend your selues with such forces as you may or can: trust not too farre, neither giue place to inconuenience.

10 You will not forget what conference we had touching your passing outwards bound by Wardhouse, to view and vnderstand what you can at that place, and to shew your selues, to see if there be any there that haue a mind to speake with you, for that we thinke it better then, & thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you shall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, be circumspect and carefull to haue your ships in readinesse, and in good order alwaies, and vpon all suddens. The greatest danger vnto you in that place will be while you shall shift your ships: therefore you are to consider of it, but the fittest time for you to doe the same, will bee when the winde is Southerly off the shore, or calme, and at such time you may the better doe it without danger. You must take such order among you, that your companies may be alwaies willing and ready to helpe one the other, and appoint among your selues such ships to shift first, and such after, in such sort and forme as you shall thinke best and most conuenient. And while they shall be in discharging, shifting, and lading, let the rest of your companies which haue not then to doe in lading or discharging, helpe those ships that shall haue labour to doe, as well for carying the barkes from ships to the shoare, or from shore to the shippe: with your boates, as also for any other helpe that they shall haue neede of.

12 Remember what hath bene said vnto you touching the moring of your ships, &c. for vsing aduantage against the enemie, if you shall be assaulted in that place.

13 See that you serue God, abolish swearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to consult and agree among your selues vpon signes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of company together, and also the maner how and by what meanes, rescue, ayde, or helpe may be giuen by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to send you a prosperous voyage and safe returne.

The

The opinion of Master William Burrough sent to a friend, requiring his iudgement for the fittest time of the departure of our ships towards S. Nicholas in Russia.

WHereas you request me to perswade the company not to send their shippes from hence before the fine of May, I do not thinke the same so good a course for them to obserue: for you know that the sooner wee sende them hence, the sooner we may looke for their returne. If wee sende them in the beginning of May, then may they be at Saint Nicholas by the fine of the same moneth: and by that time the greatest parte of your lading of necessitie must bee come downe, especially the flaxe: but if it should fall out so lateward a breaking vp of the riuer of Duyna, that by the ende of May the goods cannot be brought to Saint Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ships can come thither, the goods may be brought downe to that place: and if through ice the shippes be kept backe any time, the losse and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the shippes, and yet will the Owners put that in aduenture, rather then tarie longer time before their going hence.

The Russian fleet best to be set forth in the beginning of May.

Now seeing by sending our shippes hence in the beginning of May, their arriuall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the same moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the last of Iune, and returne home hither by the 10 of August with commodities to serue the market then, it cannot bee denied but we should reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be obiected, that if all our shippes be sent then to returne as aforesaid, you shall not be able to send vs in so much cordage, Waxe and Oyles, as otherwise you should doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to be sent in them as you would doe.

For answere thereunto this is my meaning: though I wish the greatest part of our shipping to go as aforesaid, yet would I haue one good ship or two at the most well furnished in al points that should depart alwaies from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10 day of Iune: and the same to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the first arriuall there vntill the middest of August, or to be dispatched thence sooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the same: by this order these commodities following may ensue.

1 You may haue our commodities there timely to send vp the riuer before it waxe shallow, to be dispersed in the countrey at your pleasure.

2 The greatest part of our goods may be returned hither timely to serue the first markets.

3 Our late ships remaining so long here may serue to good purpose, for returning answere of such letters as may be sent ouer land, and receiued here before their departure.

4 Their remaining so late with you shal satisfie your desire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring such cordage, Waxe, Oile, & other commodities, as you can prouide before that time: and chiefly may serue vs in stead to bring home our goods that may be sent vs from Persia.

Now seeing it may be so many wayes commodious to the commpany to obserue this order, without any charge vnto them, I wish that you put to your helping hand to further the same.

A copie of the Commission giuen to Sir Ierome Bowes, authorizing him her Maiesties Ambassadour vnto the Emperour of Russia, Anno 1583.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defensatrix, &c. Vniuersis & singulis præsentes literas visuris & inspecturis, salutem. Cùm Serenissimus Princeps, Ioannes Basilius, Rex, & magnus Dux Russiæ, Volodimeræ, Moscouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Rex Cazani, & Astracani, Dominus Plescoæ, & magnus Dux Smolenscoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum: Dominus & magnus Dux Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotscoæ, Ratsauie, Yerasiaue, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condensæ, & gubernator in tota prouincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, frater, & Amicus charissimus, Nobilem virum, Feodor Andrewich Spisemski, nuper ad nos ablegauerit, ad certa quædam negotia nobiscum agenda, quæ honorem vtrinque nostrum

niga, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Iaroslaue, Bealozera, Liffand, Oudor, Obdor, and Condensa' and Gouernour of all the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and others, her dearest brother and friend, Salutations.

Most excellent Prince, most deare brother and friend, by those things which the worthy ambassador of your excellency declared vnto vs, we haue vnderstood how kindly it would be taken, if we should send to your excellency an ambassador from vs, with commandement and *instructions. In which matter your honourable request hath so much pleased vs, that we could not any maner of way satisfie our selues, except we performed the same.* And hauing *purposed with our selfe so to doe, we thought of, and remembred* Ierome Bowes Knight, a *gentleman of qualitie of our household*e, a man very much beloued of vs, whom at this present *we send vnto your Maiesty, and to whose wisedome and faithfulnesse we haue committed all, whatsoeuer we take to appertein*e to the aduancement of both our honors indifferently. In the discharge of which seruice, we doubt not but that all care and diligence shall be vsed on his part, so that we intreat your Maiesty to giue him credence in the prosecuting of those things which he hath from vs in commandement, no lesse then to our selfe, if we were present. And

Doctor Iacob. whereas Robert Iacob doctor of physicke is a man very deare vnto vs, whom the last yere we sent vnto your excellency, we desire that he may haue that fauor and estimation with you, which good princes thinke a most honest and vertuous man woorthy of: for had we not caried great respect to our mutual friendship, and indeuour to gratifie your Maiestie, we should in no case haue parted with him. And seeing we continue still the same good will towards your excellency, we doe euen promise to our selfe your honourable kindnesses towards him: and we pray the almightie God to preserue your Maiesty in good safetie and health. Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the 19 day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne, the fiue and twentieth.

Your Maiesties good sister.

A briefe discourse of the voyage of Sir Ierome Bowes knight, her Maiesties ambassador to Iuan Vasiliuich the Emperour of Muscouia, in the yeere 1583.

THe Emperour of Russia that then liued, by name Iuan Vasiliwich, hauing deliberately considered how necessary it were for the strengthening of his estate, that a sure commerce and entercourse of merchants should be againe renued betweene him and her sacred Maiesty of England, with such further immunities and priuileges for the honor and vtility of both their dominions, and subiects of the same, as vpon mutuall treatie of persons interposed on both sides, might be assented vnto: sent ouer into this realme, in the yeere of our Lord 1582, as his ambassadour for that purpose, an ancient discreet gentleman of his household*e* called

Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky the Emperors ambassadour. Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky, accompanied with one of his Secretaries, for his better assistance in that expedition: and besides his many other directions, whereof part were to be deliuered by word of mouth, and the rest set downe in a letter vnder the Emperours signature, addressed to her Maiesty: he had in speciall charge to solicit her Maiesty to send ouer with him to his maister an ambassador from her, to treat and contract of such affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his imployments hither. Whereupon her Maiesty very graciously inclining to the Emperors motion, and at the humble sute of the English merchants trading those countreys being caried with the same princely respects, to satisfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of sir Ierome Bowes, a gentleman of her Court, ordinarily attending vpon her Maiesties person, towards whom was apparantly expressed her princely opinion and fauor by the credit of this negociation.

After he had receiued his commission, with other speciall letters to the Emperor, with all other instructions apperteining to his charge, and that the sayd Russe ambassadour was licenced to returne home to his maister, being honorably entertained and rewarded, the English ambassador being attended vpon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, tooke his leaue of her Maiesty at the Court at Greenwich the eighteenth of Iune, and with the other ambassadour,

sadour, with their seuerall companies, embarked themselues at Harwich the two and twentieth of the same, and after a stormy voyage at the Sea, they arriued both in safety in the road of S. Nicholas the three and twentieth of July next following.

The Russe ambassador lodged himselfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas: and the English ambassador was lodged and well intertained by the English merchants, at their house at S. Nicholas, standing in an Island called Rose Island.

The Russe ambassador hauing reposed himselfe one whole day, tooke his leaue of the English ambassadors and departed towards Mosco.

The English ambassadour abode yet at S Nicholas foure or fiue dayes, when hauing made prouision of boats, and meanes to that purpose, he went forward vpon his iourney towards Mosco, to a towne called Colmogro, about foure score miles distant from S. Nicholas.

You must here vnderstand that before the English ambassadors going into Russia, there were diuers strangers, but especially certeine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themselues to trade into those countreys. Notwithstanding a priuiledge of the sole trade thither was long before granted to the English merchants. These Dutch men had already so handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes woonne three of the chiefest counsellors to the Emperour to be their assured friends, namely, Mekita Romanouich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for besides dayly gifts that they bestowed vpon them all, they tooke so much money of theirs at interest at fiue and twenty vpon the hundred, as they payd to some one of them fiue thousand marks yeerely for the vse of his money, and the English merchants at that time had not one friend in Court. The Hollanders intrude into our trade.

The ambassador hauing now spent fiue weeks at S. Nicholas and at Colmogro, there came to him then a gentleman sent from the Emperor to enterteine him, and had in charge to conduct him vp the riuers towards Mosco, and to deliuer him prouision of all kinde of victuals necessary.

This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancellor, was by him (as it seemed) foisted into that seruice of purpose, as afterward appeared by the course he tooke, to offer discourtesies, and occasions of mislike to the ambassador: for you must vnderstand that the chancellor and the other two great counsellors (spoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpose to oppose themselues directly against her Maiesties ambassage, especially in that point, for the barring of all strangers from trading into the Emperors countrey.

This gentleman conducted the English ambassador a thousand miles vp the riuers of Dwina and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where receiued him another gentleman sent from the Emperor, a man of better countenance then the other, who presented the ambassador from the Emperor with two faire geldings well furnished after their maner.

At a city called Yeraslaue vpon the riuer Volga there met the ambassador a duke well accompanied, sent from the Emperor, who presented him from the Emperor a coach and ten geldings for the more easie conueying of him to Mosco, from whence this citie was distant fiue hundred miles.

Two miles on this side Mosco there met the ambassador foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horse: who after a litle salutation, not familiar, without imbracing, tolde him that they had to say to him from the Emperor, and would haue had him light on foot to haue heard it, notwithstanding themselues would still haue sit on horsebacke: which the ambassador soone refused to doe, and so they stood long vpon termes, whether both parties should light or not: which afterwards agreed vpon, there was yet great nicenesse whose foot should not be first on ground.

Their message being deliuered, and after hauing embraced eeh other, they conducted the sayd ambassador to his lodging at Mosco, a house builded of purpose for him, themselues being placed in the next house to it, as appointed to furnish him of all prouisions, and to be vsed by him vpon all other occasions.

The ambassador hauing beene some dayes in Mosco, and hauing in all that time bene very honorably vsed from the Emperor (for such was his will) though some of his chiefest counsellors (as is sayd) had another purpose, and did often times cunningly put it in vse: He was

sent

sent for to Court, and was accompanied thither with about forty gentlemen honorably mounted, and sumptuously arayed, & in his passage from his lodging to the court, were set in a ward fiue or sixe thousand shot, that were of the Emperors gard. At the entry into the court there met him foure noble men apparelled in cloth of gold and rich furres, their caps embroidred with pearle and stone, who conducted him towards the Emperor, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperor, in which passage there stood along the walles, and sate vpon benches and fourmes in row, seuen or eight hundred persons, said to be noblemen and gentlemen, all aparelled in garments of coloured satins and cloth of golde.

These foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperors chamber doore, where met him the Emperors herald, whose office is there held great: and with him all the great officers of the Emperors chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperor sate in his state, hauing three crownes standing by him, viz. of Moscouia, Cazan, and Astrakan, and also by him 4 yoong noblemen of about twenty yeres of age, of ech side twaine, costly apparelled in white, holding vpon their shoulders ech of them a brode axe, much like to a Galloglas axe of Ireland, thin and very sharpe, the steale or handle not past halfe a yard long, and there sate about the chamber vpon benches and other low seats, aboue an hundred noblemen richly apparelled in cloth of golde.

The ambassador being thus brought to the Emperor to kisse his hand, after some complements and inquirie of her Maiesties health, he willed him to goe sit downe in a place prouided for that purpose, nigh ten pases distant from him, from whence he would haue had him to haue sent him her Maiesties letters and present, which the ambassadour thinking not reasonable stept forward towards the Emperor: in which passage the chancellor came to meet him, and would haue taken his letters: to whom the ambassador sayd, that her Maiesty had directed no letters to him, and so went on, and deliuered them himselfe to the Emperors owne hands.

And after, hauing thus deliuered her Maiesties letters and what he had els to say at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where hauing had conference with the councell of matters of his ambassage, he was soone after sent for againe to the Emperour, where he dined in his presence at a side table, nere vnto him, and all his company at another boord by, where also dined at other tables in the same place, all the chiefe noble men that were about the Court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperor vsed many fauors to the ambassadour and about the midst of dinner (standing vp) dranke a great carouse to the health of the Queene his good sister, and sent him a great bowle full of Rhenish wine and sugar to pledge him.

The ambassadour after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference both with the Emperour and his councell of the matters in question, touching both ambassages, which diuers times raised many iarres: and in the end, after sundry meetings, the Emperour finding himselfe not satisfied to his liking, for that the ambassadour had not power by his commission to yeeld to euery thing that he thought fit, as a man whose will was seldome wonted to be gainsayd, let loose his passion, and with a sterne and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambassadour greatly misliking these speeches, & being very vnwilling (how dangerous soeuer it might procue to his owne person) to giue way to the Emperor, to derogate ought from the honour and greatnesse of her Maiesty: and finding also that to subiect himselfe to the angrie humour and disposition of the Emperour was not the meanes to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to answere his, tolde him that the Queene his Mistresse was as great a prince as any was in Christendome, equall to him that thought himselfe the greatest, well able to defend herselfe against his malice whosoeuer, and wanted no meanes to offend any that either shee had, or should haue cause to be enemy vnto. Yea (quoth he) How sayest thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? Mary (quoth the ambassadour) I holde the Queene my Mistresse as great as any of them both. Then what

sayest

sayest thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany? Such is the greatnesse of the Queene my Mistresse (quoth the ambassadour) as the King her father had (not long since) the Emperor in his pay, in his warres against France.

This answere misliked the Emperor yet so much more, as that he tolde the Ambassadour, that were he not an ambassador, he would throw him out of the doores. Whereunto he answered that he might doe his will, for he was now fast within his countrey: but he had a Mistresse who (he doubted not) would be reuenged of any iniury that should be done vnto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great sudden haste him get him home. And he with no more reuerence then such vsage required, saluted the Emperor and went his way.

All this notwithstanding, the ambassadour was not much sooner out of the chamber, and the Emperours cholar somewhat setled, but he deliuered to his councell that stood about him many commendations in the fauor of the Ambassador, for that he would not indure one ill word to be spoken against his mistresse, and therewithall wished himselfe to haue such a seruant.

The Ambassadour had not beene much more then one houre in his lodging, but the Emperour imagining (as it seemed) by the extraordinary behauiour of the ambassador (for he wanted not wit to iudge) that he had found what was the Emperors case, sent his principall secretary vnto him, to tell him, that notwithstanding what had past, yet for the great loue that he bare to the Queene his sister, he should very shortly be called againe to Court, and haue a resolution of all the matters in question: and this secretary was now further content to impart, and sayd to the ambassadour that the Emperour was fully resolued to send a greater noble man home with him in ambassage to the Queene his sister, then euer he yet at any time sent out of his countrey: and that he determined also to send to the Queene a present woorth three thousand pounds, and to gratifie himselfe at his departure with a gift that should be woorth a thousand pounds: and tolde him also that the next day the Emperour would send a great noble man vnto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuses done him by Shaikan the chancellor, and his ministers.

And so the day following he sent Bodan Belskoy the chiefest counceller that he had, a man most in credit with him: this man examined all matters wherewith the ambassador had found himselfe grieued, and supplied him with what hee wanted, and righted him in all things wherein hee had beene wronged.

Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperor caused to be set downe in his owne presence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambassador then he had had before, and shortly after sent the same to the ambassadour by his principall Secretarie Saulo Frollo. This diet was so great, as the ambassadour oftentimes sought to haue it lessened, but the Emperour would not by any meanes.

The scroule of the new diet was this:

- One bushel of fine meale for three dayes.
- One bushel of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
- Two liue geese for one day.
- Twenty hennes for the day.
- Seuen sheepe for a day.
- One oxe for three dayes.
- One side of pork for a day.
- Seuentie egges for a day.
- Ten pound of butter.
- Seuenty peny white loaues of bread.
- Twelue peny loaues of bread.
- One veather or gallon of vinegar.
- Two veathers of salt cabiges.
- One pecke of onions.
- Ten pound of salt.

- On altine, or sixe peny woorth of waxe candles.
- Two altines of tallow candles.
- One fourth part of a veather of cherrie mead.
- As much of Malynouomead.
- Halfe a veather of burnt wine.
- One veather of sodden mead called *Obarni*.
- Three veathers of sweet mead.
- Ten veathers of white mead.
- Fifteene veathers of ordinary mead.
- Foure veathers of sweet beere.
- Fiftene veathers of beere.
- Halfe a pound of pepper.
- Three sollitincks or ounces of saffron.

One

{One sollitincke of mase. / One sollitincke of nutmegs.} {Two sollitincks of cloues. / Three sollitincks of sinamon.}

Prouender, {One bushell of oats. / One load of hay. / One load of straw.}

M. Cole. Now he began so much to discouer his purpose and affections towards her Maiesty & her countrey, as he sent to the ambassador, intreating him that his ‖ preacher, and doctor Iacob his English physician, might set downe the points of the religion in vse in England, which the Ambassadour caused to be done accordingly, and sent them vnto him, who seemed so well to like them, as he caused them (with much good allowance) to be publikely read before diuers of his councell, and many others of his nobility.

Now he drew hotly againe in que-tion to marry some kinsewoman of her Maiesties, & that he would send againe into England, to haue some one of them to wife, and if her Maiestie would not vpon his next Ambassage send him such a one as he required, himselfe would then goe into England, and cary his treasure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you must vnderstand that the yeere before this ambassage, he had sent to her Maiesty by his ambassador to haue had the lady Mary Hastings in marriage, which intreaty by meanes of her inability of body, by occasion of much sicknesse, or perhaps, of no great liking either of herselfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambassador was now so farre growen into the Emperors fauor, & his affection so great to England, as those great councellors that were the Ambassadors great enemies before, were now desirous of some publike courtesies at his hands for their aduantage to the Emperour: neither durst they now any more interpose themselues twixt the Emperour and him: for not long before this, the Emperor for abusing the ambassador, had (to shew his fauour towards him) beaten Shalkan the chancellor very grieuously, and had sent him word, that he would not leaue one of his race aliue.

Now whilest the ambassador was thus strongly possest of the Emperors fauor, he imployed himselfe in all he might, not onely for the speedy dispatch of the negociation he had in hand, but laboured also by all the good meanes he might, further to benefit his countrey and countreymen, and so not long after wanne at the Emperours hands not onely all those things he had in commission to treat for by his instructions, but also some other of good and great importance, for the benefit of the merchants.

Priuate suites obteined of the Emperor by the ambassador.

LEaue for Richard Fransham an English man and apothecary to the Empercur, his wife, and children to come home into England, and to bring with him all such goods as he had gotten there.

He obteined like leaue for Richard Elmes an English man one of the Emperours surgions.

He also got leaue for Iane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutchman, and physician to the Emperour, who for treason practised with the king of Pole against the sayd Emperour, was rosted to death at the city of Mosco, in the yere 1579.

These following he obteined for the behoofe of the merchants.

HE procured for the merchants promise of recompence for certaine goods taken from their factors by robbery vpon the Volga.

He obtained likewise the payment of fiue hundred marks, which was payd for ten yeeres before his going into Russia (into the Emperors receit) for a rent of a house that they had at Vologda.

He also got granted for them the repayment of fifteene hundred marks, which had bene exacted of them the two last yeres before his comming thither.

He got also for them order for the repayment of an olde and desperate debt of three thousand marks, a debt so desperate, as foure yeres left out of their accounts, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be dealt with, for too much offending the Emperor, or impeach-

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ing his other businesse, which was thought at least otherwise sufficient, and was therefore left out of his instructions from her Maiesty.

He obteined that all strangers were forbidden to trade any more into Russia, and that the passage and trade to all the Emperors Northren coasts and countries, from the Wardhouse to the riuer of Ob should be onely free to the English nation.

Lastly, of a great desire he had to do the merchants good, without motion either of themselues here, or their Agents there, or any other of them, he obteined of the Emperour the abatement of all their custome which they had long before payd, and agreed still to continue, which custome the Dutchmen and strangers being remooued, as now it was agreed, amounted to two thousand pounds yerely.

All these were granted, some already payd before his comming from Mosco, the olde priuilege ratified, newly written, signed and sealed, and was to be deliuered to the ambassadour at his next comming to Court, before when the Emperor fell sicke of a surfet, and so died.

After whose death the case was woondrously altered with the ambassador: For whereas both in his owne conceit, and in all mens opinion els, he was in great forwardnes to haue growen a great man with the Emperor, what for the loue he bare to her Maiesty, and the particular liking he had of himselfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mekita Romanouich and Andre Shalkan the chancellor, who, after the death of the Emperour, tooke the speciall gouernment upon themselues, and so presently caused the Ambassadour to be shut vp a close prisoner in his owne house, for the space of nine weeks, and was so straightly guarded and badly vsed by those that attended him, as he dayly suspected some further mischiefe to haue followed: for in this time there grew a great vprore in Mosco of nigh twenty thousand persons, which remembring that his enemies reigned, somewhat amazed the ambassadour, but yet afterwards the matter fell out against that great counseller Bodan Belskoy, whom I noted before to be a speciall man in the old Emperors fauor: who was now notwithstanding so outragiously assaulted, as that he was forced to seeke the Emperors chamber for his safety, and was afterwards sent away to Cazan, a place he had in gouernment, fiue hundred miles from Mosco, where he hath remained euer since, and neuer as yet called againe to court, at which time the ambassador expected some such like measure, and prepared himselfe aswell as he could, for his defence: yet happily after this, was sent for to court, to haue his dispatch, and to take his leaue of the Emperor: whither being conducted (not after the woonted manner) and brought to the councell chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chancellor and a brother of his, who without more adoe, tolde him for the summe of his dispatch, that this Emperour would not treat of further amity with the Queene his mistresse, then such as was betweene his late father and her, before his comming thither: and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambassadour, but presently caused both himselfe and all his company to be disarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperor. In which passage there were such outrages offered him as had he not vsed more patience then his disposition afforded him, or the occasion required, he had not in likelihood escaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the presence of the Emperour, who sayd nothing to him, but what the chancellor had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Maiesty, which the ambassadour (for that he knew it conteined nothing that did concerne his ambassage) refused till he saw his danger grow too great: neither would the Emperour suffer the ambassadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpose taken away his interpretur, being yet vnwilling (as it seemed, and suspecting the ambassadours purpose) that the Emperor and other should know how dishonorably he had beene handled: for there was at that time, in that presence a noble braue gentleman, one Boris Pheodorouich Godenoe, brother to the Emperor that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour did alwayes vse the ambassadour most honorably, and would very willingly haue done him much more kindenesse, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperor: but notwithstanding he sent often vnto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honourable fauours with a present of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a tymber of very good sables: and desired that as there was kindnesse and brotherhood twixt the Emperor and her Maiesty, so there

The great friendship of L. Boris Pheodorouich.

might be loue and brotherhood twixt him and the Ambassadour. Sauing from this man, there was now no more fauour left for the ambassadour in Moscouia: for the chanceller Shalkan had now sent him word that the English Emperor was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and disgraces too many, and a hasty dispatch from the Mosco, that he might not tary the coronation of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long iourney, onely one meane gentleman appointed to accompany him to the sea side, expecting daily in his passage some sudden reuenge to be done vpon him, for so he understood it was threatned before his comming from the Mosco, & therefore with resolution prouided by all the meanes he might, by himselfe and his seruants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen such, as the English merchants did altogether leaue him, although he commanded them in her Maiesties name to accompany him) that if any such thing should happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that should offer to execute it, should die with him for company: which being perceiued was thought to make his passage the safer. So afterward being driuen to disgest many iniuries by the way, at length he recouered S. Nicholas, where remembring his vnfortunate losse of the old Emperor, and his ill vsage since then at the Mosco, he being forced to take a bare letter for the summe of his dispatch, conteyning nothing of that he came for, and the poore and disgraceful present sent him (in the name of the Emperour) in respect of that that was meant him by the old Emperor, knowing all these to be done in disgrace of her Maiestie and himselfe, determined now to be discharged of some part of them in such sort as he could, and so prouiding as he might to preuent his danger, in getting to his shippe, furnishing and placing his men to answere any assault that should be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the vncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by three or foure of the valiantest and discreetest men he had, he sent to be deliuered him or left at his lodging, his maisters weake letter, and worsse present, and so afterwards happily (though hardly) recouered his ship in safetie, although presently afterwards, there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receiue the same againe, but failed of their purpose. So came the ambassadour from S. Nicholas the twelfth day of August, and arriued at Gruesend the twelfth of September following, and attended her Maiestie at the court at Otelands, where, after hauing kist her Maiesties hands, and deliuered some part of the successe of his ambassage, he presented her an Elke or Loshe, the Red deere of the countrey, and also a brace of Raine deare, Buck and Doe, both bearing very huge hornes: they in her Maiesties presence drew a sled and a man vpon it, after the maner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabite in the Northeast from Russia, and were that yeere come ouer the sea in the winter season vpon the yce, in their sleds, drawen with these deere into Russia, where the ambassadour bought of them seuenteene, whereof he brought nine aliue into Kent.

The maner of the preferring of suites in Russia, by the example of our English merchants bill, exhibited to the Emperour.

John Basiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, the English merchants, William sonne of Thomas, with his company sue vnto.

Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the worlds creation, thy Maiesties treasurer, named Gregorie Mekitowich Borozden, tooke of vs for thy vse 12. poods of loafe sugar, prised at 8. robles the pood, which sugar was sent to the ‖ Sloboda. More, the sayd Gregorie treasurer, tooke of vs for thy Maiestie 200. reames of paper, prised at 20. altines the reame, for all which the money hath not bene payd which amounteth to 216. robles.

‖ The Emperours house of recreation.

And in the 84. yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo tooke of vs for thy Maiesty copper plates, for the summe of 1032. robles and one fourth part vnpayd for.

Also in the said 84. yeere thy Maiesties diakes called Iuan Blasghoy, and Iuan Sobakin tooke of vs for thy vse, sundry commodities, and haue not payd 630. robles, the rest of the money due for the said goods.

In the 85. yeere thy Maiesties treasurer Peter Gholouen tooke of vs for thy Maiestie, cloth of sundry sorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538. robles.

In

In the 88. yere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Istomay Yeuskoy tooke of vs lead for thy Maiestie, to the value of 267. robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the same yeere thy Maiesties diak Boris Gregoriwich had for thy vse 15. broad cloths of diuerse sorts, prised at 210. robles, whereof 90. robles are vnpayd.

Also in the said 88. yere thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs 1000. robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Maiesties appointment.

And also in the 89. yeere (Lord) thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs for thy Maiesty 500. robles, we know not whether by thy Maiesties order or no, because that thy authorized people do yeerely take away from vs, neither do they giue vs right in any cause.

All the mony (Lord) which is not payd vs out of thy Maiesties treasury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from vs by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273. robles 25. altines.

Right noble king and Lord, shew thy mercy, and cause the money to be payd vs which is owing for our goods, as also that which hath beene taken from vs: extend thy fauor, King and Lord.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to the worshipfull M. William Sanderson, conteining a briefe discourse of that which passed in the Northeast discouery for the space of three and thirtie yeres.

MAster Sanderson, as you lately requested mee, so haue I sought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I haue briefly and as truely as I may, drawen out as foloweth: the rough hewing may be planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First the honorable attempt to discouer by sea Northeast and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuiledge from king Edward the sixt, and other his nobilitie, by and at the cost and sute of M. Sebastian Cabota, then gouernor for discoueries with sir Andrew Iudde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garrard, M. Anthonie Hussie, and a companie of merchants, was in the last yeere of his Maiesties reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Maisters, Merchants and Mariners, hauing three shippes well furnished, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonaduenture, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaduenture, Richard Chanceller being Pilot, and Steuen Burrough Maister, hauing discouered Wardhouse vpon the coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a village called Newnox.

Anno 1553. M. William Burrough was then young, and with his brother in this first voyage.

Newnox is fro the road of S. Nicholas Westward 35 miles.

The other two shippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with such extreame colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the saide baye fell vpon a desert coast in Lappia, entring into a Riuer immediately frozen vp, since discouered, named Arzina Reca, distant East from a Russian Monastery of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they neuer returned, but all to the number of 70. persons perished, which was for want of experience to haue made caues and stoues. These were found with the shippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Russe fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent vnto by English merchants as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554. the sayd shippe Edward Bonaduenture (although robbed homewardes by Flemings) returned with her company to London, shewing and setting foorth their entertainments and discouery of the countreys euen to the citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priuilege written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale, the other two shippes looked for and vnknowen to them where they were.

Anno 1554.

An. 1555. the said company of Merchants for discouerie vpon a new supply, sent thither againe with two ships, to wit, the Edward Bonaduenture, & another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Maiesties by their letters to the said Moscouite, recommended sundry their subiects then passing, whereof certaine, to wit, Richard Chanceller,

Anno 1555.

The King and Queenes letters.

Chanceller, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Bay, and passing vp Dwina to Vologda went first vp to Mosco, where, vpon knowledge of the said letters, they with their traine had speciall entertainment, with houses and diet appointed, and shortly permitted to the princes presence, they were with gentlemen brought through the citie of Mosco, to the castle and palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They entred sundry roomes, furnished in shew with ancient graue personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, golde, tissue, baldekin, and violet, as our vestments and copes haue bene in England, sutable with caps, iewels, and chaines. These were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Moscouites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it.

Then entring into the presence, being a large roome floored with carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number aboue an hundred set square: who after the said English men came in, doing reuerence, they all stood vp, the prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be seene massie siluer and gilt plate, some like and as bigge as kilderkins, and washbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the prince was set bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe standing vpon a pinnacle by. Not farre distant sate his Metropolitane, with diuers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none sate ouer against him, or any, at other tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the Englishmen, named by the Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, to wit, strangers or merchants by ship, a table in the middest of the roome, where they were set direct against the prince: and then began the seruice, brought in by a number of his yoong Lordes and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is aboue specified: and still from the Princes table (notwith-standing their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set ouer all in massie fine golde, deliuered euery time from him by name to them, by their seuerall Christian names, as they sate, viz. Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewise bread and sundry drinkes of purified mead, made of fine white and clarified honie. At their rising, the prince called them to his table, to receiue each one a cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke in his hand Master George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, & pleasantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, sayd in Russe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length fiue foot and two inches of assize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carying pots of drinke, and dishes of meat dressed, to our lodging.

M. Killingworths beard of a marueilous length.

This yeere the two shippes, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent vnto by Master Killingworth, (which remained there in Mosco Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recouered and saued.

Anno 1556. Anno 1556. The company sent two ships for Russia, with extraordinary masters and saylers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the riuer of Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from England sailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe ambassador, named Ioseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chanceller in the Edward. But so it fel out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Masters and Mariners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought seas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is supposed, vnstanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also diuers Russes merchants, and seruants of the ambassadour. A third shippe the Edward aforesayd, falling on the North part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was also lost, and Master Chanceller, with diuers other, drowned. The sayd Russe ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, mariners, & some goods saued, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the messenger being M. Doctor Laurence Hussie, and others:) And then, as in the chronicles appeareth, honorably entertained and receiued at London.

This

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out a pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discouer the harborowes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discouery was beyond the Bay, towarde the Samoeds, people dwelling neare the riuer of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Carde or Mappe. In that place they threw asowe out of their said pinnesse, with shouels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. The company with foure good ships, sent backe the said Russe ambassadour, and in company with him, sent as an Agent, for further discouery, Master Anthony Ienkinson, who afterward anno 1558. with great fauour of the prince of Moscouia, and his letters passed the riuer Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of vncouth Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping company with merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Vrgeme, trauelling with camels, he with his company, went to Boghar, and no further: whose entertainment of the king is to be had of master Ienkinson, which returned anno 1559. to Moscouie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse or shipwracke, or dead fraight, & burnings. And at this time was the first traffike to the Narue in Liuonia, which confines with Lituania, & all the dominions of Russia: and the markets, faires, commodities, great townes & riuers, were sent vnto by diuers seruants: the reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and deliuered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of old time hath bene long since frequented by our English nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1561. the said Master Anthony Ienkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all the riuer of Volga to Astracan, and ouer the Caspian sea, arriued in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry voyages after Master Ienkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Banister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spyle neere Volga had not preuented by rouing theeues) had altogether saued and recouered the companies (called the olde companies) great losse, charges, and damages: but the saying is true, By vnitie small things grow great, & by contention great things become small. This may be vnderstood best by the company. The frowardnesse of some few, and euill doing of some vniust factors, was cause of muche of the euill successe.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Ierome Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further discoueries, freedomes, and priuileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines and aduentures this way (as diuers do now adayes other wayes) as worthy Gentlemen sent from princes, to doe their countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Magarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

Yours Henry Lane.

Anno 1557.

Boghar voyage.

1560.

The first trade to the Narue. 1560.

Alcock slaine in Persia.

Banister died in Media.

Edwards died at Astracan.

The most solemne, and magnificent coronation of ‖ Theodor Iuanowich, Emperour of Russia &c. the tenth of Iune, in the yeere 1584. seene and obserued by Master Ierom Horsey gentleman, and seruant to her Maiesty, a man of great trauell, and long experience in those parts: wherwith is also ioyned the course of his iourney ouer land from Mosco to Emden.

‖ Or Theodor.

When the old Emperour Iuan Vasiliwich died, (being about the eighteenth of Aprill, 1584. after our computation) in the citie of Mosco, hauing raigned 54. yeeres, there was some tumult and vprore among some of the nobilitie, and cominaltie, which notwithstanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the same night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Knez Iuan Pheodorowich, Mesthis Slafsky, Knez Iuan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich

The death of Iuan Vasiliwich 1584. Apr. 18.

L. Boris adopted as the Emperors third sonne.

nowich & Bodan Iscoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefest in the Emperors Will, especially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third sonne, & was brother to the Empresse, who was a mã very wel liked of al estates, as no lesse worthy for his valure & wisedome: all these were appointed to dispose, & settle his sonne Pheodor Iuanowich, hauing one sworne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers whosoeuer. In the morning § dead Emperor was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangel, into a hewen sepulcre, very richly decked with vestures fit for such a purpose: and present Proclamation was made, (Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich of all Rossia &c.) Throughout all the citie of Mosco was great watch and ward, with souldiers, and gunners, good orders established, and officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and mainteine quietnes: to see what speede and policie was in this case vsed was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Mosco, great men of birth and accompt were also presently sent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kasan, Nouogorod &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent vp. As vpon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were assembled, the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobility whatsoeuer: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation in the gouernment: but especially the terme, and time was agreed vpon for the solempnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time § Empresse, wife to the old Emperor, was with her child the Emperors sonne, Charlewich Demetrie Iuanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, sent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, & that kindred, being 5. Brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was giuen vnto her, and the young Prince her sonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sortes appointed, hauing allowance of apparell, iewels, diet, horse &c. in ample maner belonging to the estate of a princesse. The time of mourning after their vse being expired, called Sorachyn, or fortie orderlie dayes, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being vpon the 10. day of Iune, 1584: and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeres: at which time, Master Ierom Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Priestes garments vpon them, carying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaueshina, or Blessednes, where prayers, and seruice were vsed, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangell, and there also vsed the like prayers, and seruice: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechista, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chaire of maiestie placed, wherein his Auncestors vsed to sit at such extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and most rich and vnualuable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobility standing round about him in their degres, his imperiall Crowne was set vpon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Iustice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes also, by which he holdeth his kingdomes were set before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true Iustice, to inioy with tranquilitie the Crowne of his auncestors, which God had giuen him, and vsed these words following.

The old Empresse, her father, and her yong sonne sent to Ouglets.

The day of Pheodor his coronation.

Through the will of the almighty & without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liueth, and giueth life to man: that our only God which cõspireth euery one of vs his only children with his word to discerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish vs to keep the right Scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, & the maintenance of vertue. And so

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the Metropolitan blessed and layd his crosse vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maiestie, hauing vpon him an vpper robe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in waight two hundred pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne vp by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an vnicornes horne of three foot and a halfe in length beset with rich stones, bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour in An. 1581, and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This iewel M. Horsey kept sometimes, before the Emperor had it. His scepter globe was caried before him by the prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes also were caried by Demetrius Iuanowich Godonous, the Emperors vncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors vncle, Stephan Vasiliwich, Gregory Vasiliwich, Iuan Vasiliwich brothers of the blood royal. Thus at last the Emperor came to the great Church doore, and the people cried, God saue our Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich of al Russia. His horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a couering of imbrodered pearle, and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, three maner of waies, three foote aboue ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were spred vnder foot with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet, and stammell cloth from one church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, veluet and scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, euery man desirous to haue a piece, to reserue it for a monument: siluer and gold coyne, then mynted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously, and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with al sorts of precious stones. In like rich maner were appareled all the family of the Godonowes in their degrees, with the rest of the princes, and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynsky, whose robe, horse, and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empresse being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Maiesty also before a great open window: most precious, and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient pearle beset, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserue our noble Empresse Irenia. After all this the Emperour came into the Parliament house which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall seat adorned as before: his 6. crownes were set before him vpon a table: the basin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of siluer, called Kindry, with scepters, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabs.

The Emperour after a short oration, permitted euery man in order to kisse his hande: which being done, he removed to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was serued by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beset with plate of golde, and siluer round from the ground vp to the vauts one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of siluer, and golde: this solemnitie, and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and vsed: after which the chiefest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, & dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counseller to the Emperor, Master of the horse, had the charge of his person, Liuetenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Gouernor or Liuetenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperor giuen him many reuenues, and rich lands, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a prouince called Vaga, of 300. English miles in length, and 250. in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and wealthy, his yeerely

yeerely reuenue out of that prouince, is 30. thousand markes sterling, being not the 5. part of his yerely reuenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100. thousand Souldiers well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two miles without the citie, being 170. great pieces of brasse of all sorts, as faire as any can be made, these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: 20. thousand hargubusers standing in 8. rankes two miles in length, appareled all in scluet, coloured silke & stammels, discharged their shot also twise ouer in good order: and so the Emperor accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the least 50. thousand horse departed through the City to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaues of paper to be described particularly as it was performed: it shal suffice, to vnderstand that the like magnificence was neuer seene in Russia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, al the nobilitie, officers, and merchants according to an accustomed order euery one in his place, and degree brought rich presents vnto the Emperor, wishing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Ierom Horsey aforesaid, remayning as seruant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, was called for to the Emperor, as he sate in his imperiall seat, and then also a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Mosco, (who gaue him selfe out to be the king of Spaines subiect) called Iohn de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the nobilitie would haue preferred this subiect of the Spaniard before Master Horsey seruant to the Queene of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying, he would haue his legges cut off by the knees, before he would yeeld to such an indignitie offered to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maiesty of England, to bring the Emperor a present, in course after the King of Spaines subiect, or any other whatsoeuer. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiuing the controuersie, sent the Lord Treasorer Peter Iuanowich Galauyn, and Va-ili Shalkan, both of the Counsell, to them, who deliuered the Emperor backe, Master Horseys speech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperor in the behalfe of the English merchants trading thither, a present wishing him ioy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and so kissed the Emperors hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and auouching, that for his sisters sake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample maner as euer his father had ben: and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him 70. dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with 3. carts laden with al sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the foresayd subiect of the Spanish king admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faithfull and seruiceable vnto him, then the Queene of Englands subiects were & had ben, and then the king of Spaines subiects should receiue fauour accordingly.

Iohn de Wale.

All these things thus in order performed, praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperor and Empresse very deuoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselues to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous monasterie called Sergius and the Trinitie, 60. miles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, mounted vpon goodly horses with furniture accordingly.

The Empresse of deuotion tooke this iourney on foot all the way, accompanied with her princesses and ladies, no small number: her guard and gunners were in number 20000. her chiefe counseller or attendant, was a noble man of the blood Roial her vncle of great authoritie called Demetri Iuanowich Godonowa. All this progresse ended, both the Emperor and Empresse returned to Mosco: shortly after the Emperor by the direction of the prince Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power into the land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables & Furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1000. miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperor of the countrey called Chare Siberskey, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosko with a guard

Chare Siberski prince of Siberia taken prisoner and brought to Mosco.

guard of souldiers and gunners, who were receiued into the citie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, iudges, iustices, captains and lieutenants through the whole kingdom were remooued, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commandement, vnder seuere punishment to surcease their old bribing & extortion which they had vsed in the old Emperors time, and now to execute true iustice without respect of persons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly stipends were augmented: the great taskes, customes, and duties, which were before layd vpon the people in the old Emperors time, were now abated, and some wholy remitted, and no punishments commanded to be vsed, without sufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deseruing death: many Dukes and noble men of great houses, that were vnder displeasure, and imprisoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperor, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie and their trespasses forgiuen. In summe, a great alteration vniuersally in the gouernment followed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subiects: and this bred great assurance and honour to the kingdom, and all was accomplished by the wisedom especially of Irenia the Empresse.

These things being reported and caried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers vpon Russia, they grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himselfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne countrey to the Emperor of Russia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie well horsed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperor, and their entertainment was honourable, the Tartar prince hauing brought with him his wifes also, receiued of the Russe Emperor entertainment, and princely welcome according to their estates. Sophet Keri Alli king of the Crimmes arriued at Mosco.

Not long after, 1200. Polish gentlemen, valiant Souldiers, and proper men came to Mosko offring their seruice to the Emperor, who were all entertained: and in like sort many Cirkasses, and people of other nations came and offred seruice. And assoone as the report of this new created Emperor was spred ouer other kingdoms of Europe, there were sent to him sundry Ambassadors to wish him ioy and prosperitie in his kingdom: thither came Ambassadors from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came also Ambassadors from the Emperor of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And since his coronation no enemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperor was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England, for which seruice he thought no man fitter then M. Ierome Horsey, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subiects would be the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, that the Emperor desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his father and the Queens maiestie and her subiects, with other priuate affaires besides, which are not to be made common. The new Emperor Theodore aduertiseth his honors and requests to the Queene.

Master Horsey hauing receiued the letters and requests of the Emperor, prouided for his iourney ouer land, and departed from Mosco the 1st day of September, thence vnto Otner-Tor-hook, to great Nouogrod, to Vobsky, and thence to Nyhouse in Liuonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga: (where he was beset, and brought fourthwith before a Cardinall called Rageuil, but yet suffred to passe in the end:) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Rostock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by sea to London. Being arriued at her maiesties roiall court, and hauing deliuered the Emperors letters with good fauour, and gracious acceptance, he was fourthwith againe commaunded to repasse into Russia, with other letters from her maiestie to the Emperor, and prince Boris Phendorowich, answering the Emperors letters, and withall requesting the fauour and friendship, M. Horsey repasseth into Russia.

ship, which his father had yeelded to the English merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the merchants of London themselues of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from London by sea, he arriued in Mosco, the 20. of April
1586. 1586. and was very honourably welcommed. And for ỹ merchants behoofe, obtained all his requests, being therein specially fauoured by ỹ noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horsey with speciall liking. And hauing obtained priuiledges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperor againe, to the Queene of England his mistresse, by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queens maiestie, sent her highnesse a roiall present of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the companie of English merchants, next to their thankfulnes to her maiestie, are to account M. Horseis paines their speciall benefit, who obtained for them those priuileges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M. Horseis last dispatch from the Emperor, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed post horses for him and his seruants, victuals and all other necessaries for his long iourney; at euery towne that he came vnto from Mosco to Vologda, which is by land fiue hundred miles, he receiued the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and prouision were giuen him vpon the riuer Dwina at euery towne by the kings officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new castle called Archangel, he was receiued of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Isuenogorodsky by the Emperors commission into the Castle, gunners being set in rankes after their vse, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence hee was dispatched with bountifull prouision and allowance in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the road where the English, Dutch, and French ships rode, the gunners discharged, and the ships shot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, & so he was brought to his lodging at the English house vpon Rose Island.

And that which was the full and complete conclusion of the fauour of the Emperor and Boris Pheodorowich toward M. Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further prouision vpon the sea by a gentleman and a captaine the things following.

16. fiue oxen.	2. swans.
70. sheepe.	65. gallons of mead.
600. hens.	40. gallons of Aquauitæ.
25. flitches of Bacon.	60. gallons of beere.
80. bushels of meale.	3. yong beares.
600. loaues of bread.	4. hawkes.
2000. egs.	Store of onions and garlike.
10. geese.	10. fresh salmons.
2. cranes.	A wild bore.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperors, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, & were receiued in order by Iohn Frese seruant to M. Horsey, together with an honorable present and reward from the prince Boris, sent him by M. Francis Cherry an Englishman: which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, & a faire paire of Sables. This Gentleman hath obserued many other rare things concerning those partes, which hereafter (God willing) at more conuenient time and laisure shall come to light.

Pheodor Iuanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of priuilege to the English Merchants word for word, obtained by M. Ierome Horsey. 1586.

THrough the wil of the almightie, and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in ỹ Trinitie, one only God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will

will and working, he both loueth and giueth life to man, That our onely God, which inspireth euery one of vs his onely children with his word, to descerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times, Establish vs to keep the right Scepter, and suffer vs of our selues to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We Pheodor the ofspring of Iohn, the great Lord, Emperor, king and great prince of all Russia, of Volodemeria, Moscouia and Nouogrod, king of Cazan, king of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great prince of Smolensko, of Tuer, Yougoria, Permia, Viatsko, of Bolghar and others, lord and great prince of the land of the lower Nouogrod, Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostow, Yeraslaue, the White lake, Liefland, Oudor, Condensa, and Ruler of all Siberia, and all the Northside, and lord of many other countries.

I haue gratified the merchants of England, to wit, sir Rowland Haiward, and Richard Martin Aldermen, sir George Barnes, Thomas Smith esquire, Ierome Horsey, Richard Saltonstall, with their fellowes.

I haue licensed them to saile with their shippes into our dominion the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities to trade freely, and vnto our kingdom and the citie of Mosco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moscouia.

And the english merchants sir Rowland Haiward & his societie desired vs, that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdom of Moscouia, and into our heritage of great Nouogrod and Plesko, and into all parts of our kingdom, to buy and sell with their wares without custome.

Therefore we for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, & also because that they allege that they had great losse and hinderance by the venture of the sea, and otherwise, haue gratified the said English merchants sir Rowland Haiward and his societie, freely to come into our kingdom of Moscouia, and into al our dominions with al kind of commodities, to trade, & traffique freely, & at their pleasure with all kind of their commodities: also I haue commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs whatsoeuer: That is say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for lanching, neither for passing through any place by land, neither for the vessels or boats, nor for their heads, nor for passing ouer bridges, nor for ferying ouer at any place, neither for acknowledgement at any place where they shall come, nor any maner of custome or dutie, by what name soeuer.

Only they shall not bring with them into our dominions, neither recarie out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods but their owne, neither sell them nor barter them away for them.

Also our naturall people shall not buy and sell for them, or from them, neither shal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall subiects goods, or pawnes by them to colour them.

Also they shall not send any of their Russe seruants about into any citie to ingrosse, or buy vp commodities, but into what citie they themselues shal come, they shal buy and sel, and shal sel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shal come into our inheritance of great Nouogrod and Plesko, and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen and captains, and euery one of our officers shall suffer them to depart according to this our letter, & shall take no custom at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage ouer any bridges, nor shall take of them any other dutie whatsoeuer name they haue.

Also into what places of our dominion, or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or sell, and wheresoeuer they shall passe through with goods not buying of any commodities, neither will sell their owne, then in those cities and townes they shall take no maner of custome or dutie of them, accordingly as before.

And I haue gratified them and giuen them free leaue to traffique throughout all the dom-

nions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods, to buy and sell all maner of commodities without any dutie or custome whatsoeuer.

And the English merchants where they are desirous to buy or sell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shall sell their commodities whole, and not by retaile: That is to say, neither by small weight nor by the yard, to sell or barter in their owne houses, and they shal sel and barter their wares wholly, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole Cloth, and Damaske and veluet by the piece and not by the yard, and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by weight, not to sell by the small weights, as by the pound and ounce, but by whole sale: also they shall sel wines by the pipe: and by the gallon, quart or stoope they shal not sell.

And they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne commodities themselues, and the Russe merchants shall not make sales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither shal they themselues conuey or cary through any other mans goods at no place in stead of their owne: and which of the English merchants will at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or Vologda or Yeraslaue, they may, and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains, and euery of our officers shall take no maner of custome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter: and throughout all our dominions and cities they shal hire carriers and vessels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to transport their goods.

So likewise, whensoeuer the English merchants are disposed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey or into their owne land, if our pleasure be, they shall take our goods with them from our Treasurie, and shall sell them, and exchange them for such commoditie as is commodious for our kingdom, and shall deliuer it into our Treasurie, and with those our commodities, our Noblemen and captains, and euery of our officers shall let them passe through all our cities also without custome according to these our letters.

Also whensoeuer the English merchants shall haue sold their own goods & bought themselues commodities, & wil depart out of Mosco, then they shal manifest themselues to our chiefe Secretarie Andrew Sholkaloue, in the office where the Ambassadors are alwayes dispatched.

And if the English merchants comming, haue had any mischance by the sea, insomuch that the ship be broken, or if that ship do come to any part or our countrey: then we will cause the goods to be sought out in true Iustice, and to be giuen to the English people, which at that time shall bee here resident in our countrey: and if so be that it so fall out that at that time there be no Englishmen within our realme: then wil we cause these goods to be laid vp in a place together, and when the people of England shall come into our realme, then we will command all those goods to be deliuered to the sayd English people.

Also we haue gratified all the English merchants with the house of one Vrie here in the Mosco right ouer against S. Maximes church behind the market, and they shal dwel in the same house according as before time, and they shall keepe one alwayes in the house to keepe it, either a Russe, or one of their owne people.

Also the English merchants shal possesse their houses, to wit, at Yeraslaue, Vologda, Colmogro, and the house at the hauen of the sea, & they shal dwel in those houses, according as our goodnes hath bene to them heretofore: and we haue commanded, that there shall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of custome, taxe, rent or any other dutie whatsoeuer for those houses, neither shal they pay any dutie or taxe with any of the townsmen of those places, & in euery one of those houses, to wit, at Yeraslaue, Vologda, and Colmogro, they shall haue men to keepe their houses, two or three of their owne countrey people, strangers or els Russes, men of the meanest sort, which shall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in those houses, and they may sell the commodities out of those their houses to whom they please, according to this our gracious letter: and those that keepe their houses shall not sell or buy no part of their commoditie, except they be there or giue order, whereby they be not deceiued by them.

So

So likewise I haue gratified them with their house at the sea hauen, at the mouth of Podezemsky, & we haue commanded that they shal not cary their goods from thence to the new castle S. Michael the archangel, but shall arriue, and doe as they haue done heretofore with their wares at that their house, and shall vnlade their commodities out of their ships, and shal lade them againe with Russe commodities, euen there at that their house without interruption: onely they shal permit our officers of Colmogro & sworn men to write vp those commodities, both the commodities of England, and those of Russeland, what the merchants shal declare themselues, & no otherwise, but they shal not ouerlooke their commodities, neither shal they vnbind any of their packs.

And when the English merchants are disposed to send into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people on land through any other kingdom whatsoeuer, they shall not send their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement, and which of their people so euer they do meane to send out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they shal send those their people, not without our kingly maiesties knowledge, to wit, those that go of pleasure without carying any commodities with them, and they shall haue a letter of passe giuen vnto them, out of the office where the Ambassadors haue alwayes their dispatch.

And whosoeuer hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controuersie, either concerning merchandize or iniuries, then they are to be iudged by our treasurers and Secretarie of the Ambassadors office to do iustice between both parties, & to seek out the trueth of matters in al things, and whatsoeuer cannot be found out by the Law, shalbe tried by othe and lots: whose lot soeuer is taken foorth, him to haue right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie soeuer they or their people shall bee, and that there happen any matter of controuersie, either concerning merchandise, iniuries or otherwise, that they haue occasion to set vpon any man by lawe, or that any seeke vpon them, concerning what matter soeuer in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains, and our officers shall giue them Iustice, and shall minister all true iustice betweene them, seeking out the trueth: and what cannot be truly sought by law, shalbe sought out by othe and lot: whose lot soeuer is taken out, him to haue right accordingly as before, and the Iudges or Iustices shall take of them no kind of dutie, for matters of law no where throughout all our realmes. This letter is giuen in our princely palace within the citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, seuen thousand fourescore and fifteene in the moneth of February.

The Ambassage of M. Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, sent from her Maiestie to Theodor the Emperor of Russia, Anno 1588.

IN the yeere 1588. was sent Ambassador from her highnesse into the countrey of Russia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Ciuil Lawe, as well to treat with the new Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich, about league and amitie, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich, as also for the reestablishing and reducing into order the decaied trade of our Englishmen there. Who notwithstanding at his first arriuall at the Mosco, found some parts of hard entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors concerning the late nauall victory which was there reported to haue fallen on the Spanish side, as also for some dislike conceiued against the priuileged trade of our English merchats. Yet in the end he obtained of the Emperour many good & equall conditions, and was curteously and honourably dismissed by him. The principall points which he entreated of, and were granted vnto him by the said Emperor were these:

1 A continuation of league and amitie betweene her Highnesse and the sayd Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich.

2 A confirmation and reestablishment of the former priuileges of the Companie of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with diuers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those countreys hereafter, viz. That the state of the priuilege granted before in the names of some priuate and particular

particular men, be altered in that point, and the same granted by the name and stile of their incorporation, viz. To the felowship of English merchants for the discouerie of new trades.

3 That vpon euery surmise and light quarel, the said priuilege be not reuoked and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That iustice shall be administred to the said Companie and their Agent without delay, vpon such as shal offer them any despite or iniurie, or shal exact or impose vpon them any paiment, taxation or imposition whatsoeuer, contrary to the freedome of the said grant.

5 That the goods & commodities of the said Companie, be not forcibly taken as before time they had bene by the Emperors officers or people of authoritie, either for the vse of the said Emperor or of his officers. But in case they haue need of the said commodities, the same to be taken at reasonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the said Companie be not charged hereafter with the answering of such debts as are made by any Englishman not being of the societie.

7 That the Emperors authorized people shall not hereafter repute any Englishman resiant in that countrey, to be any factor, seruant, or dealer in the said Companies affaires, but such as the Agent shall inregister by name, within the offices where custome is entered in all such places of the land where the sayd Companie haue residences to traffike.

8 That the names of such as shall so be inregistred be no longer continued in record, nor themselues reputed as factors or dealers for the said Companie, then the Agent shall thinke good. But in case the said Agent in his discretion shall thinke meete to strike out of the Register any name of such as haue bene employed in the Companies seruice, the said person to be held as priuate, & whose acte in bargaining or otherwise, shall not charge the said Companie.

9 That if any English man within the countrey of Russia be suspected for any notorious crime, as felony, treason, &c. the same be not straightwaies set vpō the * Pudkey, nor otherwise tormented, till such time as he shall be conuicted by plaine and euident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be sent ouer to the Queene of England.

* It is rotting to death.

10 That the said priuilege with the additions, shall be published in all townes and partes of the Emperors dominions, where the said Companie haue traffike.

11 That the said Companie shall be permitted to vse a sole trade through the Emperours countries, by the riuer Volga into Media, Persia, Bogharia, and the other the East countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the said Companie the summe of 2353. markes of debt, made by certaine of their factors for the said company, for paiment whereof, their whole stocke was in danger of arrest, by publike authoritie: Further also 2140. rubbles for custome and houserent, he obtained a rebatement of eighteene thousand, one hundred fiftie and three marks of the sayd debt.

The said Ambassador M. Giles Fletcher, as I vnderstand, hath drawen a booke intituled, Of the Russe Commoa wealth, containing:

First, a Cosmographicall description of the countrey, which hath these chapters.

1 Of the length and bredth of the countrey of Russia, with the names of the shires.
2 Of the soile and climate.
3 Of the natiue commodities of the countrey.

Secondly, a description of their policie contained in these Chapters, viz.

1 Of the constitution or state of the Russe Common wealth.
2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.
3 Of the Russe Nobilitie and meanes whereby it is kept in an vnder proportion agreeable to that state.
4 Of the maner of gouerning their prouinces or shires.
5 Of the Emperours priuie counsell.

6 Of

6 Of the Emperors customs & their reuennes, with the practises for the increase of them.
7 Of the Russe communaltie and their condition.
8 Of their publike iustice and maner of proceeding therein.
9 Of the Emperors forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their salarie or pay.
10 Of their maner of mustering, armour, and prouision for victuall.
11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall discipline.
12 Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchases by conquest.
13 Of their borderers with whom they haue most to doe in warre and peace.
14 Of their church offices and degrees.
15 Of their liturgie or forme of Church seruice.
16 Of their maner of administring the Sacraments.
17 Of the doctrine of the Russe church.
18 Of the maner of solemnizing their mariages.
19 Of the other ceremonies of the Russe church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomie or priuate behauiour of the Russe containing these chapters.

1 Of the Emperors houshold officers, and order of his house.
2 Of the priuate behauiour and maner of the Russe people.

The description of the countrey of Russia, with the bredth, length, and names of the Shires.

THe countrey of Russia was somtimes called Sarmatia. It changed the name (as some do suppose) for that it was parted into diuers smal, and yet absolute gouernments, not depending, nor being subiect the one to the other. For Russe in that tongue doeth signifie as much as to part, or deuide. The Russe reporteth that foure brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sineos, and Variuus deuided among them the North parts of the country. Likewise that the South parts were possessed by 4. other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda: each calling his territorie after his owne name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yere from Christ 860. As for the coniecture which I find in some Cosmographers, that the Russe nation borowed the name of the people called Roxellani, & were the very same nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the etymologie of the word (which is very far fet) and especially for the seat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two riuers of Tanais and Boristhenes, (as Strabo reporteth) quite another way from the countrey of Russia. Strabo in lib. 7. booke of Geogr.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was deuided into two chiefe parts: the White and the Black. The white Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towards the North, & on the side of Liefland: as the prouinces now called Dwina, Vagha, Vstiug, Vologda, Cargapolis, Nouogrodia, &c whereof Nouogrod velica was the Metropolite or chiefe citie. Black Sarmatia was al that countrey that lieth Southward towards the Euxin or Black sea: as the dukedome of Volodemer, of Mosco, Rezan, &c. Some haue thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken frō one Sarmates, whom Moses & Iosephus cal Asarmathes sonne to Ioktan, & nephew to Heber, of the posteritie of Sem. But this seemeth to be nothing but a coniecture takē out of the likenes of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Ioktans posteritie is described by Moses to haue bene betwixt Mescha or Masius (an hil of the Ammonites) & Sephaue, nere to the riuer Euphrates: which maketh it very vnlikely that Asarmathes should plant any colonies so far off in ṡ North & northwest countries. It is bounded northward by the Lappes & the North Ocean. On the Southside by the Tartars called Crimmes. Eastward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, that possesseth all the countrey on the East side of Volga towards the Caspian sea. On the West and Southwest border lieth Lituania, Liuonia and Polonia. Gen. 10. Ioseph. l. 1. ca. 14. The borders of Russia.

The whole Countrey being nowe reduced vnder the gouernment of one, conteineth these chiefe Prouinces or Shires. Volodemer, (which beareth the first place in the Emperours stile, because their house came of the Dukes of that Countrey) Mosco, Nisnouogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, The Shires of Russia.

Smolensko, Nouogrod velica (or Nouogrod of the low Countrey) Rostone, Yeraslaue, Bealozera, Rezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Meschora, Vagha, Vstuga, Ghaletsa. These are the naturall shires perteyning to Russia, but farre greater and larger then the shires of England, though not so well peopled. The other Countreys or prouinces which the Russe Emperours haue gotten perforce added of late to their other dominion, are these which follow. Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boughoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they be not naturall Russes, yet obey the Emperour of Russia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying customes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Besides these he hath vnder him the Kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, gotten by conquest not long since. As for all his possession in Lituania (to the number of 30. great Townes and more,) with Narue and Dorp in Liuonia, they are quite gone, being surprised of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. These Shires and Prouinces are reduced all into foure Iurisdictions, which they call Chetfyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, or Fourth parts.

The Prouinces or Countries got by conquest.

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you measure from Cola to Astracan which beareth somewhat Eastward) it reacheth in length about 4260. verst, or miles. Notwithstanding the Emperour of Russia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola vnto the Riuer of Tromschua, that runneth a hundred verst, welnigh beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardhouse, but not intire nor clearely limited, by reason of the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that haue diuers townes there, aswell as the Russe, plotted together the one with the other: euery one of them clayming the whole of those North parts as his owne right. The breadth (if you go from that part of his territorie that lyeth farthest Westward on the Narue side, to the parts of Siberia Eastward, where the Emperour hath his garrisons) is 4400. verst or thereabouts. A verst (by their reckoning) is a 1000. pases, yet lesse by one quarter then an English mile. If the whole dominion of the Russe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in some, he would either hardly holde it all within one regiment, or be ouer mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

Pechinga.

Of the Soile and Climate.

The soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandie moulde, yet very much different one place from another, for the yeeld of such things as grow out of the earth. The Countrey Northwards towards the parts of S. Nicholas and Cola, and Northeast towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of desert woods by reason of the Climate, and extremitie of the colde in Winter time. So likewise along the Riuer Volgha betwixt the countreys of Cazan, and Astracan: where (notwithstanding the soyle is very fruitfull) it is all vnhabited, sauing that vpon the riuer Volgha on the West-side, the Emperour hath some fewe Castels with garisons in them. This happeneth by meanes of the Crimme Tartar, that will neither himselfe plant Townes to dwel there, (liuing a wild and vagrant life) nor suffer the Russe (that is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts. From Vologda (which lieth almost 1700. verst from the port of S. Nicholas) downe towards Mosco, and so towards the South part that bordereth vpon the Crimme, (which conteineth the like space of 1700. verst or there abouts) is a very fruitfull and pleasant countrey, yeelding pasture, and corne, with woods and waters in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth Southeast from Mosco) to Nouogrod and Vobsko, that reach farthest towards the Northwest. So betwixt Mosco, and Smolensko (that lyeth Southwest towards Lituania) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soile.

The whole Countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeere: so that a man would marueile to see the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter, and the Summer Russia. The whole Countrey in the Winter lieth vnder snow, which falleth continually, and is sometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Riuers and other waters are all frosen vp a yard or more thicke, how swift or broade soeuer they bee. And this continueth commonly fiue moneths, viz. from the beginning of Nouember till towardes the ende of March, what time the snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breede a frost

The colde of Russia.

frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the Winter face of that Countrey. The sharpenesse of the aire you may iudge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast vp into the aire congealeth into yce before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you holde a pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other mettall (except in some chamber where their warme stooues bee) your fingers will friese fast vnto it, and drawe off the skinne at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a colde, you shall sensibly feele your breath to waxe starke, and euen stifeling with the colde, as you drawe it in and out. Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very markets and streetes of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop downe in the streetes; many trauellers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stiffe in their Sleds. Diuers lose their noses, the tips of their eares, and the bals of their cheeks, their toes, feete, &c. Many times (when the Winter is very hard and extreeme) the beares and woolfes issue by troupes out of the woods driuen by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde: so that the inhabitants are faine to flie for safegard of their liues. And yet in the Sommer time you shal see such a new hiew and face of a Countrey, the woods (for the most part which are all of firre and birch) so fresh and so sweete, the pastures and medowes so greene and well growen, (and that vpon the sudden) such varietie of flowers, such noyse of birdes (specially of Nightingales, that seeme to be more lowde and of a more variable note then in other Countreys) that a man shall not lightly trauell in a more pleasant Countrey.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there seemeth to proceede from the benefite of the snow: which all the Winter time being spread ouer the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and dissolueth it into water) doeth so throughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandie mould, and then shineth so hotely vpon it againe, that it draweth the hearbes and plants foorth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in colde, so the Sommer inclineth to ouer much heat, specially in the moneths of Iune, Iuly and August, being much warmer then the Sommer aire in England.

The Countrey throughout is very well watered with springs, riuers, and Ozemes, or lakes. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lieth a thousand miles and more euery way from any sea, yet it is serued with faire Riuers, and that in very great number, that emptying themselues one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of 60. 80. 100. and 200. miles long with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Riuers of Russia.

The chiefe Riuers are these. First, Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Alder tree, about 200. verst aboue Yarusslaue, and groweth so bigge by the encrease of other Riuers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an English mile and more, and so runneth into the Caspian sea, about 2800. verst or miles of length.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper) that diuideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin sea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Asia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozera, and so running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great Sea, lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the citie of Azou. By this Riuer (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their Citie Mosco to Constantinople, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their maner is) ouer a little Isthmus or narrowe slip of land, a few verstes ouerthwart. Which was proued not long since by an Ambassadour sent to Constantinople, who passed the riuer of Moscua, and so into another called Ocka, whence hee drew his boat ouer into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth Northward into the bay of S. Nicholas, and hath great Alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the sea side.

The fifth Duna, that emptieth into the Baltick sea by the towne Riga.

The sixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solouetsko 90. verst from the port of S. Nicholas.

cholas. This riuer below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the Riuer Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yamas. So that from the port of S. Nicholas into the Finland sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Russe.

The seuenth Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North sea.

The eight Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moscua, that runneth thorough the Citie Mosco, and giueth it the name.

There is Wichida also a very large and long riuer that riseth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha. All these are riuers of very large streames, the least to be compared to the Thames in bignesse, and in length farre more, besides diuers other. The Pole at Mosco is 55. degrees 10. minutes. At the port of S. Nicholas towards the North 63. degrees and 50. minutes.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey.

The fruits and graine of Russia.

FOr kindes of fruites, they haue Apples, peares, plummes, cherries, red and blacke, (but the blacke wilde) a deene like a muske millian, but more sweete and pleasant, cucumbers and goords (which they call Arbouse) rasps, strawberies, and hurtilberies, with many other beries in great quantitie in euery wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, pease, buckway, psnytha, that in taste is somewhat like to rice. Of all these graines the Countrey yeeldeth very sufficient with an ouerplus quantitie, so that wheate is solde sometime for two alteens or ten pence starling the Chetfird, which maketh almost three English bushels.

Their rie is sowed before the Winter, all their other graine in the Spring time, and for the most part in May. The Permians and some other that dwell farre North, and in desert places, are serued from the parts that lye more Southward, and are forced to make bread sometimes of a kinde of roote (called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accompted this last yeere Anno 1588. wheat and rie being at 13. alteens, or 5. shillings fiue pence starling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practise of their Nobilitie that vse to engrosse it, then in the Countrey it selfe.

The chiefe commodities of the countrey. 1 Furres.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they serue both their owne turnes, and send much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperor, and his people) are many & substantiall. First, furres of all sorts. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, that prouideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconuenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climat. Their chiefe furres are these, Blacke fox, Sables, Lusernes, dun fox, Martrones, Gurnestalles or Armins, Lasets or Miniuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, the skin of a great water Rat that smelleth naturally like muske, Calaber or gray squirrel, red squirel, red & white fox. Besides the great quantitie spent within y Countrey (the people being clad al in furres the whole winter) there are transported out of the Countrey some yeeres by the merchants of Turkie, Persia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and some other of Christendom, to the value of foure or fiue hundred thousand rubbles, as I haue heard of the merchants. The best Sable furre groweth in the countrey of Pechora, Momgosorskoy and Obdorskoy, the worser sort in Siberia, Perm, & other places. The blacke foxe and red come out of Siberia, white and dunne from Pechora, whence also come the white wolfe, and white Beare skin. The best Wuluerin also thence and from Perm. The best Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyserns, Mineuer, and Armins, the best are out of Gallets, and Ouglits, many from Nouogrod and Perm. The Beauer of the best sort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common furres and most of these kindes grow in many, and some in all parts of the Countrey.

These Rats are in Colmia.

Momgosorskoy perhaps Molgomania.

2. Waxe.

The second commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath bene shipped into forreigne countreys (as I haue heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of 50000. pood yeerely, euery pood conteyneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

3. Honey.

The third is their Honie, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary

dinary drinkes (which is Mead of all sorts) and their other vses, some good quantitie is carried out of the countrey. The chiefe encrease of hony is in Mordua and Cadam neere to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Seuerskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

4. Tallow. Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great waight for transportation: not onely for that their countrey hath very much good ground apt for posturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other fastes: and partly because their greater men vse much waxe for their lights, the poorer and meaner sort birch dried in their steoues, and cut into long shiuers, which they call Luchinecos. Of tallow there hath bene shipped out of the Realme a few yeeres since about 100000. pood yerely, now not past 30000. or thereabouts. The best yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruslaue, Ouglits, Nouogrod, and Vologda, Offer, and Gorodetskey.

5. Hide. An other principall commoditie is their Losh and Cow hide. Their Losh or Buffe hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neither yet weather) is of a small sise. There hath bene transported by merchants strangers some yeres 100000. hides. Now it is decreased to 30000. or thereabouts. Besides great store of goates skinnes, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the countrey. The largest kinde of Losh or Buffe breedeth about Rostoue, Wichida, Nouogrod, Morum, and Perm. The lesser sort within the kingdome of Cazan.

6. Traine oyle. The manner of hunting the Seale fish. An other very great and principall commoditie is their Traine oyle, drawen out of the Seal fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shewe the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this sort. Towards the ende of Summer (before the frost beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the Bay of S. Nicholas, to a cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose, where they leaue their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the spring, and yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates ouer the sea yce, they vse them for houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. fleete of them, of great large boates, which diuide themselues into diuers companies, fiue or sixe boats in a consort.

They that first finde the haunt, fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come altogether and compasse the Seales round about in a ring, that lie sunning themselues together vpon the yce, commonly foure or fiue thousand in a shoale, and so they inuade them euery man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they see themselues beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumpe, to sway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the sea water vpon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the slaughter when they haue killed what they can, they fall to sharing euery boate his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the skin, and the lard or fat with all that cleaueth to the skin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and so go to shore. Where they digge pits in the ground of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and so taking the fat or lard off from the skinne, they throw it into the pit, and cast in among it hoat burning stones to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold, and vsed to oile wool for cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make sope.

7. Ickary. Likewise of Ickary or Cauery, a great quantitie is made vpon the riuer of Volgha out of the fish called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Senerica and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English merchants.

8. Hempe and Flaxe. The next is of Flax and Hempe, whereof there hath bene shipped (as I haue heard merchants say) at the port of Narue a great part of 100. ships small and great yerely. Now, not past fiue. The reason of this abating and decrease of this & other commodities, that were

wont to be transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting vp of the port of ẏ Narue towards the Finland sea, which now is in the handes and possession of the Sweden. Likewise the stopping of the passage ouerland by the way of Smolensko, & Plotsko, by reason of their warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to be lesse prouident in mainteining and gathering these and like commodities, for that they lacke sales. For the growth of flaxe the prouince of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hempe Smolensko, Dorogobose and Vasma.

9. Salt. The countrey besides maketh great store of salt. Their best salt is made at Stararouse in very great quantitie, where they haue great store of salt wels, about 250. verst from the sea. At Astracan salt is made naturally by the sea water, that casteth it vp into great hils, and so it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperor for acknowledgement or custome 3. d. Russe vpon euery hundred weight. Besides these two, they make salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitsma, Solouetsky, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks, all out of salt pits, saue at Solouetsky, which lieth neere to the sea.

Nonocks.

10. Tarre. Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall commodities) they haue diuers other of smaller accompt, that are naturall and proper to that countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is vsed both among themselues, and the Persians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, kniues, and sword hafts of Noblemen and gentlemen, and for diuers other vses. Some vse the powder of it against poison, as the Vnicornes horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morse, and is caught about Pechora. These fish teeth some of them are almost 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece.

11. Ribazuba.

12. Slude. In the prouince of Corelia, and about the riuer Duyna towards the North sea, there groweth a soft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and so vse it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glasse, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter they make in many places, as at Ouglits, Yaruslaue & Vstiug, and some smal store of brimstone vpon the riuer Volgha, but wāt skil to refine it. Their iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, & Vstiug Thelesna. Other mine they haue none growing within ẏ realme.

13. Saltpeter and brimstone. 14. Iron.

The strange beastes, fish, foule, &c. that breed in Russia. Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wild horse, the beare, the woluering, or wood dog, the Lyserne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Martron, the black and dunne fox, the white Beare towards the sea coast of Pechora, the Gurnstale, the Laset or Mineuer. They haue a kinde of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers with a far broader taile then haue any other squirrels, which they moue and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They skise a large space, & seeme for to flie withal, and therefore they cal them Letach Vechshe, that is, the flying squirrels. Their hares and squirrels in sommer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate into milke white, the squirrel into gray, whereof commeth the Calaber.

They haue fallow deere, the roe bucke, & goats very great store. Their horses are but smal, but very swift & hard, they trauell them vnshod both winter and Sommer, without all regard of pace. Their sheepe are but smal & beare course & harsh wool. Of foule they haue diuers of the principal kinds: First, great store of hawks, the eagle, the gerfaulcon, the slightfaulcon, the goshawk, the tassel, the sparhawk, &c. But the principal hawke ẏ breedeth in the country, is counted ẏ gerfaulcon. Of other fowles their principal kinds are the swan tame & wilde, (whereof they haue great store) the storke, the crane, the tedder of the colour of a feasant, but far bigger & liueth in the firre woods. Of feasant and partridge they haue very great plentie. An owle there is of a very great bignesse more vgly to behold then ẏ owles of this country, with a broad face, & eares much like vnto a man.

For

For fresh water fish, besides the cõmon sorts (as carpe, pikes, pearch, tench, roach, &c.) they haue diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga or Bellougina of 4. or 5. elnes long, the Ositrina or Sturgion, the Seueriga and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturgion, but not so thicke nor long. These 4. kinds of fish breed in the Volgha, and are catched in great plenty, and serued thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caueary as was said before.

They haue besides these that breed in the Volgha a fish called the Riba bela, or white salmon, which they account more delicate then they doe the red salmon, whereof also they haue exceeding great plentie in the Riuers Northward, as in Duyna, the riuer of Cola, &c. In the Ozera or lake neere a towne called Perislaue, not far frõ the Mosco, they haue a smal fish which they cal the fresh herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a sea-herring. Their chiefe townes for fish are, Yarislaue, Bealozera, Nouogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large custome to the Emperour euery yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Sommer, but sende it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of Russia.

THe chiefe cities of Russia are Mosco, Nouogrod, Rostoue, Volodomer, Plesko, Smolensko, Iaruslaue, Perislaue, Nisnouogrod, Vologda, Vstiug, Colmogro, Cazan, Astracan, Cargapolia, Columna. The city of Mosco is supposed to be of great antiquitie, though the first founder be vnknowen to the Russe. It seemeth to haue taken the name frõ the riuer that runneth on the one side of the towne. Berosus the Chaldean in his 5. booke telleth that Nimrod (whõ other prophane stories cal Saturne) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, & Magog into Asia to plant colonies there, and that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probabilitie, that the citie, or rather the riuer whereon it is built, tooke the denomination frõ this Moscus: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part & list of Europe, bordering vpon Asia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Ioan or Iohn, sonne to Daniel, that first changed his title of duke into King: though that honor continued not to his posterity: the rather because he was inuested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the 4. about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this city hath growen more famous, & better knowen to the world: insomuch that not only the prouince, but the whole countrey of Russia is termed by some by the name of Moscouia the Metropolite city. The forme of this city is in maner round with 3. strong wals, circuling the one within the other, & streets lying betwene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the body, fenced and watred with the riuer Moscua, that runneth close by it) is all accompted the Emperors castle. The number of houses (as I haue heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperor a little before it was fired by the Crim) was 41500. in all. Since the Tartar besieged and fired the towne (which was in the yere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of Moscua, built not long before by Basilius the Emperor for his garison of souldiers, to whom he gaue priuiledge to drinke Mead, and beere at the dry or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skinck or poure in. So that now the city of Mosco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, & in a maner as large, is the citie Nouograd: where was committed (as the Russe saith) the memorable warre so much spoke of in stories of the Scythians seruants, that tooke armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Nouograd & the territory about (which only are souldiers after the discipline of those countreis) had war with the Tartars. Which being wel performed & ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstood by the way that their Cholopey or bondslaues whom they left at home, had

Mosco.

Nouogrod.

had in their absence possessed their townes, lands, houses, wiues and all. At which newes being somewhat amased, and yet disdeining the villany of their seruants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from Nouograd met them in warlike maner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse whips (which as their maner is euery man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And so marching on and lashing al together with their whips in their hands they gaue the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the driuers. In memory of this victory the Nouogradians euer since haue stamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Nouogrodskoy currant through al Russia) with the figure of a horsman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These 2. cities exceed ỹ rest in greatnes. For strength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan & Astracan, as lying vpon the borders. But for situation Iaruslaue far exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soile yeeldeth of pasture and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer of Volgha, & looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire & stately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Iaraslaue in that tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe king Vladimer sirnamed Iaruslaue, that maried the Daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sweno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish story about the yere 1067.

Iaruslaue.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11. pag. 187.

The other townes haue nothing ỹ is greatly memorable, saue many ruines within their wals. The streets of their cities and townes in stead of pauing are planked with fir trees, plained & layd euen close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are fastened together with dents or notches at euery corner, & so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Euery house hath a paire of staires that lead vp into the chambers out of the yard or streat after the Scottish maner. This building seemeth far better for their countrey, then that of stone or bricke; as being colder & more dampish then their wooden houses, specially of firre, that is a dry & warme wood. Wherof the prouidece of God hath giuen them such store, as that you may build a faire house for 20. or 30. rubbles or litle more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconuenience of their wodden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft & in very fearful sort, by reason of the drinesse and fatnes of the fir, that being once fired, burneth like a torch, & is hardly quenched til all be burnt vp.

The maner of Russe building.

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

THe solemnities vsed at ỹ Russe Emperors coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Precheste (or our Lady) within the Emperors castle is erected a stage whereon standeth a scrine that beareth vpon it the Imperial cap & robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguratiō is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch wth the Metropolitanes, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quier of singers. Who so soone as the Emperor setteth foot into ỹ church, begin to sing: Many yeres may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c: Whereunto the patriarch and Metropolite with the rest of the cleargy answere with a certaine hymne, in forme of a praier, singing it altogether with a great noise. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperor. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to sit downe, & then placing himself by him vpō another seat prouided for ỹ purpose, boweth downe his head towards ỹ ground, and saith this prayer: Oh Lord God king of kings, Lord of Lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didst chose thy seruant Dauid, & annoynt him for King ouer thy people Israel, heare now our prayer, & looke frō thy sanctuary vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king ouer these thy holy natiōs, anoint him with the oile of gladnes, protect by thy power,

put

put vpon his head a crowne of gold & precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Iustice, strẽgthen his arme, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an euill faith, and all errour, and shewe him the saluation of thy holy and vniuersal Church, that he may iudge thy people with iustice, & protect the children of the poore, & finally atteine euerlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voice, & then pronounceth aloud: Al praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall roabe & cap: which is done very decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withal pronouncing aloud: Peace be vnto all. And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow your selues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserue him (oh Lord) vnder thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world, and the sauiour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne and Holy ghost be al praise for euer and euer. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the crosse, saying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne and the Holy ghost. The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their orden come to the chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two forefingers. Then is sayd by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: Oh most holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the altar or table, answere singing: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The same note is taken vp by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The stile wherewith he is inuested at his Coronation, runneth after this maner.

THeodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulgheria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod of the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreis, &c.

This stile conteineth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and setteth foorth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but also strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by speech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and sometimes quarell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadours: who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperor, and to repeate the other parts of his long stile. My selfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him only with thus much viz. Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to haue their stile appeare to be of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancelour (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the nobility) with a loude chafing voice, called still vpon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperors stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by strangers,

gers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gaue honour to the rest &c. But all would not serue till I commanded my interpreter to say it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their salaries.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

THe Souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the sons of Gentlemen: because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For every souldier in Russia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the souldiers, that take it by discent from their ancestors: so that the sonne of a gentleman (which is borne a souldier) is euer a gentleman, and a souldier withall, & professeth nothing els but military matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roserade, or great Constable, and there present themselues: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part the same that their fathers enioyed. For the lands assigned to maintaine the army, are euer certain, annexed to this office without improuing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperor haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be deuided into two. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First he hath his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Gard of his person, to the number of 15000 horsemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Degrees of horsemen. 1. Prætoriani or such as attend the Emperors person 15000.

Of these 15000 horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called Dworaney Bulshey, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some foure-score rubbles a yeare, and none vnder 70. The second sort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle rank of Pensioners. These haue sixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none vnder fortie. The third and lowest sort, are the Dyta Boiarskey, that is, the low Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbles a yere for him that hath most, some haue but 25, some 20, none vnder 12. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the Mosco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they haue any wars, & are imployed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeelde him twentie rubbles or markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000 horsemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperors owne gard when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Romane souldiers called Prætoriani) are a hundred and ten men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperor, and haue their names registred, that find among them fur the Emperors wars, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the wars after the Russe maner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they haue yerely allowance made by the Emperor for themselues, and their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbles. And these 65000 are to repayre to the field euery yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar, (except they be appointed for some other seruice) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might seeme peraduenture somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the comand of Noblemen to assemble euery yere to one certain place. But the matter is so vsed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his state by this means. First, because these noblemen are many, to wit, an 110. in al, & changed by the Emperor so oft as he thinketh good. Secodly, because they haue their liuings of the Emperor, being otherwise but of very small reuenue, and receiue this yerely pay of 40000 rubbles, when it is presently to be payd forth againe to the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because for the most part they are about the Emperors person being of his Counsel, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters, then Captaines to their companies, themselues not going forth ordinarily to the wars, saue when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperor himselfe. So the whole number of horsemen that are euer in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continuall pay 80000.

If

If he haue neede of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then he entertaineth of those Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, he giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field euery man a proportionable number of his seruants (called Kolopheyi, such as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the iust number that he intendeth to make. Which the seruice being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their seruile occupations againe.

Of footemen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelsey: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Mosco, or any other place where the Emperor shall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremaney Strelsey, or gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garison townes, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their salarie or stipend euery man seuen rubbles a yeare, besides twelue measures a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimschoy) they haue at this time 4300 of Polonians: of Chirchasses (that are vnder the Polonians) about 4000, wherof 3500 are abroad in his garisons: of Doutches & Scots about 150: of Greekes, Turks, Danes and Swedens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But these they vse onely vpon the Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but only for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it best policie to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

Footmen in continuall pay 12000.

Strangers mercenaries in pay 4300.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyauoda Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant general vnder the Emperor. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiauod or general at this present in their wars, is commonly one of these foure: Knez Feodor Ioanowich Methisloskey, Knez Ioan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next vnto the Voiauod or general there is some other placed as Lieutenant general, being a man of great valour and experience in the wars, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principal man, & most vsed in their wars, is one Knez Demetrie Ioanowich Forestine, an ancient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the Tartar and Polonian. Next vnder the Voiauod and his Lieutenant general are foure other that haue the marshalling of the whole army deuided among them, and may be called the marshals of the field.

The chiefe captaines or leaders. 1. The Voiauod or General.

2. Lieutenant general.

3. Marshals of the field foure.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the Praua Polskoy, or right wing. The second is the Leuoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Rusney Polskoy, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any sodaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supplie, as occasion doth require. The fourth Storoshouoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twise euery weeke at the least must muster and traine their seueral wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the campe.

Foure marshals deputies eight.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue & deliuer the pay to the souldiers. Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the Gulauoy, Captaines of thousands fiue hundreds and 100. The Petyde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decetskies or Captains of tennes.

Fiue Counels vnder Captaines.

Besides the Voiauoda or general of the armie (spoke of before) they haue two other that beare the name of Voiauoda, whereof one is the master of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiauoda) who hath diuers vnder officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the Voiauoda gulauoy, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horsemen of principall choyce, to range & spie abroad, & hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. Al these Captains, & men of charge

Blue Masters of the Artillery.

The walking Captaine.

must once euery day resort to the Bulsha voiauoda, or General of the armie, to know his pleasure, & to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to their office.

Of their mustering, and leuying of forces, maner of armour, and prouision of victuall for the warres.

Their order of mustering.

When wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly euery yere with the Tartar, & many times with the Polonian & Sweden) the foure Lords of the Chetfirds send forth their summons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Prouinces, to be proclaimed in the head townes of euery Shire: that al the Sinaboiarskey, or sonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, & by such a day, and there present themselues to such, & such Captaines. When they come to the place assigned them in the summons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that haue commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or high Constable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make defaute & faile at the day, he is mulcted, & punished very seuerely. As for the General & other chief Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperors owne hand, with such Commission & charge as he thinketh behoofull for the present seruice. When the souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their bands, & companies, vnder their seueral Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which also haue the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was sayd before.)

The horsemans furniture.

Concerning their armour they are but slightly appointed. The cõmon horseman hath nothing els but his bow in his case vnder his right arme, & his quiuer & sword hanging on the left side: except some fewe that beare a case of dagges, or a lauelin, or short staffe along their horse side. The vnder captains wil haue commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The General with the other chiefe captaines & men of Nobilitie wil haue their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair bossed & tasselled with gold, & silk fringe, bestudded with pearle & precious stones, themselues in very faire armor, which they cal Bullatnoy, made of faire shining steele, yet couered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with armin furre, his steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword bow and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Shesta pera, or horsemans scepter carried before him. Their swords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans furniture.

The Strelsey or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his striking hatchet at his back, & his sword by his side. The stock of his piece is not made calieuerwise, but with a plaine & straite stocke (somewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely & vnartificially made, very heauie yet shooteth but a very small bullet.

Prouision of victuall.

As for their prouision of victual, the Emperor alloweth none, either for Captaine or souldiour, neither prouideth any for them except peraduenture some corne for their money. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure monethe, & if neede require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they haue, that for lodging and diet euery Russe is prepared to be a souldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captains & other of account cary tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better prouision of victual then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with some store of meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called Tolloekno. And this they eate rawe in stead of bread. Their meat is bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the Dutch maner. If the Russe souldier were as hardy to execute an enterprise, as he is hard to beare out toyle and trauell, or were otherwise as apt and well trained for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and diet, hee would farre exceede the souldiers of our parts.

Of

Of their marching, charging, and other Martial discipline.

The Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valure of his souldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without al order, saue that the foure Polskey or Legions, (wherinto their armie is deuided) keepe themselues seuerall vnder their ensignes, & so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the image of S. George. The Bulsha Dworaney or chiefe horsemen, haue euery man a small drum of brasse at his saddle bowe, which he striketh when he giueth the charge, or onset. Horsemens drummes.

They haue drummes besides of a huge bignes, which they cary with them vpon a boord layde on foure horses, that are sparred together with chaines, euery drumme hauing eight strikers, or drummers, besides trumpets and shawmes, which they sound after a wide maner, much different from ours. When they giue any charge, or make any inuasion, they make a great hallow or shoute altogether, as lowd as they can, which with the sound of their trumpets, shawmes, and drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their arrowes, then dealing with their swordes, which they vse in a brauerie to shake, and brandish ouer their heads, before they come to strokes. The horsemens manner of charging.

Their footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of aduantage, where they may most annoy the enemie, with least hurt to themselues. If it be a set battell, or if any great inuasion be made vpon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set within § running or mouing Castle (called Beza, or Gulaygorod) which is caried about with them by the Voiuoda gulauoy (or the walking General) whom I spake of before. This walking or mouing Castle is so framed, that it may be set vp in length (as occasion doeth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, fiue, sixe, or seuen miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing els but a double wall of wood to defend them on both sides behinde and before, with a space of three yards or thereabouts, betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and discharge their pieces, and to vse their other weapons. It is closed at both ends, and made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their piece, or to push foorth any other weapon. It is caried with the armie whersoeuer it goeth, being taken into pieces, and so layde on cartes sparred together, and drawen by horse that are not seene, by reason that they are couered with their cariage as with a shelfe or penthouse. When it is brought to the place where it is to be vsed (which is deuised and chosen out before by the walking Voiuod) it is planted so much as the present vse requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three or more: Which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the timber is so framed to claspe together one piece with in another: as is easily vnderstoode by those that know the maner of the Russe building. The footmen charge. The walking Castle.

In this Castle standeth their shot wel fenced for aduantage, especially against the Tartar, that bringeth no ordinance, nor other weapon into the field with him, saue his sword, and bow, and arrowes. They haue also within it diuers field pieces, which they vse as occasion doth require. Of pieces for the field they carie no great store, when they warre against the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whose forces they make more account) they go better furnished with all kind of munition, and other necessarie prouisions. It is thought that no Prince of Christendome hath better store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillery house at Mosco, where are of all sortes of great Ordinance, all brasse pieces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some castle or towne, then he is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is euer noted in the practise of his warres, and namely at the siege of Vobsco, about eight yeres since: where he repulsed the Polonian king Stepan Batore, with his whole armie of 100000 men, and forced him in the end to giue ouer his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to haue euer the worse of the Polonian and Sweden. 1580

Reward for valure.

If any behaue himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or do any special piece of seruice, the Emperor sendeth him a piece of golde, stamped with the Image of Saint George on horsebacke. Which they hang on their sleeues, & set in their caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receiue, for any seruice they doe.

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conquests, or purchases by force.

THe Russe Emperors of late yeres haue very much enlarged their dominions, & territories. Their first conquest after the Dukedome of Mosco, (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was said) was the citie, & Dukedome of Nouogrod on ỹ West, and Northwest side: which was no smal enlargement of their dominion, & strengthening to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Iuan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperor, about the yere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach vpon the countries of Lituania and Liuonia, but the conquest only intended, & attempted by him, vpon some part of those countries, was pursued & performed by his sonne Basileus, who first wan the citie & dukedom of Plesko, afterwards the citie & dukedome of Smolensco, & many other faire towns, with a large territory belonging vnto them, about the yere 1514. These victories against the Lettoes or Lituanians, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieued rather
1580. by aduantage of ciuil dissentions, & treasons among theselues, then by any great policie, or force of his own. But al this was lost againe by his son Iuan Vasiliwich about 8 or 9 yeres past, vpon coposition with ỹ Polonian king Stephan Batore: whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foile he had giuen him before, and the disquietnes of his own state at home. Onely the Russe Emperor, at this time hath left him on that side his countery, the cities of Smolensco, Vobsco, Chernigo, & Bealgarrod in Lituania. In Liuonia, not a towne nor one foot of ground.

Liuonia.

When Basilius first conquered those countries, he suffered then the natiues to keepe their possessions, and to inhabite all their townes, onely paying him a tribute, vnder the gouernement of his Russe Captaines. But by their conspiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming vpon them the second time, he killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or sold to the Tartars that serued him in those wars, and in stead of them placed there his Russes, so many as might ouermatch the rest, with certaine garisons of strength besides. Wherein notwithstanding this ouersight was committed, for that (taking away with him the vpland, or countrey people that should haue tilled the ground, & might easily haue bene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driuen afterwards many yeres together, to vitaile the countrey (specially the great townes) out of his owne countrey of Russia, the soile lying there in the meane while wast, and vntilled.

Narue.

The like fell out at the port of Narue in Liefland, where his sonne Iuan Vasiliwich deuised to build a towne, and a castle on the other side the riuer, (called Iuangorod) to keepe the towne and countrey in subiection. The castle he caused to be so built and fortified, that it was thought to be inuincible. And when it was furnished, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the natiues all within their owne countrey, without abating their number or strength, the towne and castle not long after was betraied, and surrendred againe to the king of Sweden.

On the Southeast side, they haue got the kingdomes of Cazan, and Astracan. These were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Iuan Vasiliwich, the one about thirtie fiue, the other about thirtie and three yeares agoe. Northward out of the countrey of Siberia, he hath layed vnto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the riuer of Obba, about a 1000 miles space: so that he is bolde to write himselfe now, The great Commander of Siberia. The countries likewise of Permia and Pechora are a diuers people and language from the Russe, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

Siberia and Obba.

Conquest of a 1000 miles.

Permia and Pechora.

That

That which the Russe hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his foure chief border townes of Vobsko, Smolensko, Astracan, and Cazan, he hath certaine of his counsel not of greatest nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue more authoritie within their precincts, (for the countenancing and strengthening of their gouernment there) then the other Dukes that are set to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the maner of ordering their Prouinces. These he changeth sometime euery yere, sometime euery second or third yere, but exceedeth not that time, except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiaritie with the enemie (as some haue done) being so farre out of sight. Meanes of holding chiefe townes.

The townes besides are very strongly fenced with trenches, castles, & store of munition, and haue garisons within them, to the number of two or three thousand a piece. They are stored with victual if any siege should come vpon them, for the space of two or three yeres before hand. The foure castles of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan and Astracan, he hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those townes are impregnable.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of Siberia, which he hath now vnder him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got. viz. rather by shewing, then by vsing of armes. First, he hath stored the countrie with as many Russes as there are nations, & hath there some few souldiers in garison, inough to keepe them vnder. Secōdly, his officers & Magistrates there are of his own Russe people, and he changeth them very often, viz. euery yere twise or thrise: notwithstanding there be no great feare of any innouation. Thirdly, he deuideth them into many smal gouernments, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so y they haue no strength being seuered, which was but litle neither when they were al in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the countrie haue neither armor, nor money, being taxed & pilled so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to relieue themselues. Meanes of holding the countries of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in pursuing his conquest) he hath diuers castles & garisons to the number of 6000 souldiers of Russes & Polonians, & sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and to inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time besides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certaine of his captaines, to leaue his own country by offers of great entertainment, and pleasanter life with the Russe Emperor, then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this last yere, and is now with the Emperor at Mosco well entertained. Siberia. The kings brother of Siberia. 1588.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the country of Russia, with whom they haue most to doe in warre, and peace.

THeir neighbors with whom they haue greatest dealings & intercourse, both in peace & war, are first the Tartar. Secondly the Polonian whom the Russe calleth Laches, noting the first author or founder of the nation, who was called Laches or Leches, whereunto is added Po, which signifieth People, and so is made Polaches, that is, the People or posterity of Laches: which the Latins after their maner of writing cal Polonos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians & Swedens are better knowen to these parts of Europe then are the Tartars, that are farther off from vs (as being of Asia) and diuided into many tribes, different in name, and gouernment one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chrim Tartar, (whom some call the Great Can) that lieth South, & Southeastward from Russia, and doth most annoy the country by often inuasions, commonly once euery yere, sometimes entring very farre within the inland parts. In the yere 1571 he came as farre as the citie of Mosco, with an armie of 200000 men, without any battel, or resistance at al, for that the Russe Emperor (then Iuan Vasilowich) leading forth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. The citie he tooke not, but fired the suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are all of wood without any stone, brick, or lime, sane certeine out rowmes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of 30 miles or more of compasse. Then might you haue seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge & mighty flame of the citie all on light fire. The Polonians called Laches by the Russe. The Chrim Tartar. The firing of Mosco by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1572.

fire, the people burning in their houses and streetes, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the gates farthest from the enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, & so pressing euery man to preuent another, wedged themselues so fast within the gate, and streetes neere vnto it, as that three rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire & the presse, the number of 800000 people or more.

The principall cause of this continual quarell betwixt the Russe & the Chrim is for the right of certaine border partes claimed by the Tartar, but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleageth that besides Astracan and Cazan (that are the ancient possession of the East Tartar) the whole countrey from his bounds North and Westward so farre as the citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe perteineth to his right. Which seemeth to haue bene true by the report of the Russes them selues, that tell of a certaine homage that was done by the Russe Emperour euery yeere to the great Chrim or Can, the Russe Emperour standing on foot and feeding the Chrims horse, (himselfe sitting on his backe) with oates out of his owne cappe, in stead of a bowle or manger, and that within the castle of Mosko. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of Basileus grandfather to this man. Who surprising the Chrim Emperour by a stratageme done by one of his nobilitie (called Iuan Demetrowich Belschey) was content with this raunsome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of furres: which afterwards also was denied to be paide by this Emperors father.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar.

Hereupon they continue y quarrel, the Russe defending his countrey, & that which he hath won, y Chrim Tartar inuading him once or twise euery yere, somtime about Whitsontide, but oftner in haruest. What time if the great Can or Chrim come in his owne person, he bringeth with him a great armie of 100000, or 200000, men. Otherwise they make short & sudden rodes into the countrey with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wild geese flie, inuading and retiring where they see aduantage.

The maner of the Tartars fight, and armour.

Their common practise (being very populous) is to make diuers armies, and so drawing the Russe to one or two places of the frontiers, to inuade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their maner of fight, or ordering of their forces is much after the Russe maner (spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carie nothing els but a bowe, a sheafe of arrowes, and a falcon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vse to shoote as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horsmans staffe like to a bore speare, besides their other weapons. The cõmon souldier hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheeps skin with the wool side outward in the day time, and inwarde in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their Morseys or noblemen imitate the Turk both in apparel and armour. When they are to passe ouer a riuer with their armie, they tie three or foure horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them fast to the tailes of their horse: so sitting on the poles they driue their horse ouer. At handie strokes (when they ioyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Russe people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no artes of peace, nor any ciuil practise.

The subtilties of the Tartar.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise stratagems vpon the sudden for their better aduantage. As in their warre against Beala the fourth, king of Hungarie, whome they inuaded with 500000, men, and obtained against him a great victorie. Where, among other, hauing slaine his Chancelor called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the kings priuy seale. Whereupon they deuised presently to counterfeit letters in the kings name, to the cities and townes next about the place, where the field was fought: with charge that in no case they should conuey theselues, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the countrey desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemie, as was the Tartar nation, terming themselues in all reprochful maner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the

accesse

accesse of a notable victorie, if the sauage Tartar durst abide him in the field. To this purpose hauing written their letters in the Polish character, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings seale, they dispatched them forth to all the quarters of Hungaria, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the Vngarians that were now flying away with their goods, wiues, and children, vpon the rumour of the Kings ouerthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeit letters, staied at home. And so were made a pray, being surprised on the sudden by this huge number of these Tartars, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a towne or fort, they offer much parle, and send many flattering messages to perswade a surrendry: promising all things that the inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they vse all maner of hostilitie, and crueltie. This they doe vpon a rule they haue, viz. that iustice is to bee practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselues, and made some short conflict) they retire as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemie into it if they can. But the Russe beeing well acquainted with their practise is more warie of them. When they come a rouing with some small number, they set on horsebacke counterfaite shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their maner is to make a great shoute, crying all out together Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe vs, God help vs. They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemie, and are seene when they are slain to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking or helping of themselues. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe souldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his safetie in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to die. The Turk commonly, when he is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them, as it were to be tied: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe bondslaue.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres is to get store of captiues, specially young boyes, and girles, whome they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great baskets made like bakers panniers to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tire, or to be sicke by the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leaue him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captiues and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they haue certaine bandes that intend nothing else, appoynted of purpose to receiue and keepe the captiues and the other prave.

The Russe borderers (beeing vsed to their inuasions lightly euery yeere in the Sommer) keepe fewe other cattell on the border partes, saue swine onely which the Tartar will not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no swines flesh. Of Christ our Sauiour they confesse as much as doeth the Turke in his Alkaron, viz. that he came of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that he was a great Prophet, and shall be the Iudge of the worlde at the last day. In other matter likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: hauing felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azou and Caffa, with some other townes about the Euxine or blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Crim Tartar. So that now the Emperor of the Crims for the most part is chosen one of the Nobility whom the Turke doeth commend: whereby it is brought nowe to passe, that the Crim Tartar giueth to the Turke the tenth part of the spoyle which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians. The Tartar religion.

Herein they differ from the Turkish religion, for that they haue certaine idole puppets made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to be as Iantisses or keepers of their house. And these idoles are made not by all, but by certaine religious women which they haue among them for that and like vses. They haue besides the image of their King or great Can, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euery stage when the army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bowe vnto

as he passeth by it, be he Tartar or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures vpon euery accident which they heare or see.

In making of mariages they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Onely with his mother, sister, and daughter a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house, and accompany with her, yet he accounteth her not for his wife till he haue a childe by her. Then hee beginneth to take a dowry of her friends, of horse, sheepe, kine, &c. If she be barren after a certaine time, he turneth her home againe.

The Tartar nobilitie. Vnder the Emperour they haue certaine Dukes, whome they call Morsels or Diuoymorseis, *that rule ouer a certaine number of 10000, 20000, or 40000. a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certain number, euery man with his two horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his horse eate.* *The Tartar diet.* For their chiefe vitaile is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Russe, he shall be sure lightly to finde a horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bowe.

1588. This last yeere when I was at the Mosco, came in one Kiriach Morsey, nephew to the Emperour of the Crima that nowe is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 300. Tartars, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being intertained in very good sort after the Russe maner, hee had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fat horses, ready flayed in a sled. They prefer it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is marueile) though they serue all as horsemen in the warres, and eate all of horse flesh, there are brought yeerely to the Mosco to bee exchanged for other commodities 30. or 40. thousand Tartar horse, which they call Cones. They keepe also great heards of kine, & flocks of blacke sheepe, rather for the skins and milke (which they carie with them in great bottels) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some vse they haue of ryse, figs, and other fruits. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part card them both together. They vse sometime as they trauel by the way, to let their horse blood in a vaine, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his bodie.

The Tartars dwelling. Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but haue walking houses, which the latines call Veij, built vpon wheeles like a shepheards cottage. These they drawe with them whithersoeuer they goe, driuing their cattell with them. And when they come to their stage, or standing place, they plant their carte houses verie orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperor himselfe, who hath no other seat of Empire but an Agora, or towne of wood, that moueth with him whithersoeuer hee goeth. As for the fixed and standing building vsed in other countreyes, they say they are vnwholesome and vnpleasant.

They begin to mooue their houses and cattell in the Spring time from the South part of their countrey towards the North partes. And so driuing on till they haue grased all vp to the farthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by 10. or 12. miles a stage: in the meane while the grasse being sprung vp againe, to serue for their cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shalean towards the Caspian sea, to the Russe frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and Southeast parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore prefer brasse and steele before other metals, specially bullate, which they vse for swordes, kniues, and other necessaries. As for golde and siluer they neglect it of very purpose, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to bee more free for their wandering kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subiect to inuasions. Which giueth them great aduantage against all their neighbors, euer inuading and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of olde time Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis, on the East and Southeast side) haue done it with very ill successe: as wee finde in the stories written of those times. For their manner is when any wil

will inuade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they haue drawen them some good way within their countrey. Then when they begin to want victuall and other necessaries (as needes they must where nothing is to be had) to stoppe vp the passages, and inclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as we reade in Laonicus Chalcacondylas in his Turkish storie) they had welnigh surprised the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee retired with all speede hee could towardes the riuer Tanais or Don, not without great losse of his men, and carriages.

In the storie of Pachymerius the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperors of Constantinople from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palæologus to the time of Andronicus the elder) I remember he telleth to the same purpose of one Nogas a Tartarian captaine vnder Cazan the Emperor of the East Tartars (of whom the citie and kingdome of Cazan may seeme to haue taken the denomination) who refused a present of Pearle and other iewels sent vnto him from Michael Palæologus: asking withall, for what vse they serued, and whether they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no. So that it seemeth they haue euer, or long time bene of that minde to value things no further, then by the vse and necessitie for which they serue. Pachymerius.

For person and complexion they haue broade and flatte visages, of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne haired vpon the upper lippe, and pitte of the chinne, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for horsemen: whereto they practise themselues from their childhood, seldome going afoot about anie businesse. Their speech is verie sudden and loude, speaking as it were out of a deepe hollowe throate. When they sing you would thinke a kowe lowed, or some great bandogge howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine vp their children from their verie infancie, not suffering them to eate till they haue shot neere the marke within a certaine scantling. They are the very same that sometimes were called Scythæ Nomades, or the Scythian shepheards, by the Greekes and Latines. Some thinke that the Turks took their beginning from the nation of the Crim Tartars. Of which opinion is Laonicus Calcocondylas the Greek Historiographer, in his first booke of his Turkish storie. Wherein hee followeth diuers verie probable coniectures. The first taken from the verie name it selfe, for that the worde Turk signifieth a Shepheard or one that followeth a vagrant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these Scythian Tartars haue euer beene noted, being called by the Greekes, ἀσκίται νομάδες, or the Scythian shepheards. His second reason because the Turkes (in his time) that dwelt in Asia the lesse, to wit, in Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappodocia, spake the very same language that these Tartars did, that dwelt betwixt the riuer Tanais or Don, and the countrey of Sarmatia, which (as is well knowen) are these Tartars called Crims. At this time also the whole nation of the Turkes differ not much in their common speech from the Tartar language. Thirdly because the Turke and the Crim Tartar agree so well together, as well in religion, as in matter of traffique neuer inuading, or iniurying one another: saue that the Turke (since Laonicus his time) hath encroched vpon some Townes vpon the Euxin Sea, that before perteined to the Crim Tartar. Fourthly, because Ortogules sonne to Oguzalpes, and father to Ottoman the first of name of the Turkish nation made his first roads out of those parts of Asia, vpon the next borderers, till hee came towardes the countreys about the hill Taurus where he ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territorie of the Turkish nation, till hee came to Eubœa and Attica and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of Laonicus, who lined among the Turkes in the time of Amurat the sixt Turkish Emperour, about the yeere 1400. when the memorie of their originall was more fresh: and therefore the likelier hee was to hit the trueth. Laonicus Calcocondylas. 1 2 3 4. 1400.

There are diuers other Tartars that border vpon Russia, as the Nagayes, the Cheremissens, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shaleans, which all differ in name more then in regiment, or other condition, from the Crim Tartar, except the Chircasses that border Southwest, towardes Lituania, and are farre more ciuill than the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behauiour, as applying themselues to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them haue subiected themselues to the Kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay The Nagay Tartar the cruellest. The Chircass the ciuilest Tartar.

The Cheremissen Tartar of two sorts, the Lugunoy and the Nagunoy.

Nagay lieth Eastwarde, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie sauage, and cruell aboue all the rest. The Cheremessen Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two sorts, the Lugunoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly countrey. These haue much troubled the Emperours of Russia. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of thē, vnder pretence of giuing a yeerely pension of Russe commodities to their Morseys, or Diuoymorseis, that are chiefe of their tribes. For whiche cause they are bound to serue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are said to be iust and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the Russe people, whom they account to be double, and false in al their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their Morseis, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The Mordwit Tartar ye most barbarous of the rest.

The most rude & barbarous is counted the Mordwit Tartar, that hath many selfe-fashions and strange kinds of behauiour, differing from the rest. For his religion, though he acknowledge one God, yet his maner is to worship for God, that liuing thing ye first meeteth in the morning, & to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be horse, dog, cat, or whatsoeuer els it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best horse, and hauing flayed off the skinne hee carieth it on high vpon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This doe doeth (as the Russe saieth) that his friend may haue a good horse to carie him to heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the kingdome of Astracan, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the Russe dominion, lyeth the Shalean, and the countrey of Media: whither the Russe marchants trade for rawe silkes, syndon, saphion, skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media where the Russe traderh, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the inhabitants say) and Zamachi where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their maner is in the Spring time to reuiue the silke-wormes (that lie dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme sunne, and (to hasten their quickening that they may the sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang them vnder their childrens armes. As for the woorme called Chrimisin (as wee call it Chrymson) that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in Media, but in Assyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachi for rawe silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also into Persia, and Bougharia downe the riuer of Volga, and through the Caspian sea, is permitted aswell to the English as to the Russe merchants, by the Emperours last grant at my being there. Which he accounteth for a very speciall fauour, and might proue indeede very beneficiall to our English merchants, if the trade were wel and orderly vsed.

The reeling of silkewormes.

Chrimisin a kind of silkeworme.

Liberty to trade downe the Caspian sea.

The whole nation of the Tartars are vtterly voide of all learning, and without written Law: yet certaine rules they haue which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practise of their life. Which are of this sort. First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoeuer they commaund about the publike seruice. 2 Except for the publike behoofe, euery man to be free and out of controlment. 3 No priuate man to possesse any lands, but the whole countrey to be as common. 4 To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of meates, and to content themselues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readines in the executing of their affaires. 5 To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patcht coate. 6 To take or steale from any stranger whatsoeuer they can get, as beeing enemies to all men, saue to such as will subiect themselues to them. 7 Towards their owne hoorde and nation to be true in worde and deede. 8 To suffer no stranger to come within the Realme. If any doe, the same to be bondslaue to him that first taketh him, except such merchants and other as haue the Tartar Bull, or passport about them.

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No stranger without passport admitted.

Of the Permians, Samoites, and Lappes.

The Permians and Samoites that lye from Russia, North and Northeast, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly bee gessed by the fashion of their countenance, as hauing all broade and flat faces as the Tartars haue, except the

the Chircasses. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are nowe subiect to the Russe. They liue by hunting, and trading with their furres, as also doeth the Samoit, that dwelleth more towardes the North Sea. The Samoit hath his name (as the Russe saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they liued as § Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kind of raw flesh, whatsoeuer it be, euen the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoins themselues will say, they were called Samoie, that is, of themselues, as though they were Indigenæ, or people bred vpon that very soyle, that neuer changed their seate from one place to another, as most nations haue done. They are subiect at this time to the Emperour of Russia. The Permians. The Samoins religion.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they haue most vse and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like. As for the story of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I haue read in some mappes, and descriptions of these countries, to be an idole after the forme of an olde woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giueth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe, and euent of things, I found it to be a very fable. Onely in the Prouince of Obdoria vpon the sea side, neare to the mouth of the great riuer Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes (as the rocke by the North Cape the shape of a Frier) where the Obdorian Samoites vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practise their sorceries, and ominous coniecturings about the good or bad speede of their iourneies, fishings, huntings, and such like. The Samoits religion. Slata Baba, or the Golden Hagge. A fable. The Rocke. Fishing or sea.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their breeches and netherstockes of the same, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, naturally, beardlesse. And therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their lookes: saue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue in a manner a wilde and sauage life, rouing still from one place of the countrey to another, without any property of house or land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in euery companie, is their Papa or Priest. The Samoits habit and behauiour. The people of Mera Incognita south.

On the North side of Russia next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the farthest point Northward, (towards the Northcape) to the farthest part Southeast (which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse or Holy nose, the English men Capegrace) about 345. verst or miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles or thereabouts. The whole countrey in a maner is either lakes, or mountaines, which towardes the Sea side are called Tondro, because they are all of harde and craggy rocke, but the inland partes are well furnished with woods that growe on the hilles sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue none, but feede onely vpon fish and foule. They are subiect to the Emperor of Russia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact tribute and custome of them (as was saide before) but the Emperor of Russia beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exacteth of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed Lappes of their briefe and short speech. The Russe diuideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two sortes. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Norwegian Lappes because they be of the Danish religion. For the Danes and Norwegians they account for one people. The other that haue no religion at all but liue as brutte and heathenish people, without God in the worlde, they cal Dikoy Lapary, or the wilde Lappes. The Lappes.

The whole nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not so much as the vse of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practise of witchcraft and sorcerie they passe all nations in the worlde. Though for enchaunting of ships that saile along their coast, (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots vpon a rope (somewhat like to the tale of Æolus his windbag) is a very fable, deuised (as may seeme) by themselues, to terrifie sailers for comming neere their coast. Their weapons are the long bow, and handgunne, wherein they excell, aswell

for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neerenesse at the marke by reason of their continuall practise (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wild fowle. Their maner is in Sommer time to come downe in great companies to the sea side, to Wardhuyse, Cola, Kegor, and the bay of Vedugoba, and there to fish for Codde, Salmon, & But-fish, which they sel to the Russes, Danes, & Noruegians, and nowe of late to the English men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Laps & Corelians for their fish, oyle, and furres, whereof also they haue some store. They holde their mart at Cola on S. Peters day: what time the captaine of Wardhuyse (that is resiant there for the king of Denmark) must be present, or at least send his deputie to set prices vpon their stockfish, train oile, furres, and other commodities: as also the Russe Emperors customer, or tribute taker, to receiue his custome, which is euer paide before any thing can bee bought or solde. When their fishing is done, their manner is to drawe their carbasses or boates on shore, and there to leaue them with the keele turned vpwardes, till the next spring tide. Their trauaile to and fro is vpon sledges drawen by the Olen Deere: which they vse to turne a grasing all the Sommer time in an Island called Kildyn, (of a verie good soyle compared with other partes of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the snowe beginneth to fall they fetch them home againe for the vse of their sledde.

The mart at Cola.

Sledde drawen with Deere.

The description of the regions, people, and riuers, lying North and East from Moscouia: as the way from Moscouia to the riuer Petzora, and the Prouince Iugaria or Iuhra, and from thence to the riuer Obi. Likewise the description of other countreys and regions, euen vnto the Empire of the great Can of Cathay, taken out of Sigismundus ab Herberstein.

The dominion of the Duke of Moscouia.

THe dominion of the Prince of Moscouia, reacheth farre toward the East and North, vnto the places which we will now describe. As concerning which thing, I translated a booke y was presented vnto me in the Moscouites tongue, and haue here made a briefe rehearsall of the same. I will first therefore describe the iourney from Moscouia to Petzora, and so to Iugaria and Obi. From Moscouia to the citie of Vologda, are numbred fiue hundred versts, one verst, conteyning almost the space of an Italian myle. From Vologda to Vstiug toward the right hand, descending with the course of the riuer of Vologda and Suchana with whom it ioyneth, are counted fiue hundred verstes, where within two versts of the towne called Strelze, and hard by the citie of Vstiug, Suchana ioyneth vnto Iug which runneth from the South: from whose mouth vnto the springs of the same, are numbred fiue hundred versts.

Vologda. Vorst. Vstiug.

Suchana. Iug. So called of his swift and pleasant streame.

But Suchana and Iug, after they ioyne together, lose their first names, and make but one riuer named Dwina, by the which the passage to the citie of Colmogro conteineth fiue hundred versts, from whence, in the space of sixe dayes iourney, Dwina entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. And the greatest part of this iourney consisteth by Nauigation. For by lande from Vologda vnto Colmogro, passing ouer the riuer Vuaga, are a thousand verstes. Not farre from Colmogro, the riuer Pienega running from the East on the right hand for the space of seuen hundred versts, falleth into Dwina. From Dwina by the riuer Pienega, by the space of two hundred versts, they come to a place called Nicholai, from whence within halfe a verst ships haue passage into the riuer Kuluio, which hath his originall from a lake of the same name towarde the North, from whose springs is eight daies viage to the mouth of the same, where it entreth into the Ocean.

Pienega.

Nicholai. Kulnio.

The regions by the North sea.

Sayling by the coasts of the right hand of the sea, they passe by the regions of Stanuwische, Calunczscho, and Apnu: And sayling about the promontorie or cape of Chorogoski Nosz, Stanuwische, Camenckh, and Tolstickh, they come at length into the riuer Mezen, and from thence in the space of sixe dayes, to a village of the same name, standing in the mouth of the riuer Pieza, by the which againe ascending toward the left hand & sommer East, they come to the riuer Piescoia: from whence sayling for the space of fiue versts, they come into two lakes, in the which are seene two wayes: whereof one on the right side, goeth to the riuer Rubicho, by the which they passe to the riuer Czircho. Other, by an other and shorter way, bring their ships from the lake directly into Czircho: from whence, except they be hindered

Pieza. Piescoia.

Rubicho.

Czircho.

hindered by tempest, they come in the space of three weekes to the riuer and mouth of Czilma, flowing into the great riuer Petzora, which in that place is two versts in breadth. Sayling from thence, they come in the space of sixe dayes to the Towne and castle of Pustosero, neare vnto the which, Petzora entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. The inhabitants of this place, are men of simple wit: they receiued the faith of Christ, and were baptised in the yeare M. D. xviii.

Czilma. Petzora. Pustosero.

From the mouth of Czilma vnto the mouth of the riuer Vssa, going by Petzora, is one moneths viage. Vssa hath his springs in the mountaine * Poyas Semnoi, being on the left hand toward the sommer East, and springeth out of a great stone of the same mountaine, called Camen Bolschoi. From the springs of Vssa to the mouthes of the same, are numbered more then a thousand versts. Furthermore, Petzora runneth from this south winter part, from whence ascending from the mouthes of Vssa, vnto the mouthes of the riuer Stzuchogora, is three weekes viage. They that described this vyage sayd that they rested betweene the mouthes of the riuers of Stzuchogora and Potzscheriema, and left their victuals there which they brought with them from Russia. Beyond the riuers of Petzora and Stzuchogora toward the mountaine Camenipoias, and the sea with the Ilands thereabout, and the Castle of Pustosero, are diuers and innumerable nations, which by one common name are called Samoged (that is) such as eate themselues. They haue great increase of foules, birdes, and diuers kindes of beastes: as Sables, Marternes, Beuers, Otters, Hermelines, Squirrels: and in the Ocean the beast called a Morse: Also Vesse, white Beares, Wolues, Hares, Equiwoduani, great Whales, and a fish called Semfi, with diuers other. The people of these nations come not to Moscouia: For they are wilde, and flee the company and society of other men.

Vssa. * Cingulus mundi. Stzuchogora. Potzscheriema. Camenipoias. Samoged. Foules and beasts. Wilde people.

From the mouthes of Stzuchogora, sayling vp the riuer vnto Poiassa, Artawische, Cameni, and Poiassa the greater, is three weekes vyage. Furthermore, the ascending to the mount Camen, is three dayes iourney: from the which descending they come to the riuer Artawischa, and from thence to the riuer Sibut, from whence they passe to the Castle of Lepin, and from Lepin to the riuer Sossa. The people that inhabite the region by this riuer, are called Vuogolici. Leauing Sossa on the right hande, they come to the great riuer Obi, that springeth out of the lake Kitaisko, the which, with all the haste they could make, they could scarcely passe ouer in one day, the riuer being of such breadth that it reacheth fourescore versts. The people also that dwell about the riuer, are called Vuogolici and Vgritzschi. From the Castle of Obea, ascending by the riuer of Oby, vnto the riuer Irtische, into the which Sossa entereth, is three moneths iourney. In these places are two Castles named Ierom and Tumen, kept by certaine Lords called Knesi Inhorski, being tributaries to the great Duke of Moscouia, as they say. Here are diuers kinds of beasts and furres.

Poiassa. Camen. Artawischa. Sibut. Lepin. Sossa. Obi. Kitaisko. Vuogolici. Irtische. Ierom. Tumen.

From the mouth of the riuer Irtische to the Castle of Grustina, is two moneths iourney: from whence to the lake Kitai, by the riuer Oby (which I said to haue his springs in this lake) is more then three moneths iourney. From this lake come many blacke men, lacking the vse of common speech. They bring with them diuers wares, and especially pearles and precious stones, which they sell to the people called Grustintzi and Serponowtzi. These haue their name of the Castle Serponow, situate in the mountaines of Lucomoria, beyond the riuer Obi. They say that to the men of Lucomoria chauncheth a marueilous thing and incredible: For they affirme, that they die yeerely at the xxvii. day of Nouember, being the feast of S. George among the Moscouites: and that at the next spring about the xxiii. day of Aprill, they reuiue againe as doe Frogges.

Grustina. Kitai. Blacke men without speech. Serponow. Lucomoria. Men that yeerely die and reuiue.

With these also, the people of Grustintzi and Serponowtzi exercise a new and strange kinde of trade. For when the accustomed time of their dying, or rather of sleeping, approcheth, they leaue their wares in certaine places appointed, which the Grustintzi and Serponowtzi carry away, leauing other wares of equall value in their places: which if the dead men at the time of their reuiuing perceiue to be of vnequal price, they require their owne againe: by reason whereof, much strife and fighting is betweene them.

A strange trade of marchandise.

From the riuer of Obi descending toward the left hand, are the people called Calami, which

Obi. Calami.

Riuers.

which came thither from Obiowa and Pogosa. Beneath Obi, about Aurea Anus (that is the golden old wife) are the riuers Sossa, Berezuma, and Danadim, all which spring out of the mountaines Camen, Bolschega, Poinasa, and the rockes ioyning to the same. All the nations that inhabite from these riuers to Aurea Anus, are subiect to the prince of Moscouia.

Aurea Anus. Obdora.

Aurea Anus, called in the Moscouites tongue, Slata Baba, is an Idol at the mouthe of Obi in the prouince of Obdora, standing on the furthest banke toward the sea. Along by the bankes of Obi, & the riuers neare there about, are here and there many castles and fortresses: all the lordes whereof are subiect to the prince of Moscouia, as they say. They say also, or rather fable, that the idol called Aurea anus, is an image like vnto an old wife, hauing a child in her lap, and that there is now seene another infant, which they say to be her nephew: Also that there are certaine instruments that make a continuall sound like the noyse of Trumpets, the which, if it so be, I thinke it to be by reason of the winde, blowing continually into the holow places of those instruments.

Cossin.

The riuer Cossin falleth out of the mountaines of Lucomoria: In the mouth of this is a castle, whither from the springs of the great riuer Cossin, is two monethes viage. Furthermore, from the springs of the same riuer, the riuer Cassima hath his originall, which running through Lucomoria, falleth into the great riuer Tachnin, beyond the which (as is said) dwell men of prodigious shape, of whom some are ouergrowen with haire like wilde beastes, other haue heads like dogges, and their faces in their breasts, without neckes, and with long hands also, and without feete. There is likewise in the riuer Tachnin a certaine fish, with head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feete, and other members vtterly of humane shape, and yet, without any voyce, and pleasant to be eaten, as are other fishes.

Cassima. Tachnin a great riuer. People of mill-strous shapes. A fish like a man. Plinie writeth of the like fish.

The end of the Iournall.

All that I haue hitherto rehearsed, I haue translated out of the saide iourney which was deliuered me in the Moscouites tongue: In the which, perhaps some things may seeme fabulous, and in maner incredible, as of the dombe men, and the dead reuiuing, the Aurea Anus also, and the monstrous shapes of men, with the fish of humane fourme: whereof although I haue made diligent inquisition, yet could I knowe nothing certaine of any that had seene the same with their eyes: neuerthelesse, to giue further occasion to other to search the trueth of these things, I haue thought good to make mention hereof.

Noss in the Moscouites tongue signifieth a nose, and therefore they call all capes or points that reach into the sea by the same name.

Mountaines.

The mountaines about the riuer of Petzora are called Semnoy Poyas, or Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world, or of the earth.

The great Can of Cathay.

Kithai is a lake, of which the great Can of Cathay, whom the Moscouians cal Czar Kithaiski, hath his name: For Can in the Tartars language signifieth, A King.

Moria is the sea. Lucomoria. Tumen.

The places of Lucomoria, neare vnto the sea, are saluage full of woods, and inhabited without any houses. And albeit, that the author of this iourney, said, that many nations of Lucomoria are subiect to the prince of Moscouia, yet for asmuch as the kingdome of Tumen is neare thereunto, whose prince is a Tartar, and named in their Tongue, Tumenski Czar, that is, a king in Tumen, and hath of late done great domage to the prince of Moscouia: It is most like that these nations should be rather subiect vnto him.

Petzora. Papin. High mountaines, supposed to be Hyperborei, and Rhiphei.

Neare vnto the riuer Petzora (whereof mention is made in this iourney) is the citie and castle of Papin or Papinowgorod, whose inhabitants are named Papini, and haue a priuate language, differing from the Moscouites. Beyond this riuer are exceeding high mountaines, reaching euen vnto the bankes, whose ridges or tops, by reason of continuall windes, are in maner vtterly barren without grasse or fruits. And although in diuers places they haue diuers names, yet are they commonly called Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world. In these mountaines doe Iersalcons breede, whereof I haue spoken before. There growe also Cedar trees, among the which are found the best and blackest kinde of Sables: and onely these mountaines are seene in all the dominions of the prince of Moscouia which perhaps are the same that the old writers call Rhipheos or Hyperboreos, so named of the Greeke word, Hyper, that is, Aboue, and Boreas, that is, the North: for by reason they are couered with continuall snow and frost, they can not without great difficultie be trauayled, and reach so farre into the North,

North, that they make the vnknowen land of Eggronland. The Duke of Moscouia, Basilius ski, & Knes Peter Vschatoi, to search the places beyond these mountaines, and to subdue the nations thereabout. Kurbski was yet aliue at my being in Moscouia, & declared vnto me that he spent xvii. daies in ascending the mountaine, & yet could not come to the top thereof, which in their tongue is called Stolp, that is, a piller. This mountaine is extended into the Ocean vnto the mouthes of the riuers of Dwina and Petzora.

But now hauing spoken thus much of the said iourney, I will returne to the dominions of Moscouia, with other regions lying Eastward & South from the same, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay. But I will first speake somewhat briefly of the prouince of Rezan, and the famous riuer of Tanais. Cathay.

The prouince of Rezan, situate betweene the riuers of Occa and Tanais, hath a citie builded of wood, not far from the bank of Occa: there was in it a castle named Iaroslauie, whereof there now remaineth nothing but tokens of the old ruine. Not farre from that citie the riuer Occa maketh an Iland named Strub, which was sometime a great Dukedome, whose prince was subiect to none other. This prouince of Rezan is more fruitful then any other of the prouinces of Moscouia: Insomuch that in this (as they say) euery graine of wheat bringeth forth two, and sometimes more eares: whose stalkes or strawes grow so thicke that horses can scarsely go through them, or Quayles flie out of them. There is great plenty of hony, fishes, foules, birdes, and wilde beasts. The fruits also doe farre excede the fruits of Moscouia. The people are bolde and warlike men. The fruitfull prouince of Rezan. Iaroslauie. Hony.

A speciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Cosmographer M. Iohn Baptista Ramusius out of the Arabian Geographie of Abilfada Ismael, concerning the trending of the Ocean sea from China Northward, along the coast of Tartarie and other vnknowen lands, and then running Westwards vpon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and so farther to the Northwest.

DEscriuendo poi il predetto Abilfada Ismael i luoghi della terra habitabile, che circuendo il mar Oceano tocca, dice cosi. La regione delle Cine. Confini dell'vltimi Tartari. Alcune Terre incognite. Confini Settentrionali della Russia.

Riuoltasi l'Oceano da leuante verso la regione delle Cine, & và alla volta di Tramontana, et passata finalmente la detta regione, se ne giunge a Gogi & Magogi, cio è alli confini de gli Vltimi Tartari, & di quivi ad Aleune Terre che sono Incognite: Et correndo sempre per Ponente, passa sopra li confini Settentrionali della Rossia, et và alla volta di Maestro.

The same in English.

THe aforesaid Abilfada Ismael describing afterward the habitable places of the earth, which the Ocean sea in his circuit toucheth, sayth in this manner following. The Ocean sea turneth from the East toward the Countrey of the Chinaes, and stretcheth toward the North, and at length hauing passed the sayd Countrey, it reacheth vnto the Gogi & Magogi, that is, to the confines of the vttermost Tartars, and from thence vnto certaine vnknowen Countreys: and running still Westward it passeth vpon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and from thence it runneth toward the Northwest, (which it doth indeede vpon the coast of Lappia.) By this most notable testimony it appeareth, that the Ocean sea compasseth and enuironeth all the East, Northeast, and North parts of Asia and Europe. The Country of China. The coasts of the vttermost Tartars. Certaine vnknowne Countreys. The Northern coasts of Russia. The Northwest.

The Emperors priuate or houshold Officers.

THe chiefe Officers of the Emperors houshold are these which follow. The first is the office of the Boiarin Conesheua, or master of the Horse. Which conteineth no more then is expressed by the name, that is to be ouerseer of the Horse, and not Magister equitum, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require, as before was sayd. He that beareth that office at this time, is Boris Pheodorowich Godonoe, brother to the Empresse. Of Horse for seruice in his warre (besides other for his ordinary vses) he hath to the number of ten thousand which are kept about Mosco. Master of the Horse.

The

The L. Steward.
The L. Treasurer. Controller. Chamberlaine.
Tasters.
Harbengers.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold at this time, one Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe. The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his monies, iewels, plate, &c. now called Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe. The fourth his Controller, now Andreas Petrowich Clesinine. The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that office at this time, is called Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay. The sixt his Tasters, now Theodor Alexandrowich, and Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. The seuenth his Harbingers, which are three Noble men, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the office vnder them. These are his ordinary officers and offices of the chiefest account.

Gentlemen of the chamber, 200 Gent.

Of Gentlemen beside them that waite about his chamber, and person (called Shilsey Strapsey) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes. His ordinary Garde is two thousand Hagbutters readie with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other necessarie furniture continually day and night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe Chamberlaine with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off there lodge sixe other of like account for their trust and faithfulnesse. In the thirde chamber lie certaine young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called Shilsey Strapsey, that take their turnes by forties euery night. There are groomes besides that watch in their course, and lie at euery gate and doore of the Court, called Estopnick.

Groomes.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the Emperours lodging, or bedchamber by course 250. euery night, and 250 more in the Courtyarde, and about the Treasure house. His Court or house at the Mosco is made castle wise, walled about, with great store of faire ordinance planted vpon the wall, and conteyneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses: Which are appointed for such as are knowen to be sure, and trustie to the Emperor.

Of the priuate behauiour, or qualitie of the Russe people.

Constitution of their bodies.

THE priuate behauiour and qualitie of the Russe people, may partly be vnderstood by that which hath beene sayd concerning the publique state and vsage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshly bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But for the most part they are very vnwieldy and vnactiue withall. Which may be thought to come partly of the climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet that standeth most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and such like things that breede grosse humors, which they vse to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their diet.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a Charke or small cuppe of Aqua vitæ, (which they call Russe wine) and then drinke not till towardes the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another at euery pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his afternoones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceede, and haue varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roste meates they vse little) and then their broathes or pottage. Their common drinke is Mead, the poorer sort vse water, and a third drinke called Quasse, which is nothing else (as we say) but water turned out of his wits, with a litle branne meashed with it.

This diet would breed in them many diseases, but that they vse bathstoues, or hote houses in steade of all Phisicke, commonly twise or thrise euery weeke. All the winter time, and almost the whole Sommer, they heat their Peaches, which are made like the Germane bathstoues, and their Poclads like ouens, that so warme the house that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the winter of heat within their houses, and of extreame colde without, together with their diet, make them of a darke, and sallow complexion, their skinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worse complexions, then the men.

Whereof

Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hote houses, and busying themselues about the heating, and vsing of their bathstoues, and peaches.

The Russe because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their bathstoues all on a froth, and fuming as hoat almost as a pigge at a spit, and presently to leape into the riuer starke naked, or to powre cold water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the winter time. The women to mende the bad hue of their skinnes, vse to paint their faces with white and red colours, so visibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter because it is common and liked well by their husbands: who make their wiues and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselues much to see them of fowle women to become such faire images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

An admirable induring of extreme heat, and colde at one and the same time.

They apparell themselues after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion. First a Taffia, or little nightcappe on his head, that couereth litle more then his crowne, commonly verie rich wrought of silke and golde threede, and set with pearle and precious stone. His head he keepeth shauen close to the very skinne, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then hee suffereth his haire to growe and hang downe vpon his shoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can. Ouer the Taffia hee weareth a wide cappe of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best furre) with a Tiara or long bonnet put within it, standing vp like a Persian or Babilonian hatte. About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a coller set with pearle and precious stone, about three or foure fingers broad. Next ouer his shirt, (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer time, while he is within the house) is a Shepon, or light garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a Caftan or a close coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian girdle, whereat he hangs his kniues and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ancles. Ouer that he weareth a lose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some golde lace, called a Ferris. An other ouer that of chamlet, or like stuffe called an Alkaben, sleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched, and set all with pearle. When hee goeth abroad, he casteth ouer all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) an other garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, saue that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth or Camels haire. His buskins (which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folles vnder them in stead of boot hose) are made of a Persian leather called Saphian, embrodered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of golde. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horsebacke, though it be but to the next doore: which is the maner also of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Noble mans attire.

The Boiarskey or Gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but differeth in stuffe: and yet he will haue his Caftan or vndercoat sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth, or silke.

The Gentlemans apparel.

The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarshena) weareth on her head, first a caull of some soft silke (which is commonly redde) and ouer it a fruntlet called Obrosa, of white colour. Ouer that her cappe (made after the coife fashion of cloth of gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearle and stone. Though they haue of late begunne to disdaine embrodering with pearle aboue their cappes, because the Diacks, and some Marchants wiues haue taken vp the fashion. In their eares they weare earerings (which they call Sargee) of two inches or more compasse, the matter of gold set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like precious stone. In Sommer they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawne, or cambricke, fastned vnder the chinne, with two long tassels pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bandes, called Stapa Zemskoy. About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and precious stone. Their vpper garment is a loose gowne called Opashen commonly of scarlet, with wide loose sleeues, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great golde buttons or at least siluer and

The Noble womans attire.

and guilt nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastned vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backes. Next vnder the Oposken or vpper garment, they weare another called a Leitnich that is made close before with great wide sleeues, the cuffe or halfe sleeue vp to the elbowes, commonly of cloth of golde: and vnder that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hande wrests they weare very faire braselets, about two fingers broad of pearle and precious stone. They goe all in buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noblewoman of Russia, when she maketh the best shewe of herselfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

The Mousicke or common sorte attire.

As for the poore Mousick and his wife they goe poorely cladde. The man with his Honoratkey, or loose gowne to the small of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of course white or blew cloth, with some Shube or long wastcoate of furre, or of sheepeskinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins. The poorer sort of them haue their Honoratkey, or vpper garment, made of Kowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes, and buskins on their legges. The woman goeth in a red or blewe gowne, when she maketh the best shewe, and with some warme Shube of furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare caps of some coloured stuffe, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold: but for the most part kerchiefs. Without earings of siluer or some other mettall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no Russe woman, be she wife or maide.

The Lord Boris Pheodorowich his letter to the Right Honorable William Burghley Lord high Treasurer of England, &c.

By the grace of God the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouogorod, king of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Tuer, Vghori, Permi, Viatsko, Bolgorie, and other places, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod in the Lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostoue, Yeroslaue, Bealozera, and Liefland, of Oudorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and commander of all Sibierland, and the North coasts, great Lorde ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Grisinski, Emperor of Kabardinski, and of the Countrey Charchaski, and the Countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other regions.

The Emperors stile increased.

From Boris Pheodorowich his Maiesties brother in law, master of his horses, gouernour of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, to William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer to the most vertuous Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and other dominions: I receiued your Lordships letters, wherein you write that you haue receiued very ioyfully my letters sent vnto you, and aduisedly read them, and imparted the same vnto her Maiestie: and that your Merchants finde themselues agreeued, that when they approch these parts, and are arriued here, they are not permitted to enter into a free and liberall course of barter, traffike, and exchange of their commodities, as heretofore they haue done, but are compelled before they can enter into any traffike to accept the Emperours waxe, and other goods, at high rates farre aboue their value, to their great losse: and that they are by reason of this restraint long holden vpon these coasts to the danger of wintering by the way. Hereafter there shalbe no cause of offence giuen to the Marchants of the Queenes Maiestie Queene Elizabeth: they shall not be forced to any thing, neither are there or shall be any demands made of custome or debts. Such things as haue beene heretofore demaunded, all such things haue beene already vpon their petition and supplication commaunded to be discharged. I haue sollicited his Maiestie for them, that they be not troubled hereafter for those matters, and that a fauourable hand be caried ouer them. And according to your request I will be a meane to the Emperour for them in all their occasions, and will my selfe shew them my fauorable countenance. And I pray you (William Burghley) to signifie to her Maiesties Merchants that I promise to haue a care of them, and for the Queenes Maiestie of Englands sake,

The English Marchants complaint.

I will

I will take her Merchants into my protection, and will defend them as the Emperours selected people vnder the Emperors commission: and by mine appointment all his Maiesties officers and authorized people shall be carefull ouer them. The Emperors gracious fauor towards them was neuer such as it is now. And where you write that at the port the Emperors officers sell their waxe by commission at a set rate giuen them, farre aboue the value, and that they enforce your Marchants to accept it, they deny that they take any such course, but say they barter their waxe for other wares, and also put their waxe to sale for readie money to your Merchants, according to the worth thereof, and as the price goeth in the custome house here. It hath beene heretofore deare, and now is sold as good cheape as in any other place, and as they can best agree: they enforce no man to buy it, but rather kepe it: therefore your Marchants haue no iust cause to make any such report. I haue expressely giuen order, that there shall be no such course vsed to enforce them, but to buy according to their owne willes, and to tarrie at the port or to depart at their pleasure. And as touching the customes alreadie past, and debts demanded at your Merchants hands, whereof you write: Our Lord great Emperour and great Duke Theodore Ivanowich of all Russia of famous memory hath shewed his Maiesties especial fauour and loue, for the great loue of his welbeloued sister Queene of England, and by my petition and mediation, whereas there was commandement giuen to take Marshes whole debt of your Merchants and factors, it is moderated to the halfe, and for the other halfe, commandement giuen it should not be taken, and the Merchants billes to be deliuered them. And to the end hereafter that her Maiesties Marchants moue no contention betwixt our Lord the Emperor and great Duke of Russia, and his welbeloued sister Queene Elizabeth, his Maiestie desireth order to be giuen, that your Marchants doe deale iustly in their traffike, and plainely without fraud or guile. And I will be a fauourer of them aboue all others, vnder his Maiesties authoritie: themselues shall see it. Written in our great Lorde the Emperours citie of Mosco in the moneth of Iuly, 7099. Ann. Dom. 1590.

English Marchants in great fauour with the Emperor.

Halfe the debt of Antony Marsh remitted.

The Queenes Maiesties letter to Theodore Ivanouich Emperour of Russia, 1591.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the right high, mighty, and right noble prince Theodore Ivanouich great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Mosco, Nouogrod, King of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatski, Bolgory, and other places: Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostoue, Yeraslaue, Bealozero, and Liffland, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all Sibierland and the North coasts, great Lord ouer the country of Iuersky, Grisinsky, Emperor of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys, our most deare and louing brother, greeting. Right noble and excellent prince, we haue receiued your Maiesties letters brought ouer by our merchants in their returne of their ‖ last voyage from your port of S. Nicholas; which letters we haue aduisedly read and considered, and thereby perceiue that your Maiesty doth greatly mislike of our late imployment of Ierome Horsey into your dominions as our messenger with our Highnesse letters, and also that your Maiesty doth thinke that we in our letters sent by the sayd messenger haue not obserued that due order or respect which appertained to your princely maiesty, in the forme of the same letter, aswel touching the inlargement of your Maiesties stile and titles of honor which your Maiesty expected to haue bene therein more particularly expressed, as also in the adding of our greatest seale or signet of armes to the letters which we send to so great a Prince as your Maiesty is: in any of which points we would haue bene very loth willingly to haue giuen iust cause of offence thereby to our most deare and louing brother. And as touching the sayd messenger Ierome Horsey we are very glad that contrary to our expectation he is fallen into your Maiesties displeasure, whom we minde not to maintein in any his actions by which he hath so incurred your Maiesties mislike; yet that we had reason at such time as we sent him to your Maiesty to vse his seruice as our messenger, we referre our selues to your princely iudgement, praying your Maiesty to reduce into your minde the especiall commendation, which in your letters written vnto vs in the yeere 1590.

1585. yeere 1585, you made of the sayd Ierome Horsey his behauiour in your dominions: at which time your Maiesty was pleased to vse his seruice as your messenger to vs, requiring our answere of your letters to be returned by him and by none other. That employment, with other occasions taken by your Maiesty to vse the seruice of the sayd Ierome Horsey (as namely in the yeere 1587) when your Maiesty sent him to vs againe with your letters, and your liberall and princely priuiledge at our request granted to our merchants, (for which we haue heretofore giuen thanks to your Maiesty, so doe we hereby reiterate our thankefulnesse for the same) mooued vs to be of minde, that we could not make choise of any of our subiects so fit a messenger to your Maiesty as he, whom your Maiesty had at seuerall times vsed vpon your owne occasions into this our Realme. But least your highnesse should continue of the minde that the letters which you sent by our ambassador Giles Fletcher (wherein some mention was made of your conceiued displeasure against the sayd Horsey) came not to our hands, and that wee were kept ignorant of the complaint which your Maiesty made therein against the sayd Horsey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted aswell by our ambassadour as by those letters of some displeasure conceiued against him by your Maiesty: but your sayd letters giuing onely a short generall mention of some misdemeanour committed by him, expressing no particulars, we were of opinion that this offence was not so hainous, as that it might vtterly extinguish all your former princely fauour towards him, but that vpon his humble submission to your Maiesty, or vpon better examination of the matter of the displeasure conceiued against him, the offence might haue beene either remitted, or he thereof might haue cleared himselfe. And to that end we were not onely by his great importunity long sollicited, but by the intercession of some of our Nobility giuing credit to his owne defence, we were intreated on his behalfe to vse his seruice once againe into Russia as our messenger to your Maiesty, whereby he might haue opportunity to cleare himselfe, and either by his answere or by his submission recouer your Maiesties former fauour: whereunto our princely nature was mooued to yeeld, wishing the good of our subiect so farre foorth as his desert might carry him, or his innocencie cleare him.

Thus noble Prince, our most louing and dearest brother, it may appeare vnto your Maiesty how we were induced to vse the seruice of the sayd messenger, aswell for the recouery of your Maiesties fauor towards him (if he had bene found woorthy of it) as for experience of the maners and fashions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conuersant. But sith by your Maiesties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himselfe in your Maiesties sight, we meane not to vse him in any such price hereafter.

And as touching your Maiesties conceit of the breuitie which we vsed in the setting downe of your Maiesties stile and titles of honour: as nothing is further from vs, then to abridge so great and mighty a Prince of the honour due vnto him (whom we holde for his greatnesse to deserue more honour then we are able to giue him) so shall we need no further nor surer argument to cleare vs of the suspicion of the detracting from your Maiesty any part of your iust and princely honor and greatnesse, then the consideration of our owne stile, which is thus contracted, videlicet, Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. which kingdomes and dominions of ours are expressed by these generall words, videlicet, England, France, and Ireland: in euery of which there are seuerall principalities, dukedomes, earledomes, prouinces and countreys: which being seuerally expressed would enlarge much our stile, and make it of great length; which by our progenitours hath not bene vsed: notwithstanding, we thinke it no dishonour to vs, compendiously to abridge the same in all our writings and letters written to what Prince, King, or Potentate soeuer. Whereupon we inferre, that holding your Maiesties generall stile, we offer your Highnesse no dishonour in not expressing all the particular prouinces: albeit we can willingly content our selfe, vpon the knowledge of your vsages and customes, to obserue that course, which your selfe shall thinke most honourable. And for the sealing vp of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinsemen, and friends, Kings and Princes, we haue in vse two seuerall seales; both which we esteeme alike honourable, being our princely seales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or small, so accordingly is

our

our greater or lesser scale annexed to the sayd letters, without esteeming either of them more or lesse honourable then the other. So as, our most louing and dearest brother, in the said letters there was nothing done of purpose to detract from your Maiesty any thing of the vsuall regard, which our Highnesse was woont to yeeld vnto your most noble father of famous memory Iuan Basiliuich Emperor of al Russia, or to your selfe, our dearest brother. For the residue of the points of your Maiesties letters concerning the entertainement of our ambassadour, and proceeding in the cause of Anthonie Marsh we holde our selfe satisfied with your princely answere, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Maiestie to preuent the like troubles, controuersies and sutes, that Marshes cause stirred vp betweene our merchants and your subiects, which is, that your Maiestie doeth purpose from time to time to purge your Countrey of such straglers of our subiects, as doe or shall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuously depart out of our land without our Highnesse licence: of which sort there are presented vnto vs from our merchants the names of these seuerall persons, videlicet, Richard Cocks, Bennet Iackman, Rainold Kitchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worsenham: whom it may please your Maiesty by your princely order to dismisse out of your land, that they may be sent home in the next shippes, to auoid the mislike which their residence in those parts might breed to the disturbance of our brotherly league, and the impeaching of the entercourse.

And whereas, most louing and dearest brother, one William Turnebull a subiect of ours is lately deceased in your kingdome, one with whom our merchants haue had much controuersie for great summes of money due vnto them by him while he was their Agent in their affayres of merchandises: which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the summe of 3000 rubbles, and so much should haue beene payed by him as may appeare by your Maiesties councell or magistrates of iustice by very credible information and testimony: and whereas also the sayd Turnbull was further indebted by billes of his own hand to diuers of our subiects, amounting in the whole, to the summe of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified vnder our great seale of England, and to be sent ouer with this bearer: of which summes he hath often promised payment: it may please your most excellent Maiestie in your approoued loue to iustice, to giue order to your fauourable councell and magistrates, that those seuerall debts may be satisfied to our merchants and subiects out of the goods, merchandise, and debts which are due to the state of the sayd Turnbull: whereof your Maiesties councell shalbe informed by the Agent of our merchants.

We trust we shall not need to make any new request by motion to your Maiesty that some order might be taken for the finding out of the rest of our merchants goods seised to your maiesties vse in the hands and possession of Iohn Chappel their seruant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Maiesties order. We therfore intreat your Maiesty, that as conueniently as may be, satisfaction or recompense be giuen to our said merchants towards the repairing of their sundry great losses aswell therein as otherwise by them of late sundry wayes sustained. And lastly, our most deare and louing brother, as nothing in all these our occasions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, descending vpon vs as an inheritance, in succession from both our ancestours and noble progenitours: so let vs be carefull on both sides by all good meanes to holde and continue the same to our posterity for euer. And if any mistaking or errour of either side do rise, in not accomplishing of circumstances agreeable to the fashion of either of our countreys and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occasion whatsoeuer. And thus we recommend your Maiesty to the tuition of the most High. From our royall Palace of Whitehall the 14 of January, anno Domini 1591. 1591

The Emperor seized our merchants goods.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to the right honourable and noble Prince Lord Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Master of the horses to the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, his highnesse lieutenant of

of Cazan and Astracan, our most deare and louing cousin, greeting. Right honourable, it hath appeared vnto vs vpon the reading and perusing of the Letters lately sent vnto our Highnesse from our deare and louing brother the Emperour, in what part his Maiestie tooke the late imployment of our messenger Ierome Horsey in our affaires into Russia: wherein we doe also finde the honourable endeuour vsed by your Lordship to appease his Highnesse mislike and exception taken aswell to the person of our Messenger, as to our princely letters sent by him: both of which points we haue answered in our letters sent by this bearer directed to our sayd louing brother the Emperour: vpon perusing whereof we doubt not but his Maiestie will be well satisfied touching our sayd Messenger and former letters. And for the honourable course holden by your Lordship in the interposing of your opinion and fauourable construction in a thing which might grow to the offence of the league and amitie standing betweene your Soueraigne Lord and vs (wherein your Lordship performed the office of an honourable and graue Councellour) we take our selfe beholding to your Lordship for your readinesse in that behalfe, and doe assure our selfe that the same did proceed of the especiall loue and kinde affection that your Lordship hath euer borne and continued towards vs, whereof our princely nature will neuer be vnmindfull. We haue bene also from time to time made acquainted by our chiefe and principall Councellour William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurour of our Highnesse Realme of England, of your letters which haue passed betweene your Lordship and him, concerning the entercourse of our Merchants trafficke in your Countreys, and of the honourable offices done by your Lordship with the Emperour in fauour of our sayd Marchants. And lastly (which wee take a most assured argument of your vndoubted loue and affection towards vs) that your Lordship hath vouchsafed, and of purpose taken into your hands the protection of our said Merchants, and the hearing and determining of all their causes and occasions whatsoeuer, which shall concerne them or their trade. All which wee conceiue to be done for our sake, and therefore do acknowledge ourselues to be, and still will continue beholding vnto you for the same.

And whereas we haue made mention in our sayd letters written to our louing brother the Emperour of certeine debts due aswell to our merchants, as to other of our subiects by one William Turnebull a subiect of ours late deceased in Russia, wee pray you to be referred to the sayd letter. And forasmuch as the sayd cause will fall vnder your Lordships iurisdiction by reason of your acceptation of all their causes into your patronage and protection: we are so well assured of your honourable inclination to iustice, and your good affection towards our merchants for our sake, that we shall not need to intreat your honourable furtherance either of iustice or expedition in the sayd cause. And lastly considering that your noble linage together with your great wisedome and desert hath made you a principall Councellour and directour of the state of so great a Monarchie, whereby your aduice and direction is followed in all things that doe concerne the same, we haue giuen order to our sayd principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, treasurour of our Realme of England, that as any occasion shall arise to the hinderance of the entercourse betweene these Countreyes, or of the priuiledges graunted by his Maiestie to our merchants, that he may by aduertisement treat with your Lordshippe thereupon: which we by reason of our great princely affayres can not so conueniently at all times doe with such expedition as the cause may require. And thus with our princely commendations we bidde you farewell. From our royall Pallace of Whitehall the foureteenth day of Ianuariee, Anno Domini 1591.

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord Boris Pheodorowich, Master of the horses to the great and mighty Emperour of Russia, his Highnesse Lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, William Cecill Lord Burghley, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Lord high Treasurer of England sendeth greeting.

Right honourable my very good Lord, vpon the last returne of our merchants shippes out of Russia, there was brought vnto my handes, by one Francis Cherrie an English merchant, a letter directed to the Queenes Maiestie, from the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, and

and another letter from your Lordship directed to me: which sayd letter written from the Emperor to her Maiesty hath beene considerately and aduisedly by her Highnesse read and perused, and the matter of complaint against Ierome Horsey therein comprised thorowly examined: which hath turned the same Horsey to some great displeasure. I did also acquaint our Maiesty with the contents of your Lordships letters written to mee, and enformed her of your Lordships honourable fauour shewed to her Highnesse merchants from time to time: who tooke the same in most gracious part, and confessed her selfe infinitly beholdē vnto your Lordship for many honourable offices done for her sake, the which she meant to acknowledge by her letters to be written to your Lordship vnder her princely hand and seale. And forasmuch as it hath pleased your good Lordshippe to take into your handes the protection of her Maiesties merchants, and the redresse of such iniuries as are, or shall be offered vnto them contrary to the meaning of the priuiledges and the free liberty of the entercourse, wherein in some points your Lordship hath already vsed a reformation, as appeareth by your sayd letters: yet the continuance of traffique mooving new occasions and other accidents tending to the losse of the sayd merchants, whereof some particulars haue beene offered vnto me to treat with your Lordship vpon: I thought it good to referre them to your honourable consideration, that order might be taken in the same, for that they are apparantly repugnant to the Emperours letters written to her Maiestie, and doe much restraine the liberty of the traffe: one is, that at the last comming of our merchants to the port of Saint Michael the Archangel, where the mart is holden, their goods were taken by the Emperours officers for his Highnesse seruice at such rates, as the sayd officers were disposed to set vpon them, so farre vnder their value, that the merchants could not assent to accept of those prices: which being denied, the sayd officers restrained them of all further traffique for the space of three weekes, by which meanes they were compelled to yeeld vnto their demaund how vnwillingly soeuer. Another is, that our sayd merchants are drinen to pay the Emperours officers custome for all such Russe money as they bring downe from the Mosco to the Sea side to employ there at the Mart within the Emperours owne land; which seemeth strange vnto me, considering the same money is brought from one place of the Countrey to another, and there imployed without any transport ouer the sayd of money. These interruptions and impositions seeme not to stand with the liberties of the Emperours priuiledges and freedome of the entercourse, which should be restrained neither to times or conditions, but to be free and absolute: whereof it may please your Lordship to be aduised, and to continue your honourable course holden betweene the Emperour and her Maiesty, to reconcile such differences as any occasion doth offer to their league or traffick. Thus not doubting of your Lordships furtherance herein, I humbly take my leaue of your good Lordship. From her Maiesties royall palace of Whitehall this 15 of Ianuary 1591. 1591.

The English merchants 3 weeks restrained from their Mart.

A letter from the Emperour of Russia, Theodore Iuanouich to the Queenes Maiestie. 1592.

Through the tender mercie of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited vs, thereby to guide our feet into the way of peace. Euen this our God by mercy we glorifie in Trinitie.

We the great Lord, King and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, gouernour of all Russia, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke also of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Yeroslaue, Bealozera, and of Liffland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Siberia, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more &c. To our louing sister Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Louing sister, your letters sent by your seruant Thomas Lind, we haue receiued, and read what you haue written in the same touching our title, and touching your order holden in your letters heretofore sent vs by your seruant Ierome Horsey: wherein you haue answered vs sufficiently and most graciously.

The Emperors title largely expounded.

And

And whereas your Maiestie hath written in your letter concerning the goods of William Turnebull late deceased in our kingdome, that your subiects, for whom he was factour, should haue debts growing vnto them from him by account: we at your Maiesties request haue caused not onely order to be taken, but for your Highnesse sake, louing sister, we haue caused the goods to be sought out and deliuered to your merchants Agent and his company, together with his stuffe, bookes, billes and writings, as also money to the value of sixe hundred rubbles, which Christopher Holmes and Francis Cherry are to pay for 1 yeare: and we haue set at libertie the sayd Turnebulles kinseman Raynold Kitchin and his fellowes, and deliuered them to your merchants Agent.

This is a dainty meate made of the roes of Sturgeons.

And further, where you write vnto vs for such your subiects as haue departed out of your maiesties Realme secretly without licence, that we should giue order to send them home: concerning such your subiects for which you haue written vnto our Maiestie by letters, we will cause search to be made, and such as are willing to goe home into your kingdome, we will command forthwith to be deliuered vnto your merchants Agent, and so to passe. And such of your Maiesties people as haue giuen themselues vnder our gouernment as subiects, we thinke it not requisite to grant to let them passe.

And further, where you haue written vnto vs concerning the goods of John Chappell, we haue written heretofore the whole discourse thereof, not once, but sundry times, and therefore it is not needfull to write any more thereof. And such goods as were found out of the goods of the sayd Chappell, the money thereof was restored to your Maiesties people William Turnbull and his fellowes. Your Maiesties seruant Thomas Lind we haue sent with our letters the same way whereby he came into our kingdome. The long abiding heere of your Maiesties seruant in our kingdome, was for the comming of your people from the Sea port. Written in our princely court and royall seat in the city of Mosco in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Ianuary.

M. Thomas Lind.

1592.

To the Queenes most excellent Maiestie from the Lord Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua.

BY the grace of God great Lord and great Duke Theodore Iuanouich gouernour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Ieroslaue, Bealozera, and of Liſland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherkasky, and duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more, &c.

Most resplendent Queene Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, &c. his princely Maiesties seruant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, and President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua, vnto your most excellent Maiesty, great Ladie Queene Elizabeth, send my humble commendations. It hath pleased your Maiestie to write vnto me your gracious and princely letter by your seruant Thomas Lind: which letter I receiued with all humblenesse. During the time of the abode of your Messenger Thomas Lind here in the Mosco, it pleased God of his mercifulnesse, and our Lady the mother of God, and holy Saints, by the prayers of our lord and king his Maiestie Theodore Iuanouich ouer all Russia gouernour, the right beleeuer and louer of Christ, to send our Queene and gracious Lady Irene a yoong Princesse, to the great ioy and comfort of our kingdome, named Pheodocine. Wherefore we giue all honour and glory to the almightie God vnspeakeable, whose giftes had beene manifolde with mercie vnto vs: for which all wee Christians laud and praise God.

The Empresse Irene deliuered of a daughter.

After all this your seruant was occasioned to stay vntill the comming of your merchants from the sea port.

Touching the letters which you haue receiued from your louing brother our Lord and Master by your ambassadour, therein you perceiue sufficiently my good meaning, in trauailing for the continuance of amitie and friendship betwixt you mighty great princes, in the which

which I will continue mine endeuour. Also your merchants I haue taken into my protection for to defend them for the loue I beare to your Maiestie. As heeretofore I haue done it willingly, and with great care of their good, so I meane to continue so farre as God will giue me leaue: to the end that brotherly loue be holden betweene you Princes without disturbance.

As I haue beene to your merchants in times past, so now by the permission and commandement of our Lord and Master, I will be their defendour in all causes: and will cause all our authorised people to fauour them and to defend them, and to giue them free liberty to buy and sell at their pleasure. The merchants doe not certifie your princely Maiestie of all our friendship and fauour shewed vnto them from time to time. And whereas your Maiestie hath now written to our Lord and Master for the debts which your merchants ought to haue of William Turnebull lately diseased, I hauing perused your Maiesties letter, whereby I am requested to be a meane for the recouerie and obtaining of their sayd debts, I haue moued it to our Lord and King his Maiestie, that order may be giuen therein: and that his kinseman Rainold Kitchin with three persons more may be sent ouer together with the sayd Turnebulles stuffe and other things, as billes, books and writings. All which shall be deliuered to your merchants Agent and his fellowes, and in money 600 rubbles of the sayd Turnebulles.

And touching your merchants, I will haue a great care ouer them, and protect them, whereby they shall suffer no damages in their trade: and all kinde of trafficke in merchandise shall be at their libertie.

Written in our Lord and Kings Maiesties royall citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Ianuarie.

A letter from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich to the right honourable Lord William Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England.

BY the grace of God great Lord, King, and great Duke Theodor Ioanowich, gouernour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Vintsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of all Nouogrod in the low countreys, of Chernigo, of Litteland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commaunder of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countreys of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many Countreys more &c. His princely Maiesties seruant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorowich Godonous, to the most honourable Counseller of the most resplendent mightie great Lady Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, William Burghley, Lord, and Knight of the Garter, high Treasurour of England, sendeth greeting.

I perceiue by your letter that your merchants last shippes came home in safetie, and that you haue receiued the letters sent by them, by the hands of Francis Cherie, one from our Lord and great King of all Russia his Maiesty, vnto your Queenes most excellent Maiesty, and one from me to her Highnesse, and one from my selfe to you: and the contents thereof you haue caused to be read and well vnderstood at large. And whatsoeuer is therein written concerning Ierome Horsey, you haue sought out the ground thereof, and that he is in great displeasure. And her Highnesse hath written in her letter concerning her Maiesties merchants, that whereas I haue taken them into protection, she taketh it very louingly and kindely, that for her sake they haue receiued so great kindnesse. M. Francis Cherie.

And touching the damages and hinderances which your merchaunts haue sustained by meanes of the Emperours authorised people and officers, and that they were not permitted to traffike at libertie at the Sea port in the yeere 1589, for the space of three weekes, it hath beene against the Emperours Maiesties will and pleasure, as also against mine. Where you do ire and wish that betweene our Emperours Maiestie, and your Queenes Maiestie, their loue and amitie may not bee seperated at any time, but to continue: and you request mee that I should be good vnto the English Merchants, and to defend them from all such domages hereafter: your honours

honours louing letter I haue therein throughly considered: and as I haue bene heretofore, so I will still continue to be a meane betwixt our Lorde and kings Maiestie, and your great Lady the Queene her highnesse, for the mainteyning of brotherly loue and amitie, most ioyfully and willingly, as God knoweth, aswel hereafter as I haue bene heretofore: praying you to doe the like also. Mine onely desire is for your most excellent Princesse sake, to do all that lyeth in mee for the ayding, helping and protecting of her Maiesties merchants, by the order and commaundement of our Lord and king his Maiestie.

And to that ende I haue giuen order to all our authorised people to bee carefull ouer them, and to defende them in all causes, and to giue them free libertie to trafficke at their owne willes and pleasures. It may bee that your merchants doe not certifie you the trueth of all things, nor make knowen vnto your honour my readinesse to protect them: And howe my Letters and Commissions are sent to all authorised people for them, that they shoulde ayde and assist them according to the tenour of my Letters, to all others that bee in authoritie vnder the said Officers or otherwise.

Also your honour writeth of the debarring of your merchants at the sea port from their accustomed libertie of enterchangeable trafficke and bartar. Touching which complaint search and inquisition hath bene made, and commaundement giuen, that your Queenes Maiesties merchants at the Sea-side, and in all places where the trade is, doe not sustaine any domage or hinderance hereafter, but that they shalbe at libertie without any hindering or letting, either in the Mosco, the Trea-urehouse, or else where by any of our authorised people, but absolutely to bee at free libertie at their owne will and pleasure. And also I will continue to be their protectour and defendour in all causes, by our Lorde and kings Maiesties order and commaundement: as it shall be knowen and certified you by your people resident here in the Mosco.

Anno Domini 1592. Written in our kings Maiesties royall citie of Mosco from the beginning of the world, 7101. yeere, in the moneth of Ianuary.

A most gracious Letter giuen to the English Merchants Sir Iohn Hart and his company, by Theodore Iuanowich, the King, Lord, and great duke of all Russia, the onely vpholder thereof.

THe onely God omnipotent before all eternitie, his will be done without ende: the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost we glorifie in Trinitie. Our onely God the maker of all things and worker of all in all euery where with plentifull increase: for which cause he hath giuen life to man to loue him, and to trust in him: Our onely God which inspireth euery one of vs his holy children with his word to discerne good through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times establish vs to keepe the right scepter, and suffer vs to reigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, and to the subduing of the people together with the enemies, and to the mainteinance of vertue.

We the great Lord, king and great duke Theodore Iuanowich, of all Russia the onely vpholder, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, and king of Astracan, Lord of Volsco, and great duke of Smolensko, of Otuer, Vghorie, Permia, Viatski, Bulgari, and other regions, great duke also of Nouogrod in the Iowe Countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotski, Rostoue, Yaruslaue, Bealozero, and of Liefland, of Vdorski, Obdorski, Condenski, and commaunder of all the Countrey of Siberi and of the North parts, and Lord ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Grusinski, and King ouer the Countrey of Igorski, and ruler ouer many other kingdomes and Lordships more.

Our princely Maiestie at the request of our brother in lawe Boris Feodorowich Godenoua our seruant, and Master of our horses, generall Comptroller of our house, and gouernour of the Lordships and kingdomes of Casan and Astracan: vnto the English merchants Sir Iohn Hart knight, sir William Webbe knight, Richard Salkenstow Alderman, Nicholas Mosely alderman, Robert Doue, Wil. Garrowe, Iohn Harbey, Robert Chamberlaine, Henry Anderson, Iohn Woodworth, Fracis Cherry, Iohn Merrick, & Cristopher Holmes; hath gratiously giuen leaue to come & go with their ships into our kingdome & territories of Duina with all kind

of

of commodities at their pleasures to trafficke frō the seaside to our roial city of Mosco, & in al other cities, townes, countries and territories of our whole kingdom of Mosco: vpon the humble petition and sute of the saide English merchants sir Iohn Hart and his company, wee haue giuen them leaue to passe and trafficke into all parts of our dominions and territories of Mosco, and to our inheritance of Nouogrod and Plesco with their wares and commodities without paying any custome or dueties.

We the great Lord, king, and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Russia, haue firmely giuen and graunted vnto the aforesaide English merchants Sir Iohn Hart and his company, for the loue we beare to our deare sister Queene Elizabeth, we I say of our gracious goodnes haue giuen leaue to trauel and passe to our royall seat of Mosco, and to all the parts of our kingdome with all kinde of commodities, and to trafficke with all kinde of wares at their owne pleasure, without paying any custome of their said wares.

To you our Customers we wil and command not to take any maner of custome of the said merchants and their company, neither for entering, weying nor passing by or through any place of our territories, nor for custome, of iudgement by Lawe, or for their person or persons: nor any duties ouer bridges, or for certificats or processes, or for conducting ouer any streames or waters, or for any other customes or dueties that may be named: we will and straitly commaund you not to take any of them in any wise.

Prouided alwayes, that the saide merchants shall not colour any strangers wares, nor bring them into our countrey, nor fauour them colourably, nor sel for any stranger. To you our subiects also we cōmand, not to meddle or deale with any wares of strangers colourably, nor to haue them by you in keeping, nor to offer to sel their cōmodities; but themselues to sel their owne cōmodities in change or otherwise as they may or can. And in al townes, cities, countreys, or any part of our dominions and territories it shalbe lawful for the foresaid merchants and their company to sell or barter away their owne commodities in change or otherwise, for or at their pleasure as they will. And whensoeuer the said merchants or any of them come into our territories of great Nouogrod or Plesco, or to any other parts of our kingdome with their wares, by virtue of these our maiesties letters we straitly charge and command you our Captaines, generals, and all other that be authorised or in office, to suffer the aforesaid merchants to passe and repasse,and to take no kinde of custome or dutie of them, or any of their goods, howsoeuer it may haue name: nor in no place else where they shall come in all our kingdome. Likewise if they sell not nor buy no wares, you shall take no custome, but suffer them quietly to passe where they will wit their goods. Of our gratious goodnes and meere goodwill haue giuen the said merchants aue to trafficke throughout all our kingdomes, and in all townes and cities with all maner of wares and commodities without paying any custome or dutie. Wheresoeuer they shal happen to sel or barter away any of their commodities to our subiects, they are to barter or sell by whole sale, and not by retaile, as by the yard or by the ounce in their houses or elsewhere: but by the packe or whole clothes, veluets, damaske, taffaties by the piece, and not by the yard: and al other wares that are to be sold by weight, they are to be sold not by the ounce, but by great sale. Your wines shalbe solde by hogs heads, pipes or buttes, but not by quartes nor pintes.

The said English merchants are to sel or barter away their owne cōmodities themselues, and not to suffer any Russes to buy or sell for them: nor to cary or transport any wares of strangers in stead of their owne in no wise. And if the saide English merchants shall be desirous to sell any of their commodities at Colmogro, or vpon the Riuer of Duina, or at Vologhda or at Yeraslaue: when as the saide merchants haue solde in any of the saide Townes, Cities or territories, then you our officers and authorised people by vertue of this our gratious letter wee will and straitly commaund not to take any custome of the aforesaid merchants, howsoeuer it may be named.

Also whensoeuer the saide English merchants or any of their factours shalbe desirous to hire carriers to carry their wares to any place of our dominions or Cities, it shalbe at their choyse and pleasure to hire them the best they can, and where they will, either watermen to rowe, or vessels.

Also when any of the said merchants themselues, or any of theirs are desirous to traue into any part of our dominions, or into any other kingdomes, or into their owne kingdome if any of our treasure be deliuered to them, they to take it with them, and to sel it in bartar or otherwise for such wares as are most requisit and necessary to be brought into our kingdome and to be deliuered into our treasury. You our nobilitie, generals & al others in authority suffer them to passe through al our cities, townes & countries without taking any customes of them. And when the said merchants haue done their traffick in any place & come to the Mosco, they shal make it knowen at their arriual at the house of Chancery and Secretariship to Vasili Shalcan. And further when there come any English Merchants with their ships or vessels by sea, that by mishap shalbe cast away vpon any of our shoars or costes, we wil and command you to ayde & helpe them, and to seeke for their goods so perished by any casualtie, and to be restored againe to the saide English merchants or their assignes without any prolonging or detayning. As also if any of the aforesaide merchants goods be found in any part of our coastes or streames and they not present themselues, let the sayd goods be taken and layd vp in safetie in some place or other, and be deliuered to the aforesaid merchants or their factors vnder penaltie of our displeasure.

Furthermore we King, Lord and great duke of all Russia, of our gracious goodnesse giue vnto the English merchants and their company, their house in the Citie of Mosco lying hard by the Church of S. Marke behinde the market place: which they shall keepe and remaine therein after their old accustomed vse. Prouided alwayes that they shall keepe one Russe porter or one of their owne people, & may keepe any other Russe seruant at their discretion. Also their houses in sundry places, as at Ieraslaue, Vologhda, Colmogro, and at S. Michael Archangel, all these houses they shall keepe and vse at their owne pleasure, according to our former letters patents without paying any dutie, rent, or custome. Nor you the communaltie of the said townes shal take any thing of them or theirs for any duetie that should belong to you, especially of the houses aforesaid: but the said English merchants shal enioy them peaceably for themselues and their families, but shall not suffer any other strangers Russes or others to vse the aforesaid houses: Also you shall suffer them to lay their wares and commodities in their warehouses, and to sell their commodities to whom they please without let or hinderance, by vertue of this our gratious letter.

Their housekeeper being a Russe shall not vndertake to meddle, or sell any of their wares without they themselues be present, nor to buy any thing for them.

Also it shalbe lawfull for the said merchants when they shal arriue at their port to lade and vnlade their merchandises as in times past they haue done at their pleasure. And when they lade their ships with Russe commodities or vnlade them, it shalbe lawfull for them to hire any of our subiects to helpe them for the present time, and for them to carry their goods to and fro with their owne vessels to S. Michael Archangel, or elsewhere.

Also we command you our authorised people at the sea side as wel Customers as others to take of the foresaid merchants a note, or remembrance, what goods they bring in and ship out: whereby it may be knowen what goods come in and go out. But in no wise shall you open or vnpacke any of their wares or merchandises.

In like maner when as they ship or sende away any of their countrey commodities from S. Michael Archangel to any other place, or to our royall Citie of Mosco yee shall not hinder nor let them any maner of wise for the shipping of their merchandises in or out by virtue of these our gratious letters of priuiledge giuen them.

And whensoeuer any of the said English merchants haue any occasion to send ouer land out of our dominions into their own countrey any of their seruants or factors, by vertue of this our gratious letter we command you to giue them their passeport out of the office of our Secretariship.

And whensoeuer any of our subiects hath any thing to do with any of the foresaid merchants by way of contentions: or that they be damnified or hindered by any of our subiects: then we appoint and ordeine our Chanceller and Secretary Vasili Shalcan to heare their causes,

and

and finally to determine on both sides according to equitie and iustice: and that he shall search the trueth betweene both parties.

And when the trueth cannot be proued or found out, then to cast lots by order of the foresaide Iudge, and he to whom the lot shall fall to take his othe.

Furthermore whensoeuer any of the English merchants or their factors shall come into any parts of our dominions or Cities, and shalbe wronged any kinde of waves in trading, or otherwise by any abused, or haue any occasion of contention with any by way of trade in merchandise or otherwayes: we straightly charge and commaund you our gouernours, and authorised subiects within all our realme and territories of the same, to minister iustice vnto the aforesaide merchants, or to their deputies, and to search the trueth of the contention: and for want of sufficient proofe cast lots who shall take his oath for the more ready triall of the cause: And in no wise to take any fee or duetie of the aforesaid English merchants for the said iudgement in Lawe.

We wil and commaund all this to be obserued and kept in all parts of our dominions by all our subiects and authorised people by vertue of these our royal letters patents: And the said letters not to be diminished in any part or parsell thereof by any persons howsoeuer they be named. And whosoeuer shall withstand & not regard these our gracious letters shalbe in our high displeasure, and shal incurre the losse of his life. This our gracious letter was giuen in our kingdom and royal City of Mosco, in the yere from the beginning of the world 7104. in the moneth of May.

After our account 1598.

Subscribed by the Emperours Chancellour and Secretarie Vasili Shalcan.

The contents of M. Garlands Commission vnto Thomas Simkinson for the bringing of M. Iohn Dee to the Emperour of Russia his Court.

FRiend Thomas Simkinson I pray you goe to Brounswik or Cassil and inquire if Master Iohn Dee be there or where he is, and when you finde him, certifie him howe that I haue sent you purposely to knowe where hee doeth remaine, and at your returne I will come and speake with him my selfe. Also you may certefie him that the Emperour of Russeland hauing certaine knowledge of his great learning and wisdome is marueilous desirous of him to come into his Countrey. And hath giuen me his letter with his hand and golden seale at it for to bring him into the Countrey with mee if it be possible, and for his liuing shewe him that he shall be sure of 2000 pound yeerely, and also all prouision for his table out of the Emperours kitching free: and if he thinke this too little, I will assure him that if he aske asmuch more hee shall haue it, and for his charges into the Countrey, I haue sufficient of the Emperours allowance to bring him and all his royally into the Countrey. And because hee may doubt of these proffers, he shall remaine at the borders vntill the Emperour be certified of him, and of his requests, which he would haue. And I am sure he shall be conueyed through the land with fiue hundred horses, and hee shalbe accompted as one of the chiefest in the land next the Emperour. Also shew him howe that my Lord Protectour at my comming away did take me in his armes, and desired me as hee should be my friend to bring him with me, and he would giue him of his owne purse yeerely 1000. rubbles besides the Emperours allowance. All these foresaide grauntes and demaunds doe I Thomas Simkinson acknowledge to be spoken by Edward Garland to mee, and to be sent to declare the same vnto Master Iohn Dee. And in witnesse that this is of a trueth I haue written the same with my owne hand, and thereunto set my name, in Wittingaw, otherwise called Trebona, the 18. of September, Anno 1586.

By me Thomas Simkinson of Hull.

A letter to the right worshipfull M. Iohn Dee Esquire, conteyning the summe and effect of M. Edward Garland his message, deliuered to Master Dee himselfe, (Letterwise) for a more perfect memoriall thereof. Anno 1586.

Right worshipfull, it may please you to vnderstand, that I was sent vnto you from the most

most mightie Prince Feodor Iuanowich, Lord, Emperour and great duke of Russia, &c. As also from the most excellent prince Boris Fe dorowich, Lord Protector of Russia: to giue your worship to vnderstand the great good will and heartie desire they beare vnto you; for that of long time they haue had great good report of your learning and wisedom, as also of your good counsel vnto Princes: whereupon his Maiesties most earnest desire and request is vnto you; that you would take the paines to come vnto his Citie of Mosco, to visite his Maiesties Court: for that hee is desirous of your company, and also of your good counsell in diuers matters that his Maiestie shall thinke needfull. And for the great goodwill that his Maiestie beareth vnto you, he will giue you yeerely toward your maintenance 2000. pound starling; and the Lord Protectour will giue you a thousand rubbles, as also your prouision for your table you shall haue free out of his Maiesties kitchin: And further whatsoeuer you shall thinke needefull or conuenient for you, in any part or parts of his dominion, it shall be at your worships commaundement. And this is the summe and effect of my message and commandement giuen me by his Maiestie and the Lord Protectour.

In witnesse whereof I haue written this with my owne hand, the 17. of December 1586.

By me Edward Garland.

In Trebona Castell otherwise called Wittingaw in Boëmia to which place this M. Edward Garland, came to M. Dee with two Moscouites to serue him, &c. He had sixe more which by M. Dees counsell were sent backe.

Witnesse M. Edward Kelley, and M. Francis Garland, brother to foresaid Edward, and diuers others.

IT seemeth that this princely offer of the Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, and of the L. Boris Pheodorowich Protectour to his Maiestie, was made vnto the learned and famous Mathematitian M. Iohn Dee, partly to vse his counsell and direction about certaine discoueries to the Northeast; and partly for some other weighty occasions: but because their conquest to Siberia was not as then fully settled, & for diuers other secret reasons, it was for ỳ time with al thankfulnes refused.

A branch of a letter from M. Iohn Merick, Agent vnto the Moscouie company in Russia, closed vp in the Mosco the 14. of March, Anno 1597. touching the death of Pheodor Iuanowich late Emperour of all Russia, &c.

HAuing thus farre proceeded with this my answere vnto the chiefest points of your worships letters receiued, my desire was to haue sent one vnto you long since, as you may perceiue by ỳ the first date: but by reason I could not get leaue, I haue deferred it of till this instant, for that there was none suffered to passe out of the land. The causes may be iudged, for that it pleased God to call out of this world, the Emperour his Maiestie, who departed about the 7. of Ianuary: and euer since hath bene a mourning time, & no suites for any matter could be heard. But it hath bene a very dead season. Yet (thankes be to God) through the wise gouernment of Lord Boris Pheodorowich the Lord Protector vnto the saide late Emperour, since his death all things haue bene very quiet without any dissention; as the like in such a great kingdome I haue not heard of. And now through the prouidence of Almightie God, and by surrender of the late Empresse Irenia Feodoruna, and the common consent of the Patriarch, Nobles, Bishops, and the whole Cleargie, with the whole Commons besides, choise is made of none other but of the said Lord Protector, L. Boris Pheodorowich to be Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, who was most vnwilling to receiue the kingdome, but the people would make no other choise, nor haue any other. So that with much adoe and entreatie, it hath pleased his Maiestie to take vpon him the kingdome, and he is absolute Emperor to him and his heires. And certainly God hath done much for this Countrey, and hath made the people greatly happy, in that he hath prouided and appointed so famous and worthy a Prince: whose excellent gouernment and experience these foureteene yeeres hath bene manifest to all Russia. God graunt his highnesse a most prosperous and long raigne, with his Lady the Empresse, the Prince his sonne, and the Princesse his daughter. All men do

ỳ Febr. 1597.

Prince Boris Pheodorowich by generall consent chosen Emperour of Russia.

do reioyce both Russe and strangers for this most famous Emperour. The Coronation is thought shalbe on the Assension day next, til which time I cannot depart from Mosco: which is a litle before the time that ordinarily I doe take my iourney from hence. And touching his Maiesties fauour towards me on your behalfe, especially for her Maiesties sake, as in foretime it was extraordinary, and so specially shewed to mee, as to none the like: so hath his highnesse promised the continuance thereof, with further fauour as shalbe desired. Whereof I haue no doubt: for dayly I do finde the same.

A learned Epistle written 1581. vnto the famous Cosmographer M. Gerardus Mercator concerning the riuer Pechora, Naramsay, Cara reca, the mighty riuer of Ob, the place of Yaks Olgush in Siberia, the great riuer Ardoh, the lake of Kittay called of the borderers Paraha, the Countrey of Carrah Colmak, giuing good light to the discouery of the Northeast passage to Cathay, China and the Malucaes.

¶ Inclyto & celebri Gerardo Mercatori, domino & amico singulari in manus proprias Duisburgi in Cliuia.

CVm meminissem, amice optime, quanta, cum vnā ageremus, delectatione afficerere in legendis Geographicis scriptis Homeri, Strabonis, Aristotelis, Plinij, Dionis & reliquorum, lætatus sum eo quod incidissem in hunc nuncium, qui tibi has literas tradit, quem tibi commendatum esse valde cupio, quique dudum Arusburgi hic ad Ossellam fluuium appulit. Hominis experientia, vt mihi quidem videtur, multum te adiuuerit in re vna, eaque summis à te votis expetita, & magnopere elaborata, de qua tam varie inter se dissentiunt Cosmographi recentiores; patefactione nimirum ingentis illius Promontorij Tabin, celebrisque illius & opulentæ regionis sub Cathayorum rege per Oceanum ad Orientem brumalem. Alferius is est natione Belga, qui captiuus aliquot annos vixit in Moscouitarum ditione, apud viros illic celeberrimos Yacouium & Vnekium; à quibus Antuerpiam missus est accersitum homines rei nauticæ peritos, qui satis amplo proposito præmio ad illos viros se recipiant; qui Sueuo artifice duas ad eam patefactionem naues ædificarunt in Duina fluuio. Vt ille rem proponit, quamquam sine arte, apposite tamen, & vt satis intelligas, quod quæso diligenter perpendas, aditus ad Cathayam per Orientem proculdubio breuissimus est & admodū expeditus. Adijt ipse fluuiū Obam tum terra per Samoedorū & Sibericorū regionem, tum mari per littus Pechoræ fluminis ad Orientem. Hac experientia confirmatus certò apud se statuit nauim mercibus onustā, cuius carinā non nimiū profundè demissam esse vult, in Sinū S. Nicolai conducere in regione Moscouitarū, instructam illā quidem rebus omnibus ad eam patefactionem necessarijs, atque illic redintegrato commeatu, Moscouiticæ nationis notissimos iusta mercede asciscere: qui & Samoedicam linguam pulchre teneant, & fluuium Ob exploratum habeant, vt qui quotannis ea loca ventitant. Vnde Maio exeunte constituit pergere ad Orientem per continentem Vgoriæ ad Orientales partes Pechoræ, Insulamque cui nomen est Dolgoia. Hic latitudines obseruare, terram describere, bolidem demittere, locorumque ac punctorum distantias annotare, vbi & quoties licebit. Et quoniam Pechoræ Sinus vel euntibus vel redeuntibus commodissimus est tum subsidij tum diuersorij locus propter glaciem & tempestates, diem impendere decreuit cognoscendis vadis, facillimoque nauium aditu inueniendo: quo loco antehac aquarum altitudinem duntaxat ad quinque pedes inuenit, sed profundiores canales esse non dubitat: deinde per eos fines pergere ad tria quatuorve milliaria nautica, relicta Insula quam Vaigats vocant, media ferè via inter Vgoriam & Nouam Zemblam: tum Sinum quendam præterire inter Vaigats atque Obam, qui per Meridiem vergens pertingit ad terram Vgoriæ, in quem confluunt exigui duo amnes ‖ Marmesia atque Karah, ad quos amnes gens alia Samoedorum accolit immanis & efferata. Multa in eo tractu loca vadosa, multas cataractas inuenit; sed tamen per quas possit Nauigari. Vbi ad fluuium Obam peruentum fuerit, qui quidem fluuius (vt referunt Samoedi) septuaginta habet ostia, quæ propter ingentem latitudinem multas magnasque concludentem Insulas, quas varij incolunt populi, vix quisquam animaduertat, ne temporis nimium impendat, constituit ad summum tria quatuorve tentare ora, ea præserim quæ ex consilio Incolarum, quos in itinere aliquot habiturus

Duæ naues ædificatæ in Duina fluuio ad patefactionem Orientalem.

Dolgoia Insula.

Insula Vaigats.

Sinus inter Vaigats & Obam vergens per meridiem.

‖ Vel Naramsay & Cara reca.

biturus est, commodissima videbuntur, triaque quatuorve eius regionis nauigiola tentandis Ostijs adhibere, quàm fieri potest ad littus proxime, (quod quidem sub itinere trium dierum incolitur) vt quo loco tutissime nauigari possit, intelligat.

Littus Obæ incolitur ab Ostijs trium dierum itinere.

Quod si nauim per fluuium Obam aduerso amne possit impellere, prima si poterit cataracta, eaque, vt verisimile est, commodissima, ad eumque locum appellere, quem aliquando ipse cum suis aliquot per Sibericorum regionem terra adijt, qui duodecim iuxta dierum itinere distat à Mari, quà influit in mare flumen Ob, qui locus est in continente, propè fluuium Ob cui nomen est Yaks Olgush, nomine mutuato ab illo magno Profluente flumini Ob illabente, tum certè speraret maximas se difficultates superasse. Referunt enim illic populares, qui trium duntaxat dierum nauigatione ab eo loco abfuerunt (quòd illic rarum est, eo quòd multi ad vnum duntaxat diem cymbas pelliceas à littore propellentes oborta tempestate perierunt, cùm neque à sole neque à syderibus rectionem scirent petere) per transuersum fluminis Ob, vnde spaciosum esse illius latitudinem constat, grandes se carinas præciosis onustas mercibus magno fluuio delatas vidisse per Nigros, puta Æthiopes. Eum fluuium Ardoh illi vocant, qui influit in lacum Kittayum, quem Paraha illi nominant, cui contermina est gens illa latissimè fusa, quàm Carrah Colmak appellant, non alia certè quàm Cathaya. Illic, si necessitas postulabit, opportunum erit hybernare, se suosque reficere, resque omnes necessarias conquirere. Quòd si acciderit, non dubitat interim plurimùm se adiutum iri, plura illic quærentem atque ediscentem. Veruntamen sperat æstate eadem ad Cathayorum fines se peruenturum, nisi ingenti glaciei mole ad os fluuij Obæ impediatur, quæ maior interdum, interdum minor est. Tum per Pechoram redire statuit, atque illic hybernare: vel si id non poterit, in [illegible]men Duinæ, quo mature satis pertinget, atque ita primo vere proximo in itinere progredi. Vnum est quòd suo loco oblitus sum. Qui locum illum Yaks Olgush incolunt, à maioribus suis olim prædicatum asserunt, se in lacu Kitthayo dulcissimam campanarum harmoniam audiuisse, atque ampla ædificia conspexisse: Et cùm gentis Carrah Colmak mentionem faciunt (Cathaya illa est) ab imo pectore suspiria repetunt, manibusque proiectis suspiciunt in cœlum, velut insignem illius splendorem inuentes atque admirantes. Vtinam Alferius hic Cosmographiam melius saperet, multum ad illius vsum adiungeret, qui sanè plurimus est. Multa prætereo, vir amicissime, ipsumque hominem te audire cupio, qui mihi spospondit se in itinere Duisburgi te visurum. Auet enim tecum conferre sermones, & procul dubio hominem multum adiuueris. Satis instructus videtur pecunia & gratia, in quibus alijsque officijs amicitiæ feci illi, si vellet, mei copiam. Deus Optimus maximus hominis votis atque alacritati faueat, initia secundet, successus fortunet, exitum fœlicissimum concedat. Vale amice ac Domine singularis.

Yaks Olgush locus super Obam fluuiũ duodecim dierum itinere à mari.

Ardoh flumen influens in lacum Kitthayum de quo in itinere ad Bogharium scribit Antonius Iankinsonus.

Carrah Colmak est Cathaya.

Arusburgi ad Ossellam fluuium 20. Februarij 1581.

Tuus quantus quantus sum

Ioannes Balakus.

To the famous and renowmed Gerardus Mercator, his Reuerend and singular friend at Duisburgh in Cliueland, these be deliuered.

CAlling to remembrance (most deare Friend) what exceeding delight you tooke at our being together, in reading the Geographicall writings of Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Plinie, Dion, and the rest, I reioyced not a little that I happened vpon such a messenger as the bearer of these presents, (whom I do especially recommend vnto you) who arriued lately here at Arusburg vpon the riuer of Osella. This mans experience (as I am of opinion) will greatly auaile you to the knowledge of a certaine matter which hath bene by you so vehemently desired, and so curiously laboured for, and concerning the which the late Cosmographers do hold such varietie of opinions: namely, of the discouerie of the huge promontorie of Tabin, and of the famous and rich countreys subiect vnto the Emperor of Cathay, and that by the Northeast Ocean sea. The man is called* Alferius being by birth a Netherlander, who for certaine yeeres liued captiue in the dominions of Russia vnder two famous men Yacouius

* Or Oliuer.

Yacouius and Vnekius, by whom he was sent to Antwerp to procure skilfull Pilots and Mariners, (by propounding liberall rewards) to go vnto the two famous personages aforesayd, which two had set a Sweden Shipwright on worke to build two ships for the same discouerie vpon the riuer of Dwina. The passage vnto Cathay by the Northeast (as he declareth the matter, albeit without arte, yet very aptly, as you may well perceiue, which I request you diligently to consider) is without doubt very short and easie. This very man himselfe hath trauelled to the riuer of Ob, both by land, through the countreys of the Samoeds, and of Sibier, and also by Sea, along the coast of the riuer Pechora Eastward. Being encouraged by this his experience he is fully resolued with himselfe to conduct a Barke laden with merchandize (the keele whereof hee will not haue to drawe ouer much water) to the Baie of Saint Nicholas in Russia, being furnished with all things expedient for such a discouerie, and with a new supply of victuals at his arriuall there, and also to hire into his companie certaine Russes best knowen vnto himselfe, who can perfectly speake the Samoeds language, and are acquainted with the riuer of Ob, as hauing frequented those places yeere by yeere.

Two ships built vpon the riuer of Dwina for the Northeast discouerie.

Whereupon about the ende of May hee is determined to saile from the Baie of S. Nicholas Eastward, by the maine of Ioughoria, and so to the Easterly parts of Pechora, & to the Island which is called Dolgoia. And here also hee is purposed to obserue the latitudes, to surney and describe the countrey, to sound the depth of the Sea, and to note the distances of places, where, and so oft as occasion shall be offered. And forasmuch as the Baie of Pechora is a most conuenient place both for harbour and victuall, as well in their going foorth as in their returne home in regard of Ice and tempest, he is determined to bestow a day in sounding the Flats, and in searching out the best entrance for ships: in which place heretofore he found the water to be but fiue foote deepe, howbeit he doubteth not but that there are deeper chanels: and then hee intendeth to proceed on along those coasts for the space of three or foure leagues, leauing the Island called Vaigats almost in the middle way betweene Vgoria and Noua Zembla: then also to passe by a certaine Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob, trending Southerly into the land of Vgoria, whereinto fall two small riuers called* Marmesia and Carah, vpon the which riuers doe inhabite an other barbarous and sauage nation of the Samoeds. He found many Flats in that tract of land, and many cataracts or ouerfals of water, yet such as hee was able to saile by. When hee shall come to the riuer of Ob, which riuer (as the Samoeds report) hath seuentie mouthes, which by reason of the huge breadth thereof containing many and great Islands, which are inhabited with sundry sortes of people, no man scarcely can well discouer, because he will not spend too much time, he purposeth to search three or foure at the most of the mouthes thereof, those chiefly which shall be thought most commodious by the aduise of the inhabitants, of whom hee meaneth to haue certaine with him in his voyage, and meaneth to employ three or foure boates of that Countrey in search of these mouthes, as neere as possibly he can to the shore, which within three dayes iourney of the Sea is inhabited, that he may learne where the riuer is best nauigable. If it so fall out that he may sayle vp the riuer Ob against the streame, and mount vp to that place which heretofore accompanied with certaine of his friends, he passed vnto by land through the countrey of Siberia which is about twelue dayes iourney from the Sea, where the riuer Ob falleth into the Sea, which place is in the Continent neere the riuer Ob, and is called Yaks Olgush, borowing his name from that mightie riuer which falleth into the riuer Ob, then doubtlesse hee would conceiue full hope that hee had passed the greatest difficulties: for the people dwelling thereabout report, which were three dayes sayling onely from that place beyond the riuer Ob, whereby the bredth thereof may be gathered (which is a rare matter there, because that many rowing with their boates of leather one dayes iourney onely from the shore, haue bene cast away in tempest, hauing no skill to guide themselues neither by Sunne nor Starre) that they haue seene great vessels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought downe that great riuer by blacke or swart people. They call that riuer* Ardoh, which falleth into the lake of Kittay, which they call Paraha, whereupon bordereth that mighty and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other then the nation of Cathay. There, if neede require, he may fitly Winter and refresh himselfe and his, and seeke all things which

The Island of Dolgoia.

The Island of Vaigats. A Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob trending Southerly.

* Or, Narmesy and Cara Reca.

The place vpon the riuer Ob, where he was but 12. dayes iourney fro ye mouther thereof, and is called Yaks Olgush.

M. Ienkinson in his voyage to Boghar speaketh of the riuer Ardoh.

which he shall stand in need of: which if it so fall out, he doubteth not but in the meane while he shall be much furthered in searching and learning out many things in that place. Howbeit, he hopeth that hee shall reach to Cathaya that very Sommer, vnlesse he be hindered by great abundance of Ice at the mouth of the riuer of Ob, which is sometimes more, and sometimes lesse. If it so fall out, hee then purposeth to returne to Pechora, and there to Winter: or if he cannot doe so neither, then hee meaneth to returne to the riuer of Dwina, whither he will reach in good time enough, and so the next Spring following to proceed on his voyage. One thing in due place I forgate before.

The people which dwell at that place called Yaks Olgush, affirme that they haue heard their forefathers say, that they haue heard most sweete harmonie of bels in the lake of Kithay, and that they haue seene therein stately and large buildings: and when they make mention of the people named Carrah Colmak (this countrey is Cathay) they fetch deepe sighes, and holding vp their hands, they looke vp to heauen, signifying as it were, and declaring the notable glory and magnificence of that nation. I would this Oliuer were better seene in Cosmographie, it would greatly further his experience, which doubtlesse is very great. Most deare friend, I omit many things, and I wish you should heare the man himselfe which promised mee faithfully that he would visite you in his way at Duisburg, for he desireth to conferre with you, and doubtlesse you shall very much further the man. He seemeth sufficiently furnished with money and friends, wherein and in other offices of curtesie I offered him my furtherance if it had pleased him to haue vsed me. The Lord prosper the mans desires and forwardnesse, blesse his good beginnings, further his proceedings, and grant vnto him most happy issue. Fare you well good sir and my singular friend. From Arusburg vpon the riuer of Ossella, the 20. of February, 1581.

Yours wholly at commandement,
Iohn Balak.

MAster Anthonie Ienkinson in a disputation before her Maiestie with sir Humfrey Gilbert for proofe of a passage by the Northeast to Cathaya, among other things alleageth this: videlicet, that there came a continuall streame or currant through Mare glaciale, of such swiftnesse as a Colmak told him, that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be caried out of sight towards the West, &c.

A testimonie of the Northeasterne Discouerie made by the English, and of the profite that may arise by pursuing the same: taken out of the second volume of Nauigations and Voyages, fol. 17. of the notable Cosmographer M. Iohn Baptista Ramusius, Secretarie to the State of Venice: Written in Italian in the yeere, 1557.

DAlla parte poi di sotto la nostra Tramontana, che chiascuno scrittore & Cosmographo di questi & de passati tempi fin'hora vi ha messo & mette mare congelato, & che la terra corra continuamente fino a 90. gradi verso il Polo: sopra questo mappa-mondo all' incontro si vede che la terra và solamente vn poco sopra la Noruega & Suetia, & voltando corre poi Greco & Leuante nel paese della Moscouia & Rossia, & và diritto al Cataio. Et che cio sia la verità, le nauigationi che hanno fatte gl' Inglesi con le loro naui, volendo andare à scoprire il Cataio al tempo del Re Odoardo Sesto d'Inghilterra, questi anni passati, ne possono far vera testimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moscouia doue trouarono all' hora regnare Giouanni Vasiliuich Imperatore della Rossia & gran Duca di Moscouia, il quale con molto piacere & marauiglia vedutogli, fece grandissime carezze, hanno trouato quel mare essere nauigabile, & non agghiacciato. La qual nauigatione (ancor che con l'esito fin hora non sia stata bene intesa) se col spesso frequentarla & col lungo vso & cognitione de que' mari si continuerà, è per fare grandissima mutatione & riuolgimento nelle cose di questa nostra parte del mondo.

The

The same in English.

MOreouer (hauing before spoken of diuers particularities, in an excellent Map of Paulus Venetus) on that part subiect to our North pole, where euery writer and Cosmographer of these and of former times hitherto, haue, and doe place the frozen Sea, and that the land stretcheth continually to 90. degrees, toward the pole: contrary wise, in this mappe is to bee seene, that the land extendeth onely a litle aboue Norway and Swethland, and then turning it selfe trendeth afterwards towarde the Southeast and by East, vnto the countrey of Mouuie and Russia, and stretcheth directly vnto Cathay. And that this is true, the nauigations which the English men haue of late made, intending to discouer Cathay, in the time of Edward the sixt, king of England, are very sufficient witnesses. For in the mids of their voiage, lighting by chance vpon the coast of Moscouie (where they found then reigning Iohn Vasiliwich Emperor of Russia, and great duke of Moscouia, who after he had, to his great delight and admiration, seene the English men, entertained them with exceeding great curtesies) found this sea to be nauigable, and not frozen. The great hope of the North-eastern discouerie.

Which nauigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet throughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the same, and by long vse and knowledge of those seas it bee continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and reuolution in the state of this our part of the world.

The testimonie of Gerardus Mercator in his last large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable discoueries of the English, made of Moscouie by the Northeast.

MAgnam occasionem certámque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappiæ Moscouiæque iuxta cœli situm, mundíque plagas digesta habet. Exacta etiam vrbis Moscuæ latitudo ab Anglis obseruata, interiorum Regionum emendatiùs describendarum infallibilem legem præscripsit. Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putaui tabulam hanc castigatiorem non reddere.

The same in English.

THe most famous nauigation of the English men by the Northeast sea hath offered vnto me a great occasion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which discouerie hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moscouie, laied out according to the iust eleuation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true obseruation of the latitude of the city of Mosco, made by the foresaid Englishmen, hath yeelded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the situation of the inland countries: which notable helps being ministred vnto me, I thought it my ductie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect then hitherto it hath bene published.

Another testimonie of Ioannes Metellus Sequanus concerning the same Nauigation and Discouerie in his Preface prefixed before Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ, written about the yeere, 1574.

AT ne omnis, vnis Hispanis, Oceani maris gloria totáque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones noua in Moscouiam nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginti plus minùs illustrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moscouitarum, Narwæque Liuoniæ exclusi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Norwegiæ, Finmarchiæ, Lappiæ, Scricfinniæ, Biarmiæque; illinc Groenlandiæ littora præteruecti, vltrà Septuagesimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum sibi patefaciunt. Quum nauigationem Belgæ postea, non sine tamen cum ijsdem Britannis velitatione, sunt secuti. Eò vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineásque vestes propè detritas, omnisque generis mutiones merces, ad vsum, cultúmque corporis hominum vtriusque sexus, veluti lintea & byssea ringula, periscelides, crumenas, cultros, & id genus sexcenta. A Moscha autem pelles omnis generis pretiosas adferunt, & salmones salitos, fumóque duratos.

The

The same in English.

BVt least all and the whole glory of discouering the Ocean sea should be ascribed to the Spaniards, the Englishmen about twentie yeeres past, by a new nauigation into Moscouie, discouered the Northeast partes. For they by reason of the warres of Swethland being hindered from the traffique of the Moscouites and of the Narue in Liefland, opened a passage for themselues by the Ocean sea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees: hauing in their course on the one side the coastes of Norway, Finmark, Lapland, Scrickfin and Biarmia: On the other side the coast of Gronland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterwarde entred into, but not without some conflict with the English. They cary thither old plate and course linnen cloth, and all kind of small Mercerie wares, seruing for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and silke girdles, garters, purses, kniues, and many such like things. And they bring away from the Moscouites, all kinde of precious Furres, and Salmons salted and dried in the smoke.

Brevis Commentarius de Islandia: quo Scriptorum de hac Insula errores detegũtur, & extraneorum quorundam conuitijs, ac calumnijs, quibus Islandis liberius insultare solent, occurritur: per Arngrimum Ionam Islandum. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, domino Christiano IIII, Daniæ, Noruegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorúmq;, Regi electo: Slesuici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ & Dithmarsiæ Duci: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst: Domino suo clementissimo.

PRæclaram sanè apud Historicos meretur laudem, Sereniss. Princeps, Anchuri illius Midæ regis filij ausus plusquam humanus, & in patriam pietas, ferè exemplo carens, quòd ad occludendum ingentem circa Celænam Phrygiæ oppidum, terræ hiatum, quotidie homines haud exiguo numero, & quicquid in propinquo erat, absorbentem, sese vitrò obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midas pater accepisset, non prius conclusum iri istam voraginem, quam res eò preciosissimæ immitterentur: Anchurus existimans, nihil esse anima pretiosius, sese viuum in illud profundissimum chasma præcipitem dedit: idq. tanto animi cum feruore, vt neque parentis desiderio, neque dulcissimæ coniugis amplexu vel lachrymis, ab isto proposito se retrahi passus sit.

Nec inferiorem multò consecuti sunt gloriam Sperthius & Bulis, Lacedæmonij, qui ad auertendam potentissimi Regis Persarum Xerxis, ob occisos à Lacedemonijs Darij patris legatos, vltionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, & vt legatorum necem in se, non in patria vlcisceretur, erectis & constantibus animis sese obtulerunt.

Quæ verò res, Sereniss. Princeps, illos ac alios complures mouit, vt patriæ flagrantes amore, nullũ pro ea periculum, nullas molestias, imò ne mortẽ ipsam recusarint, ea profectò me quoque impulit, non quidem, vt quemadmodum illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me mactandum vltrò offerrem, sed tamen, vt id quod solum possem, in gratiam patriæ tentarem: Hoc est, vt scriptorum de ea errores colligerem & rumusculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita rem profectò periculosam, & multorum forsan sinistro obnoxiam iudicio, aggrederer.

In eo proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmauit: Quem rei frumentariæ apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in summa Vrbis annonæ charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia & Africa frumentum collegisset, maiorem patriæ, quàm sui, tradunt rationem habuisse. Cum enim Romam versus properaret, & ingenti ac periculosa oborta tempestate, Naucleros trepidare, nec se ventorum aut maris scæuitiæ committere velle animaduerteret, ipse nauim primus ingressus, anchoras tolli iussit, in hæc verba exclamans: Vt nauigemus vrget necessitas: vt viuamus, non vrget. Quibus vir prudentissimus innuisse videtur, patriæ periclitantis maiorem habendam rationem, quàm priuatæ inculumitatis.

Hunc ego sic imitor,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muscam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis ac comportatis ijs, quibus ad succurrendum gentis nostræ nomini ac famæ, apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam inuidia iam diu laboranti vterer; paucula hæc in lucem emittere, méque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cúmque illo exclamare

exclamare non dubitem: Vt scribamus, vrget necessitas: Vt verò scriptum nostrum, cuiusuis, delicato palato, vbiq; satisfaciat, aut omnem Momi præteritum effugiat, non vrget. Institutum meum complures probaturos spero: successum forsan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patriæ, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias sustinentis, quàm siue laudi, siue vituperationis, ad me ipsum hinc forsan redituræ, existimabam. Quid enim causæ esse potest, cur nonnullorum odium & inuidentiam, cura hoc patriæ, benefaciendi seu gratificandi studio fortè coniunctam recusem?

Quodsi scriptorum errores liberius notare, ei quorundam calumnias durius perstringere videbor, eos tamen æquos me habiturum censores confido, qui paulò diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parùm tolerabiles sint scriptorum de nostra gente errores: quot etiam & quàm graues quorundam in nos calumniæ, quibus nationem nostram variis modis lacessuere, & etiamnum lacessere non desistunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito soli natalis amori est; Dandum iusto, ob hanc patriæ illatam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, vbiq; mihi temperaui, ac à conuitijs abstinere volui: quòd si quid videatur mollius dicendum fuisse, id prædicta ratione veniam, spero, mereb[illegible]tur.

Cum igitur hæc mihi subeunda sit alea, quod omnibus scriptum aliquod edituris in more positum animaduerto, id mihi hoc tempore solicitè curandum est: Nempè vt patronum & mecænatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quæram, sub cuius nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, vestra, clementissime Princeps, Serenitas, Maiestate: Et enim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas nostras in suam potestatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis nostræ innocenter contaminatum, curæ vt sit, supplices rogamus.

Imò verò, Rex clementiss. non solùm ad hanc rem, S. Maiestatis V. clemens implorare auxilium necessum habemus; Sed ad multa quoq; alia, quæ in nostra patria desiderantur, aut quæ alioqui ad huius vtilitatem & salutem communem spectant: quæq; non per me, sed per summorum nostræ gentis virorum libellos supplices hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certè brevi exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maiestas, Christianissimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam nostram patriam, inter reliquas imperij sui Insulas, sua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam quæ nostra est ad S. Maiestatem V. confugiendi necessitas, ea est S. Maiestatis V. in nobis subleuandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria: Et ob nutritam extremi ferè orbis Arctoi ecclesiam, in remotissimis M. V. imperij finibus, quæ tranquillitatem & tuta singulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, præmium, ac reposita in cœlis immarcessibilis vitæ æternæ corona.

Cæterum cùm illa huius loci non sint, id quod mei est propositi subiungo: & à S. Maiestate V. ea, qua par est, animi submissione peto, vt huic meæ opellæ & studio in patriam collato, fauere, & patroni benigni esse loco, clementer dignetur. Quod superest, Serenissime, Princeps, Dom. clementissime, Maiestatem V. sapientiæ & prudentiæ, omniúmq; adeò virtutum heroicarum indies incrementa sumentem, ad summum imperij fastigium, summus ille regnorum, omniúmq; adeò rerum humanarum dispensator, Deus opt. max. euehat: Eiectam, omni rerum fœlicissimo successu continuè beet: Beatúmque hoc modo, vt summum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, præsidium, Ecclesiæ clypeum & munimen, quàm diutissimè conseruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in solido regni cœlestis gaudio, cum præcipuis ecclesiæ Dei nutritijs, syderis instar, illustrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiã idem Pater clementis. vt hæc vota, quantò sæpius, in amplissimorum Maiestatis V. regnorũ & Insularem quouis angulo, quotidiè repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tantò rata magis & certiora maneant.

S. M. V. humiliter subiectus:

Haffniæ 1593. Mense Mart. Arngrimus Ionas Islandus.

Benigno & pio Lectori salutem.

IN lucem exijt circa annum Christi 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valdè deformis, patre quodam Germanico

Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur spurcissimi & mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec sufficiebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum fœtum semel emisisse, nisi tertiùm etiam aut quartùm publicasset, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, aliósque vicinos populos summam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipso fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odiû fuit, & ex re illicita lucri auiditas. Et hoc in illis ciuitate, quæ plurimos annos commercia sua magno suorum cum lucro in Islandia exercuit, impunè fecit. Iouchimus Leo nomen illi est, dignus certè qui Leones pascat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alij scriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Insula creduntur esse plurima, & gentis Islandicæ mores ac instituta describere se velle putant, à re ipsa & veritate prorsus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas plusquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi Scriptores etsi non tam spurca & probrosa reliquerunt, quàm sordidus iste Rhythmista: multa tamen sunt in illorum scriptis, quæ illos excusare non possunt, aut prorsus liberare, quominus innocentem gentem sibi scriptis deridendam alijs exposuerint. Hæc animaduertens, legens, expendens, subinde nouis, qui Islandorum nomen & æstimationem læderent, scriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem nostram nouis conspurcare mendacijs, lectorésque noua monstrorum enumeratione & descriptionibus fictis deludere, sæpe optabam esse aliquem, qui ad errata Historicorum, & aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet, quique aliquo scripto innocentem gentem à tot conuicijs si non liberaret, certè aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet. Quare hoc tempore Author eram honesto studioso, *Arngrimo Ionæ F.* vt reuolutis scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores & mendacia solidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etsi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amórque communis patriæ. ita vt hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conscriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, sed & ex sua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo est aggressus instinctu, vicissim à me suo quasi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus saltem verbis præfarer: existimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opusculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem & honestam & necessariam quoque operam nunsse eum iudico, qui non modò scriptorum varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientiæ censuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam sycophantarum morsibus vindicare conatus sit. Æquum est igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc est opusculi, velut sanctissimo veritatis & patriæ amore aduersus Zoilorum proteruam munitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorlacus Episcopus
Holensis in Islandia.
Anno 1592. Iul. 29.

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.

IMbute Lector suauis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne, humane, multùm candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria:
Has videris si fortè quando paginas
Non lectione siq; dedignabere,
Fac, nos tuo candori vt hæc committimus
Et æquitati, fronte sic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec ista quando turbido:
Communis vnquam sortis haud sis immemor,
Infirmitas quam nostra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis est mortalium
Erroribus uæuisque semper plurimis?
Quod si diu multúmque cogitaueris,
Nostris eris conatibus paulò æquior,
Tuis & isto ritè pacto consules:
Candore nam quo nostra arctans vtere,
En te legentes rursus vtentur pari:
Sic ipse semper alteri quæ feceris,
Aequalitatis lege & hæc fient tibi.
De gente multis prædicata Islandica
Authoribus quamvis probato maximis,
N-stro periclo hacû-q; vulgò credita,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non vt notam scriptorum inuram nomini,

Nostrum

Nostrum sed à nota probosa vindicem : Sis mitis, indulgens & æquus arbiter,
Hoc institutum iúsq; fásq; comprobant : O lector arte imbute suauis Palladis,
Hoc nostra consuetudo léxque comprobant : Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant. Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria.
Ergo saue : nostris fane conatibus,

COMMENTARII DE ISLANDIA INITIVM.

QVemadmodum in militia castrensi, alios nulla æqua ratione adductos, sed ambitione, inuidia & auaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animaduertimus : Alios verò iustis de causis arma sumere ; vt qui vel doctrinæ cœlestis propagandæ aut seruandæ ergò bella moueant, vel aliquo modo lacessiti paratam vim ac iniuriam repellunt, vel saltem non lacessiti, propter obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur : Non secus Apollini militantes : alij animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verius Christiano, ad scribendum feruntur : puta qui gloriæ cupiditate, qui liuore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios sugillant, vt ipsi petiores habeantur, nunc in personam, nomen ac famam alicuius, nunc in gentem totam stylum acuentes, atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, insontem nationem & populos commaculantes : Alij verò contrà, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando inuestigant & in lucem emittunt ; vt qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis mandarunt, quique suis vigiliis veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt : qui quicquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduerterunt, vsu & experientia duce illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt : qui mundi historias, bona fide, æternæ memoriæ consecrarunt : qui linguarum cognitionem suis indefessis laboribus iuuerunt : denique qui aliorum in se suamue gentem vel patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quasi vim iniustam propulsare annixi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui diuinæ Palladi nomen dederunt, longè infimus (vt id ingenuè de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certè non possum, quin me in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis suæ maculam abluere, veritatem ipsam asserere, & conuitiantium iugum detrectare studuerunt : Maiora ingenio sora denegauit : Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patriæ, quàm extraneos nonnullos falsis rumoribus deformare, varijs conuitijs, magna cum voluptate proscindere, aliisq; nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantiæ occurrere, & criminationes falsas, detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vani tenacissimum, non est quòd sperem me ab hac inueterata opinione abducere posse) dilucre hoc commentariolo decreui.

Etsi autem Islandia multos habet, vt ætate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longè superiores, ideóq; ad hanc causam patriæ suscipiendam multò magis idoneos : Ego tamen optimi & clarissimi viri, Dom. Gudbrandi Thorlacij, Episcopi Holensis, apud Islandos, sollicitationibus motus communi causæ, pro viribus, nequaquam deesse volui, tum ut æquissimæ postulationi ipsius parerem, atque amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquos sympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum scientia fœlicius versatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione vlterius progressos, ad hoc gentis nostræ patrocinium inuitarem : Tantum abest, vt ijs qui idem conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

Cæterum vt ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicunque sunt nostræ gentis obtrectatores, testimonio scripto se vtl ac niti iactitant : videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & quàm vera scriptores prodiderint, vt si fortè isti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quàm meritò nos calumnientur, reliquis planum fiat. Porrò, quamuis vetustiorum quorundam scripta de hac Insula, ad veritatis & experientiæ normam exigere non verear : Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui sacra est memoria, reuerenda dignitas, suspicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam studium : Nouitij verò, si qui sunt id genus scriptores, aut verius pasquilli, cum ijs longè veriora quàm scripserant, audire & nosse de Islandia licuerit, sua leuitate & ingenio malè candido, nihil nisi inuidiæ & calumniæ maculam lucrati esse videbuntur.

Commentarij duæ partes.

Atque vt Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt propositæ orationis capita, vnum de Insula, de incolis alterum : quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores

tores qui in nostris manibus versantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam vltra has metas vagari, vel plura quàm hæc ipsa, & quæ huc pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex professo Historicum vel geographum sed disputatorem tantùm agimus. Itaque omissa longiore præfatione partem primam, quæ est de situ, nomine, miraculis, & alijs quibusdam adiunctis Insulæ, aggrediamur.

Primæ partis tractatio.

SECTIO PRIMA.

Munst. lib. 4. Cosmograph.

Insula Islandiæ, quæ per immensum à cæteris secreta longè sita est in Oceano, vixq; à nauigantibus agnoscitur, &c.

ETsi hæc tractare, quæ ipsam terram vel illius adiuncta seu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas à calumniantium morsu vindicandos parùm faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primùm, & quidem prolixiùs aliquantò agendum est, vt perspecto, quàm vera de hac re tradant illi Islandiæ scriptores, facilè inde candidus Lector, in ijs quæ de Incolis scripta reliquerunt, quæque ab illis alij, tanquam Dijs prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde sua in gentem nostram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet.

Primum igitur distantiam Islandiæ à reliquis terris non immensam esse, nec tantam, quanta vulgò putatur, si quis insulæ longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facilè demonstrari posset. Non enim id alio, quàm isto cognosci exactè posse modo existimârim, cum nulli dubium sit, quàm semper nautarum vel rectissimus, vt illis videtur, cursus aberret. Quare varias authorum de situ Islandiæ sententias subiungam, vt inde quiuis de distantia id colligat, quod maximè verisimile videbitur, donec fortè aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adiungam.

	Longit.	Latitud.
Munsterus Islandiam collocat sub gradibus ferè	20	68.
Gerardus Mercator	352	68.
Gemma Frisius:		
Medium Islandiæ:	7. 0	65. 30
Hersee:	7. 40	60. 42
Thirtes:	5. 50	64. 44
Nadar:	6. 40	57. 20
Iacobi Ziegleri:		
Littus Islandiæ Occident.	20.	63.
Chos promontorium:	22. 46	63.
Latus orientale extenditur cõtra Septentrionem: & finis extensionis habet	30.	68.
Latus septentrionale contra occidentem extenditur, & finis extensionis habet	28.	69.
Lateris Occidentalis descriptio.		

Heckelfel promontorium	25.	67.
Madher promontorium	21. 20	65. 10
Ciuitates In ea mediterraneæ sunt		
Holen Episcopalis	28.	67. 50
Schalholten Episcopalis	22.	63. 30
Reinholdus.		
Per Holen Islandiæ.		68.
Ioh. Moritius.		
Per Med. Islandiæ.		69.
Neander.		
Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum vsque Arcticum ab æquinoctiali excurrit, adeò ferè, vt mediam circulus ille secet, &c.		

Et si qui sunt præterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui suis scriptis Insulæ situm notarunt, quorum plures sententias referre nihil attinet, cum quò plures habeas, eò magis dissidentes reperias. Ego quamuis verisimiles coniecturas habeo, cur nullæ citatæ de Islandiæ situ sententiæ assentiar, quin potius diuersum quippiam ab ijs omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in dubio relinquere malo, quàm quic quam non exploratum satis affirmare, donec, vt dixi, fortè aliquando non coniecturam, sed obseruationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

Distantiam ab ostio Albis ad portum Islandiæ meridionalis Batzende, quidam scripserat esse circiter 400. milliarium: Vnde si longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgensem supputaueris,

supputaueris, nullam modò positarum longitudinum habebit illo in loco Islandia. Ego ternis Hamburgensium nauigationibus docere possum, septimo die Hamburgum ex Islandia peruentum esse. Præterea etiam, Insulæ quæ ab ouium multitudine Færeyjar, seu rectius Fareyjar dictæ sunt, bidui nauigatione, vt & littora Noruagiæ deserta distant. Quatridui verò nauigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari ferè temporis interuallo, ad prouinciam Noruagiæ Stad, inter opida Nidrosiam & Bergas sitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetustis codicibus reperimus. Bidui nauigatio ab Islandia ad Noruagiam desertam.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

In hac, æstiuo solstitio, sole signum Cancri transeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solstitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadianus. In ea autem Insula quæ longe supra Arcticum circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas Entgronlandt vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus. Munsterus, Olaus magnus & reliqui.

NVllum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem conspicitur in illo tantum Islandiæ angulo, si modò quis est, fatemur, vbi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, quæ est sedes Episcopalis Borealis Islandiæ, sita etiam in angustissima & profundissima conualle, latitudo est circiter grad. 65. 44. min. vt à Domino Gudbrando eiusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuissimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, vt ex artificum tabulis videre est. Vnde constat nec Islandiam vltra Arcticum circulum positam esse, nec menses plures noctibus in æstiuo, vel diebus in brumali solstitio carere.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Nomen habet à glacie quæ illi perpetuo ad Boream adhæret. Item. A latere Occidentali Noruagiæ Insula, quæ Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfusa Oceano reperitur, obsoletæ admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hæc est Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata. Munsterus. Saxo.

NOmen habet à glacie) Tria nomina consequenter sortita est Islandia. Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuisse creditur Naddocus genere Noruagus, cũ versus insulas Fareenses nauigaret tẽpestate valida, ad littora Islandiæ Orientalis forte appulit: vbi cum fuisset aliquot septimanas cum socijs commoratus, animaduertit immodicam niuium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque ideò à niue nomen Insulæ Snelandia indidit. Hunc secutus alter, Gardarus, fama quam de Islandia Naddocus attulerat impulsus, Insulam quæsitum abijt, reperit, & nomen de suo nomine Gardarsholme id est, Gardars Insula imposuit. Quin & plures nouam terram visendi cupido incessit: nam & post illos duos adhuc tertius quidam Noruagus (Floki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam, illiq; à glacie qua viderat ipsam cingi nomen fecit. Snelandia.

Obsoletæ admodum) Ego ex istis verbis Saxonis hanc sententiam nequaquam eruo, vt quidam, quòd inde ab initio habitatam esse Islandiam, seu vt verbo dicam, Islandos autocthonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incoli cœptam.

Hæc est Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc sub iudice lis est. Quam tamen facilè dirimi posse crediderim, si quis animaduertat, circa annum Domini 874 primùm fuisse inhabitatam. 874.
Nisi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen dedisse putant, ad Insulam iam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetrasse. Illud verò rursus si quis neget, per me sanè licebit, vt illud sit quoddam quasi spectaculum, dum ita in contrarias scinduntur sententias. Vnus affirmat esse Islandiam; Alter quandam insulam, vbi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, siue vltimam in ditione Scoti, vt Ioannes Myritius & alij, qui nomen illius referunt, Thylensey, quod etiam Virgilius per suam vltimam Thylen sensisse videtur. Siquidem vltra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos statueret. Quod vel ex illo Virgilij Eclog. 1. appacet.

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos. Quartus vnam ex Farensibus. Quintus Telemarchiam Norwagiæ. Sextus Schrichfinniam.

Perpetuò ad Boream adhæret.) Illud verò. Glaciem Insulæ perpetuò, vel vt paulò post asserit Munsterus: Octo continuis mensibus adhærere: neutrum verum est. Nam vt plurimum in mense Aprili aut Maio soluitur, & Occidentem versus propellitur, nec ante Januarium aut Februarium sæpissimè etiam tardius redit. Quid? quòd plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam huius nationis immite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Islandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum est. Vnde constat quàm verè à Frisio scriptum sit, nauigationem ad hanc insulam tantùm quadrimestrem patere, propter glaciem & frigora, quibus intercludatur iter, Cùm Anglicæ naues quotannis nunc in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quædam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Iunio, plærumque ad nos redeant, & harum quædam non ante Augustum iterum hinc soluunt. Superiore autem anno 1591. quædam nauis Germanica, cupro onusta, portum Islandiæ Vopnafiord 14. dies circiter in Nouembri occupauit, quibus lapsis inde fœliciter soluit. Quare cum glacies Islandiæ, nec perpetuò, neque octo mensibus adhæreat, Munsterus & Frisius manifestè falluntur.

Glacies Aprili aut Maio soluitur.

SECTIO QVARTA.

Tam grandis Insula, vt populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus. Situs Insulæ extenditur inter austrum & boream ducentorum prope Schænorum longitudine.

Kranius. Munsterus.

GRandis.) Wilstenius quidam, rector Scholæ Oldenevrgensis Anno 1591. ad aunnculum meum in Islandia Occidentali misit breuem commentarium, quem ex scriptorum rapsodijs de Islandia collegerat. Vbi sic reperimus: Islandia duplo maior Sicilia, &c. Sicilia autem secundum Munsterum 150. milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet. Nostræ verò Insulæ ambitus etsi nobis non est exactè cognitus, tamen vetus & constans opinio, & apud nostrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Islandiæ insigniora, quæ singula 12 inter se milliaribus distent, aut circiter, quæ collecta prædictam summam ostendunt.

Magnitudo Islandiæ.

Populos multos) Gysserus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090. Episcopus Schalholtensis in Islandia, omnes Insulæ colonos seu rusticos qui tantas facultates possiderent, vt regi tributum soluere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum fœminis & promiscuo vulgo omissis) lustrari curauit, reperitque in parte Insulæ Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa soluentium. Iam si quis experiatur, inueniet Insulam plus dimidio fuisse inhabitatam.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Insula multa sui parte montosa est & inculta. Qua parte autem plana est præstat plurimùm pabulo, tam læto, vt pecus depellatur à pascuis, ne ab aruina suffocetur.

Mont. Frisius, Zieglet.

ID suffocationis periculum nullo testimonio, nec nostra nec patrum nostrorum, vel quàm longè retrò numeraris, memoria confirmari potest.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Sunt in hac Insula montes elati in cœlum, quorum vertices perpetua niue candent, radices sempiterno igne æstuant. Primus Occidentem versus est, qui vocatur Hecla, alter crucis, tertius Helga. Item Zieglerus. Rupes siue promontorium Hecla æstuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Insula mons est, qui rupem sideream perpetuæ flagrationis æstibus imitatus, incendia sempiterna iugi flammarum eructatione continuat.

Mont. Rosar.

Miracula Islandiæ Munsterus & Frisius narraturi mox in vestibulo, magno suo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hic de monte Hecla asserunt, etsi aliquam habet veritatis speciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo igne æstuantibus dicant, manifestè erroneum est. Illi enim in Islandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto scriptorum errori occasionem dederit, imaginari possumus. Facta tamen est, sed nunc demum Anno 1581.

1581. ex monte quodam australis Islandiæ, maritimo, perpetuis niuibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flammæ eruptio, magna saxorum ac cineris copia eiecta. Cæterum ille mons longè est ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diuersissimus. Porrò etsi hæc de montibus ignitis maximè vera narrarent, annon naturaliter ista contingerent? An ad extruendam illam, quæ mox in Munstero, Zieglero & Frisio sequitur, de orco Islandico opinionem aliquid faciunt? Ego sanè nefas esse duco, his vel similibus naturæ miraculis ab absurda asserenda abuti, vel hæc tanquam impossibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quasi verò non concurrant in huiusmodi incendijs causæ ad hanc rem satis validæ. Est in horum montium radicibus materia vri aptissima, nempe sulphurea & bituminosa. Accedit aër per poros ac cauernas in terræ viscera ingressus, ac illum maximi incendij fomitem exsufflans vnà cum nitro, qua exsufflatione tanquam follibus quibusdam, ardentissima excitatur flamma. Habet siquidem ignis, his ita conuenientibus, quæ tria ad vrendum sunt necessaria, materiam scilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam ideòque flammas diuturnas alentem: Motum præstat per terræ cauernas admissus aër: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis inuicta, sine respiraculo esse nescientis, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non secus ac in cuniculis machinisue seu tormentis bellicis, globi è ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac strepitu, à sulphure & nitro, è quibus pyrius puluis conficitur, excitato, eijciuntur) lapides & Saxa in ista voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, collique facta cum immodica arenæ & cinerum copia, exspuentis & eiaculantis, idque vt plurimum, non sine terræmotu: qui si secundum profunditatem terræ fiat, succussio à Possidoneo appellatur vel hiatus erit, vel pulsus. Hiatu terra dehiscit: pulsu eleuatur intumescens, & nonunquam, vt inquit Plinius, moles magnas egerit: Cuiusmodi terræmotus iam mentionem fecimus, maritima Islandiæ Australis Anno 1581 infestantis quique à Pontano his verbis scitissimè describitur. Lib. 1. cap. 16.

Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus
Spiritus incursat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc,
Explorátque abitum insistens, & singula tentat,
Si quà forte queat victis erumpere claustris.
Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam
Terra, suis quatiens latas cum mœnibus vrbes:
Dissiliunt auulsa iugis immania saxa, &c.

Hæc addere libuit, non quòd cuiquam hæc ignota esse existimemus; sed ne nos alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc extruunt, confugere velle.

Cæterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam scriptoribus moueat, in his, quas ignoranter fingunt, tribus Islandiæ montibus, videlicet cum eorum basin semper ardere dicant, summitates tamen nunquā niue careant. Porrò id admirari, est præter authoritatem tātorum virorum, quibus Ætnæ incendium optimè notum erat, quæ, cùm secundum Plinium hybernis temporibus niualis sit, noctibus tamen, eodem teste, semper ardet. Quare etiam secundū illos, ille mons, cum adhuc niuium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat, sordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod Heclæ propter niues in summo vertice & basin æstuantem, adscribere non dubitarunt. Vix autem mirum esse potest, quòd ignis montis radicibus latens, & nunquā, nisi rarissimè erumpens, excelsa montis cacumina, quæ niuibus obducuntur, non colliquefaciat. Nam & in Caira, altissima montis cacumina niuibus semper cādentia esse perhibentur: & in Beragua quidem similiter, sed 5000 passuum in cœlum elata, quæ niuibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantùm decem ab æquatore distent. Vtrámq; hanc prouinciam iuxta Pariam esse sitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Teneriffæ (quæ una est ex insulis Canarijs, quæ & fortunatæ) pyramis, secundum Munsterum, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altitudine in aëra assurgens, atq; instar Aetnæ iugiter conflagrans, niues, quibus media cingitur, teste Benzone Italo, Indiæ occidentalis Historico, non resoluit. Quod ipsum in nostra Hecla quid est, quod magis miremur? Atque hæc ita breuiter de incendiis montanis. Cardanus.

Nunc illud quoq; castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in cœlum vsq; attolli scribant. Habent enim nullā præ cæteris Islandiæ montibus notabilem altitudinem: Precipuè tertius ille

ille Helga à Munstero appellatus, nobis Helgafel. i. Sacer mons, apud monasterium eiusdē nominis, nulla sui parte tempore æstiuo niuibus obductus, nec montis excelsi, sed potius collis humilis nomen meretur, nunquā, vt initio huius sectionis dixi, de incendio suspectus. Nec verò perpetuæ niues Heclæ, vel paucis alijs adscribi debebant: Permultos enim habet eiusmodi mōtes niuosos Islandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facilè collegerit aut cōmunerarit, horum prædicator & admirator Cosmographus. Quin etiam id non negligendum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem versus, vt à Munstero & Zieglero annotatum est, sed inter meridiem & orientem positus sit. Nec promontorium est: sed mons ferè mediterraneus.

Annales Islandiæ. Incendia perpetua iugi, &c. Quirunq; perpetuam flammarum eructationem Heclæ adscripserunt, toto cœlo errarunt, adeò, vt quoties flammas eructārit, nostrates in annales retulerint, viz. anno Christi 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit, vsque ad annum 1558. quæ vltima fuit in illo montu eruptio. Interea non nego, fieri posse, quin mons infernè latentes intus flammas & incendia alat, quæ videlicet statis interuallis, vt hactenus annotatum est; eruperint, aut etiam forte posthac erumpant.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Frisius. Mont. Montis Heclæ flamma nec stuppam lucernarum luminibus aptissimam adurit, neque aquâ extinguitur: Eóque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi ejiciuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & sulphuris commixtione. Is locus à quibusdam putatur carcer sordidarum animarum. Item Zieglerus. Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum.

Nec stuppam adurit.) Vnde habeant Scriptores, non satis conijcitur. Hæc enim nostris hominibus prorsus ignota, nec hîc vnquam, nisi prodidissent illi, audita fuissent. Nemo enim est apud nos tam temerariæ curiositatis, vt huius rei periculum, ardente monte, facere ausit, vel quod scire licuit, vnquā ausis fuerit. Quod tamen Munsterus asserit. Qui, inquit, naturam tanti incendij contēplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos vna aliqua vorago viuos absorbet &c. Quæ res, vt dixi, nostræ genti est ignota prorsus. Exstat tamen liber veteri Noruagorum lingua scriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aëris, &c. miracula aliquot confusa reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana & falsa. Vnde facile apparet, à Sophis quibusdam, si dijs placet, in Papatu olim esse conscriptum: Speculum Regale nomen dederunt, propter vanissima mendacia, quibus totus, sed plærúmque sub religionis & pietatis prætextu (quo difficilius est fucum agnoscere) scatet speculum minimè regale, sed Anile & Irregulare. In hoc speculo figmenta quædam de Heclæ incendio, his quæ nunc tractamus non multum dissimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quàm hæc stabilita, ideóque explodenda.

Speculum Regale.

Cæterum ne audaculus videar, qui speculum illud Regale mendacij accusem; nullum verò ex his quæ minus credibilia affert, recenseam; Accipe horum pauca Lector, quæ fidem minimè mereri existimarim.

1 De quadam Insula Hyberniæ; quæ templum & Parochiam habet: Cuius incolæ decedentes non inhumantur: sed ad aggerem seu parietem cœmeterij, viuorum instar erecti, consistunt perpetuò: Nec vlli corruptioni, nec ruinæ, obnoxij: vt posterūm quiuis suos maiores ibi quærere & conspicere possit.

2 De altera Hyberniæ Insula, vbi homines emori nequeant.

3 De omni terrâ & omnibus arboribus Hyberniæ, quæ omnibus omninò venenis resistant, serpentes & alia venenata, vbiuis terrarum, solâ virtute & præsentiâ, etiam sine contactu, enecent.

4 De tertia Hyberniæ Insula: Quòd hæc dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta sit. In dimidiam verò propter templum ibidem exstructum, iuris habeant nihil, licet & pastore (vt tota Insula incoli-) & sacris perpetuò careat: idque per naturam ita esse.

5 De quarta Hyberniæ Insula, quæ in lacu quodam satis vasto fluitet: cuius gramina, quibusuis morbis præsentissimum remedium existant: Insula verò ripam lacus statis temporibus accedat,

accedat, idque vt plurimum, diebus Dominicis, vt tum quiuis facilè eam veluti nauim quandam, ingrediatur: id quod tamen pluribus simul, per fatum licere negat. Hanc vero Insulam septimo quoque anno ripæ adnasci tradit, vt à continente non discernas: In eius autem locum mox succedere alteram, priori, naturâ, magnitudine & virtute consimilem: quæ vnde veniat, nesciri: idque cum quodam quasi tonitru contingere.

6 De venatoribus Noruegiæ, qui lignum domare (sic enim loquitur, quantumuis impropriè: cùm ligno vt non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeò docti sint, vt asseres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoueant, vt non modò canum venaticorum, aut caprearum cursu, sed etiam auium volatu superari nequeant: atque vnico cursu, vnico etiam hastæ ictu, nouem vel plures capreas feriant. Hæc & similia, de Hybernia, Norvegia, Islandia, Gronlandia, de aquæ & aëris etiam miraculis, centonum ille magister, in suum speculum collegit: Quibus, licet suis admirationem, vulgo stuporem, nobis tamen risum concitauit. Gronlandia.

Sed Frisium audiamus. Flamma, inquit, Montis Heclæ nec stuppam, lucernarũ luminibus aptissimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur. Atqui, inquam, ex Schola vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Physici, commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus vt siccis extinguantur, alantur verò humidis: Vnde etiam fabri, aqua inspersa, ignem excitare solent. Cùm enim, aiunt, ardentior fuerit ignis, à frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, quorum vtrumq; aquæ inest. Item: Aqua solet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipsum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec à circumfuso fumo absumitur, sed totum ignis ipse depascitur, quò purior inde factus, ac simul collectus, à frigido alacrior inde redditur. Vnde etiam ignes artificiosi aqua minimè extinguibiles. Item: Sunt sulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, quæ sponte ardent, quorum flamma aqua minimè extinguitur. Prodidit etiam Philosophus, Aqua ali ignem. Arist. 3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2. Nat. Histor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. In Nymphæo excitè Petra flamma, que aquâ accenditur. Idem, Viret æternum contexens fontem igneum fraxinus. Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis existere, vt Thrasumenum lacum in agro Perusino arsisse totum, idem autor est. Et anno 1226. & 1236. non procul à promontorio Islandiæ Reykianes, flamma ex ipso mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuisse, vt Seruio Tullio dormienti, è capite flammam exsilijsse: Et L. Martium in Hispania, interfectis Scipionibus, concionem seu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad vltionem exhortantem, conflagrasse, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius flammæ montanæ, quæ, vt aqua accendatur, ita terra aut fœno extinguatur. Item, Alterius campestris, que frondem densi supra se nemoris non adurat. Quæ cum ita sint, mirum, homines id in solâ Heclâ mirari (ponam enim iam ita esse, cum non sit tamen, quòd à quóquam scire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus seu locis, tam montanis, quàm campestribus, cum ea commune esset. Chronica Islandia.

Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. Mons ipse cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua insonat, proijcit ingentia Saxa, sulphur euomit, cineribus egestis, tam longè terram circumcirca operit, vt ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit, &c. Cæterum oportuit potius cum Ætnâ, aut alijs montibus flammiuomis, quos mox recitabo, comparasse, cum non deesset, non modò simile, sed prope idem: Nisi fortè quòd incendia rarius ex Heclâ erumpant, quàm alijs id genus montibus. Nam proximis 34. annis prorsus quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An. 1558 vt superius annotauimus. Et nihil tam magnificè dici potest de nostra Hecla, quin idem, vel maius cæteris montibus flammiuomis competat, vt mox apparebit. Quòd verò sulphur eiaculetur, manifestum est commentum, nullo experimento apud nostrates cognitum. Frisius.

Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum. Hic præfandum esse mihi video, atque veniam à Lectore petendam, quòd, cum initio proposuerim, de terra & incolis diuisim agere, in hac prima parte tamen, quæ sunt meritò secundæ partis, miscere cogar. Euenit hoc scriptorum culpa, qui Insulæ situi ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam vt hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur isthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Historia positum esse? Quis non miretur, viros sapientes

eò

cò perduci, vt hæc vulgi deliramenta auscultent, nedum sequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum collunies nautica, (hic enim saniores omnes, tam inter nautas quam reliquos, excipio,) de hoc insolito naturæ miraculo audiens, ingenito stupore ad istum de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam substerni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri consueuit. Atque hæc persuasione vulgi fama inoleuit, dum (vt ad maledicta optimè assuefactum est) vnus alteri huius montis incendium imprecatur. Quasi verò ignis elementaris & materiatus ac visibilis, animas, i. substantias spirituales comburat. Quis denique non miretur, cur eundem carcere damnatorum, non in Ætnâ etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendijs celebri, confingant? At confinxit, dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur est. Sit sanè: Eadem igitur huius carceris veritas quæ & purgatorij. Sed priusquâ longius procedamus, libet hic referre fabulam perlepidam, huius opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum naui Islandium relinquenti, & turgidis velis, citissimo cursu iter suum rectà legenti, factum obuiam alteram, similiter impigro cursu, sed contra vim tempestatum, velis & remis nitentem: cuius præfectus rogatus, quinam essent? Respondisse fertur: De Bischop van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom Heckelfeldt tho, Thom Heckelfeldt tho. Hæc videns Lector vereor, ne peluim postulet dari: Est enim mendacium adeo detestandum, vt facilè nauseam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynosarges & ranas palustres: illud enim eiusde facimus atq; illarū coax, coax. Nec verò dignum est hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum insanis Papistis nugari: Quin potius ad scriptores nostros conuertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hic, clarissimi viri, D. Casparis Peuceri, illud præterire. Est in Islandia, inquit, mons Hecla, qui immanis barathri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, eiulantium miserabili & lamentabili ploratu personat, vt voces plorantium circumquaq;, ad interuallum magni milliaris, audiantur. Circumuolitant hunc coruorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, quæ nidulari ibidē ab incolis existimantur. Vulgus incolarum descensum esse per voraginem illam ad inferos persuasum habet: Inde, cum prælia committuntur alibi in quacunq; parte orbis terrarum, aut cædes fiunt cruentæ, commoueri horrendos circumcirca tumultus, & excitari clamores, atq; eiulatus ingentes longâ experientiâ didicerunt. Quis verò rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctissime perferre ausus fuit? Nec enim vultures habet Islandia, sed genus aquilarum secundum, quod ab albicante caudâ Plinius notauit, & Pygargum appellauit. Nec vlli sunt huius spectaculi apud nos testes: Nec denique ibidem cornices aut aquilas nidificare probabile est, quæ, igni & fumo semper inimicissimo, potius à foeis vel incendijs arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei testimonium, (vt & exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,) experientiam incolarum allegant, quæ certè contraria omnia testatur. Vnde verò formen vel fenestra illa montana, per quam clamores, strepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, periæcos & antœcos factos exaudiremus? De quâ re multa essent, quæ authorem istius mendacij interrogatum haberem, modò quid de illo nobis constaret: qui vtinam veriora narrare discat, nec tam perfrictâ fronte similia, incomperta, atq; adeò incredibilia, claris-imo viro Peucero, aut alijs referre præsumat.

Ast verò Munsterus cum incendij tanti & tam incredibilis caussas in famosissimâ Ætna inuestigare conatus sit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hic verò præternaturalē im o infernalem faciat, an non monstri simile est? Cæterùm de Ætnâ quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Heclæ incendio aliàs sentiat Munsterus.

Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersal. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Dubium non est, inquit, montes olim & campos arsisse in orbe terrarum: Et nostra quidem ætate ardent. Verbi gratia: In Islandia mons Hecla statis temporibus foras proijcit ingentia Saxa, euomit sulphur, spargit cineres, tam longè circumcirca, vt terra ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit. Vbi autem montiū incendia perpetua sunt, intelligimus nullam esse obstructionem meatuum, per quos modò, quasi fluuium quendam, ignes, modò flammas, nunc verò fumum tantùm euomunt. Sin per temporum interualla increscunt, internis meatibus obturatis, eius viscera nihilominus ardent. Superioris autem partis incendia, propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Ast vbi spiritus vehementior, rursus reclusis meatibus ijsdem vel alijs, ex carcere magnâ vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, sulphur, pumices, massas, quæ habent speciem ferri, saxa, aliàsq; materias foras proijcit, plerúnq; non sine

detrimento

detrimento regionis adiacentis. Hæc Munsterus. Vbi videas quæso Lector, quomodo suo se iugulet gladio, videas inquam hic eadem de incendio Heclæ & Ætnæ opinionem & sententiam, quæ tamen lib. 4. eiusdem, admodum est dispar, vt illic ad causas infernales confugiat.

Habet profectò Indiæ occidentalis mons quidam flammiuomus æquinoctes multò, quàm hic noster, censores & historicos, minimè illic barathrum exædificantes: Cuius historiam, quia & breuis est, & non illepida, subijciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Historiæ, noui orbis, lib. 2. his verbis descriptam.

Triginta quinq;, inquit, milliarium interuallo abest Legione mons flammiuomus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos sæpe flammarum globos eructat, vt noctu latissimè vltra 1000.0. passuum incendia reluceant. Nonnullis fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum esse, perpetuum ignibus materiam. Itaq; Dominicanus quidam monachus, cum eius rei periculum facere vellet, ahenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat, móxq; in montis iugum cum quatuor alijs Hispanis ascendens, catenam cum aheno ad centum quadraginta vlnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis feruore, ahenum cum parte catenæ liquefactum est. Monachus non leuiter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum incusat, quòd catenam tenuiorem multò, quàm iussisset ipse, esset fabricatus. Faber aliam multo crassiorem excudit. Monachus mentem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incœpto similem exitum habuit. Nec tantùm resolutus lebes euanuit, verù etiã flammæ globus repentè è profundo exsiliens, propemodũ & Fratrem & socios absumpsit. Omnes quidem adeo perculsi in vrbem reuersi sunt, vt de eo incœpto exequendo nunquam deinceps cogitarent, &c.

O quam censura dispar? In montano Indiæ occidentalis camino aurum: Islandiæ verò, infernum quærunt. Sed hoc vt nimis recens, ac veteribus ignotum fortasse reijcient: Cur igitur eundẽ, quem in Hecla Islandiæ, animarũ carcerẽ, in Chimæra, Lyciæ monte, cuius nocta diũq; flamma immortalis perhibetur, non sunt imaginati scriptores? Cur nõ in Ephesi montibus, quos tæda flamante tactos, tantũ ignis cõcipere accepimus, vt lapides quoq; & arenæ in ipsis aquis ardeãt; & ex quibus accenso baculo, si quis sulcũ traxerit, riuos ignijs sequi narratur à Plinio? Cur non in Cophantro Bactrorum monte, noctu semper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Insula, in medio mari ardente? Cur non in Aeolia, similiter in ipso mari olim dies aliquot accensa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdiu flagrante? Cur non in Aethiopum campis, Stellarum modo, noctu semper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Liparæ tumulo, ampla & profunda voragine hiante, teste Aristotele, ad quẽ non tutò noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorũ sonitus, crotalorum boatus, cum insolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanus agro ad Putteolos? Cur nõ in illa superius cõmemorata Tenerifiæ pyramide montana, instar Ætnæ, iugiter ardente, & lapides, vt ex Munstero videre est, in æra exspuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum iugo, quod Plinius testatur, horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non denique in Vesuuio monte, non sine insigni vicinæ clade, & C. Plinij exitiali detrimẽto, dum insueti incendij causas perscrutaturus venit, nubium tenus flammas cum saxis euomẽte, pumicum & cinerum ineffabili copiã aëra repleute, & solem merkhianum per totam vicinium densissimis tenebris intercipiente? Dicam, & dicam quod res est: Quia scilicet illis, vtpote notioribus, fidem, etsi inferni esse incendia finxissent, minimè adhiberi præuidebant: Heclæ verò æstum, cuius rumor tardius ad eorum aures peruenit, huic commento vanissimo stabiliendo, magis inseruire putabant. Sed facessite: Deprehensa fraus est: Desinite posthac illam de inferno Heclensi opinionem cuiquam velle persuadere. Docuit enim & nos, & alios, vobis inuitis, corsimilibus incendijs, operationes suas Natura, non Infernus. Sed videamus iam plura eiusdem farinæ vulgi mendacia, quæ Historicis & Cosmographis nostris adeò malè imposuerunt.

SECTIO

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Frisius Zieglerus, Olaus Magn.

Iuxta hos montes (tres prædictos Heclam, &c.) sunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potissimum, ne Lynceus quidem perspicere queat: Sed apparent ipsum inspicientibus, homines primùm submersi, adhuc spiritum exhalantes, qui amicis suis, vt ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis supplicijs se ad montem Heclam proficisci debere respondent: Sicque subitò euanescunt.

AD confirmandum superius mendacium de Inferno terrestri ac visibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumniosum (etsi facilè largiar, Frisium non tam calumniandi, quàm noua & inaudita prædicandi animo ista scripsisse) quàm falsum ac gerris Siculis longè vanius ac detestabilius, excogitarõt homines ignaui, nec cœlũ nec infernũ scientes. Quos scriptores isti, viri alioqui præclarissimi & optimè de Repub. literaria meriti, nimiũ præpropero iudicio secuti sunt.

Cæterum optandum esset, nullos tanto nouitatis studio Historias scribere, vt non vereantur aniles quasuis nugas ijs inserere, atq; ita aurum purũ cœno aspergere. Qui verò demũ sunt homines illi submersi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygias relabente vndas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrũmque ninalem, cantus exercentem lyricos, rediuiuum dabitis? Certè, etsi nolint alij futilem huiusmodi ineptiarum fruitatem ac mendacium agnoscere, agnouit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens æstimator Cardanus, lib. 18. subtil. cuius hæc sunt verba.

Est Hecla mons in Islandia, ardétq; non aliter ac Ætna in Sicilia per interualla, ideóq; persuasione longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur animæ. Alij, ne vani sint, affingunt inania fabulæ, vt consona videantur. Quæ sunt autem illa inania? Quòd spectra communiscuntur, se ad montem Heclam ire respondentia, ait idem. Et addit. Nec in Islandia solum, sed vbiq;, licet rarò, talia contingunt: Subditq; de laruâ homicidâ Historiam, quæ sic habet. Efferebatur, inquit, anno præterito, funus viri plebeij Mediolani, orientali in porta iuxta templum maius foro venali, quod à caulium frequentia nomen cauli nostra lingua sonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, vt medicorum moris est, quo morbo excesserit? Respondet ille: consuesse hunc virum hora noctis tertia à labore redire domum: Vidit le rurem nocte quadam insequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, ocyus citato pede abibat: Sed à spectro captus atq; in terram proiectus videbatur. Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem, cum diu in terra cum larua volutatus esset, inuentus à prætereuntibus quibusdam, semiviuus domum relatus, cum respirasset, interrogatus, hæc quæ minus expectabantur, retulit. Ob id animam despondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec sacerdotibus persuaderi potuisset, inania esse hæc, octo inde diebus perijt. Audiui postmodum & ab alijs, qui vicini essent illi, neminem ab inimico vulneratum tam constanter de illo testatum, vt hic, quod à mortuo fuisset in terram prouolutus. Cum quidam quærerent, quid ille postquam in terram volutaretur ageret? Constum, inquit, mortuum adhibitis gulæ manibus, vt eum strangularet: Nec abstitisse quicquam, nisi quòd se ipsum tueretur manibus. Cum alij dubitarent, ne fortè hæc à viuo passus esset, interrogarentq; in quo mortuum a viuo secernere potuisset? Cui sam reddidit satis probabilem, dicens se tanquam cottum attrectasse, nec pondus habuisse, ni-i vt premebatur. Et paulò post addit. Eadem verò ratione qua in Islandia, in arenæ solitudinibus Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæq: vbi Sol ardet, eædem imagines, eadem spectra viatores ludificare solent. Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluserit, sicut de Islandia scriptores nostri faciunt, in illis Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæq; locis, carcerem existere damnatorum.

Hæc ex Cardano adscribere libuit, vt etiam extraneorum testimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus. Conuincit autẽ præsens Cardani locus hæc duo, scilicet: nec esse Islandiæ proprias spectrorũ apparitiones: (quod etiã omnes norunt, nisi eius rei ignorantiã nimis affectent) nec illud mortuorũ cũ viuis, in hiatu Heclensi, colloquium, nisi ementitis hominum

hominum fabulis, quauis ampulla vanioribus, niti, quibus belue vulgares, ad confirmandã de animarũ cruciatibus opinionẽ, vsæ fuerant. Et quisquã est, qui illis scriptorũ hatibus, mortuorũ miraculis ad summum vsque refertis, adduci potest vt credat? Quisquam, qui vanitatẽ tantam non cotemat? Certè. Nam & hinc conuicia in gentem nostram recte sumi aiunt: Nihil scilicet hac proiectius ac deterius esse vsquã, quæ intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc cõmodi nobis peperit Historicorum ad res nouas diuulgandas auiditas. Verum illa è vulgi dementia nata opinio, vt stulta ac insanis, & in opprobrium nostræ gentis conficta, hactenus, vt spero, satis labefactata est. Quare iam perge Lector, vlterius hanc de secretis infernalibus Philosophiam cognoscere.

SECTIO NONA.

Frisius & Monte. Circum verò Insulam, per septem aut octo menses fluctuat glacies, miserabilem quendam gemitum, & ab humana voce non alienum, ex collisione edens. Putant incolæ, & in monte Hecla, & in glacie loca esse, in quibus animæ suorum crucientur.

EGregium scilicet Historiæ augmentum, de Orco Islandico in vnius montis basin, haud sanè vastam, coacto: Et interdum (statis forsan temporibus) loca commutante. Vbi scilicet domi in foco mõtano delitescere piget, & exire, pelagúsq; sed sine rate, tentare iuuat, seseq; in glaciei frustella colligere. Audite porrò, huius secreti admiratores: En porrigã Historicis aliud Historiæ auctarium nequaquam contemnendum. Scribant igitur, quõtquot his scriptorũ cõtactis adherent, Islandos non solùm infernum intra limites habere, sed & scientes volentes ingredi, atq; intactos eodẽ die egredi. Quid ita? Quia peructus est Insulæ cõsuetudo, vt maritimi in hanc glaciem, ab Historicis infernalem factam, manè phocas, seu vitulos marinos captum eant, ac vesperi incolumes redeant. Addite etiam, in scrinijs & aliis vasis ab Islandis carcerem damnatorum asseruari, vt paulò post ex Frisio audiemus.

Sed maturè prævidendum erit vobis, ne Islandi fortitudinis & constantiæ laudem vestris nationibus præripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (vt historicis vestris placet) barathri sustinuisse & veliot & possint, illáq; sine vllo grauiore damno perrũpere atq; effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex iam dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possum, qui in ipso venationis actu longiusculè à littore digressi, glacie à Zephyris dissipata, multa milliaria glacici insidẽtes, tempestatis violentia profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi fluctibus iactati, sicque (id enim, inquam, ex præsenti Historicorum problemate consequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti sunt: Qui tandem mutata tempestate, atq; à Borea spirantibus ventis, ad littora, cum hoc suo glaciali nauigio rursus adacti, incolumes domum peruenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitatis personat quicquam tamen humanæ voci simile resonare aut ciulare minimè fatemur. auidi arripiant, indeque, si placet, iustum volumen conficiant, atque ad Historiam suam apponant. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quàm ciusmodi iocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Cæterum, ioco sepositò, vnde digressi sumus, reuertamur.

Primùm igitur ex sectione secunda satis constat, glaciem, neque septem, neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, et si interdum ex collisione grandes sonitus & fragores edit, interdum propter vndarum alluuionem, raucum murmur

Quod autem dicunt, nos & in glacie, & in monte Hecla loca statuere, in quibus animæ nostrorũ crucientur, Id verò serió pernegamus, Deóq; ac Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui nos à morte & inferno eripuit, & regni cœlestis iamuam nobis reseruit, gratias ex animo agimus, quod nos de loco, in quem animæ nostrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quàm dicunt isti Historici, instituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatorium Pontificiorum, aut campos Elysios, sed in sinum Abrahæ, in manum Dei, in Paradisum cœlestem, mox è corporis ergastulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, vbi est fletus & stridor dentiũ, vbi est frigus, vbi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extra nostrã scientiã & subtilem disputationem positus. Vbi non modò corpora, sed animæ etiam, i. substantiæ

substantiæ spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos veniores, quàm Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamvis aliam gentem, quoad loci situm, statuimus. Nec de huius carceris loco situue quicquã disputare attinet: sufficit nobis abundè, quòd illius tenebricosum fœtorem & reliqua tormenta, dante & iuuante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nunquam simus visuri aut sensuri. Atque hîc de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Frisius, Zieglerus Sexo fuit similiter.

Quòd si quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eámque vasi aut scrinio inclusam, quàm diligentissimè asseruarit, illa tempore glaciei, quæ circum insulam est, degelantis, euanescit, vt neque minima eius particula vel guttula aquæ reperiatur.

ID profecto necessariò addendum fuit: Hanc scilicet glaciem, voces humanas, secundum Historicos, representatem, & damnatorum receptaculum existentem, non esse, vt reliqua in vastissima hac vniuersitate omnia, ex Elementi alicuius materia conflatam. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen non sit, (quod ex Frisij paradoxo rectè deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & solida perrumpat, non secus ac spectra & genij: Restat igitur cum non sit elementaris naturæ, vt vel spiritualem habeat materiam, vel cœlestem, vel quod ipsi forsan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen esse non assentiemur, quia ad aures nostras peruenit frigus infernale longè esse intractabilius, quam est hæc glacies, humanis manibus in scrinio reposita, nec quicquã suo contactu, vel nudatam carnem lædere valens. Nec profectò spiritualem esse dabimus; accipimus enim à Physicis, substantias spirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec ijs quicquam decedere posse: quæ tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumuis, secundum illos, hyperphysicam, cadere certum & manifestum est. Præterea & hoc verissimum est, eam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, siti piscatorum restinguendæ, nõ secus ac riuos terrestres, inseruire: Id quod substantiæ spirituali denegatũ est. Non est igitur spiritualis, vt nec infernalis. Iam verò cœlestem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne forte inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc harathrum, quod illi Historici affingũt, secum è cœlo traxisse: Vel id cœlo, quippe eiusdem materiæ cum glacie, commune esse, atq; ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso cœlesti loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.

Quare cum glacies hæc Historica nec sit elementaris, vt ex præsenti loco Frisij optimè sequi iam toties monuimus: nec spiritualis, nec infernalis, quod vtrúmq; breuibus, solidis tamen rationibus demonstrauimus: nec cœlestis materiæ, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquitur omnino, vt secundum eosdem Historicos nulla sit, quam tamẽ illi tàm cum stupendâ admiratione prædicant, & nos videri ac tangi putamus. Est igitur, & non est: Quod axioma vbi secundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, verum esse poterit, nos demum miraculis istis glacialibus credemus. Itáq; iam vides Lector, ad hæc refellenda nullo alio esse opus, quàm mõstrari quomodo secum dissideant. Sed haud mirum, eum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus se cermisit, sæpius errare. Cuiusmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciei huius Sympathiâ, quòd videlicet molis, cuius pars esset, discessum insequeretur, vt omnem observationis diligentiam ineuitabili fugæ necessitate deciperet. Atqui sæpe videmus eiusmodi solitariam molem post abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus nullis machinis detentam, ad littus multis septimanis consistere. Palam est igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quàm est ipsa glacies, magis lubrico.

SECTIO

SECTIO VNDECIMA

Non procul ab his montibus, (tribus prædictis) ad maritimas oras vergentibus, sunt quatuor fontes diuersissimæ naturæ. Vnus suo perpetuo ardore omne corpus sibi immissum raptim conuertit in saxum, manente tamen priore formâ. Alter est algoris intolerabilis. Tertius vel melle dulcior & restinguendæ siti iucundissimus. Quartus plane exitialis, pestilens, & virulentus. Fontes.

Etiam hæc fontium topographia satis apertè monstrat, quàm ex impuro fonte has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas hauserit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur: Montes hos tres prædictos ferè contiguos esse: Siquidè tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiscretè adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos statuisset, vni alicui horum duos fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem diuisi) neque iuxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur. Cæterum ad hæc confundenda sufficit, credo, ipsorum historicorũ contrarietas. Nam de duobus fontibus quidam Frisio, his verbis contradicit. Erumpunt ex eodem monte (Heclâ) fontes duo, quorum alter aquarum frigiditate, alter feruore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim. Hi duo sunt primi illi Frisij fontes, nisi quod hîc miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. Atqui non simul possunt ex ipso monte, & iuxta montem erumpere.

Hîc vero libenter quæsierim, quâ ratione quisquam ex Peripatecicis dicat, aliquid ipso elemento æquæ frigidius, aut igne calidius? Vnde demum, scriptores, ista frigiditas? Vnde iste feruor? Nonne è Schola vestra accepimus aquam esse elementum frigidissimum & humidum, atque adeò frigidissimum, vt ad constituendas qualitates secundas, remitti sit necesse, nec simplicem vsibus humanis inseruire? (Hæc ego nunc Physicorum oracula fundo, vera an falsa, nescio) Testis est vsus omnium, & pro omnibus, Iohannes Fernelius lib. 2. Physiologiæ, cap. 4. Sic, inquit, qualitates hæ (quatuor primæ) quatuor rerum naturis summæ obtigerunt, vt quemadmodum puro igne nihil calidius, nihilque tenuius: Sic terra nihil siccius, nihil grauius: Aquam sinceram, nullius medicamenti vis gelida euincet, vt nec aërem, vllius humor. Summæ præterea sic illis insunt, vt ne minimum quidem possint augescere, remitti verò possint. Nolo huc rationes seu argumenta Physicorum aggregare. Vnum profecto hic cauendum est, ne dum fontium miracula prædicant scriptores, vt glaciem Islandorum, ita etiam fontes creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adiuncta, quæ huc scriptores pertraxerunt, ordine persequemur. Primus suo perpetuo calore) Plurimæ sunt in Islandia thermæ seu fontes calidi: Paucliores ardentes: quos neque cuiquam miraculo esse debere existimamus, cum huiusmodi, vt a scriptoribus didici, passim abundet Germania, præcipuè in ijs locis, quæ non sunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota est fama thermarum Badensium, Gebarsulfiensium, Calbensium, in ducatu Wirtebergensi, & multarum aliarum quarum meminit Fuchsius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia, & longè magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Aristoteles narrat, circa Epyrum calidas aquas scaturire, vnde locus Pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atq; inquam, hæc ideo minus miranda, quod vt incendij montani, ita feruoris aquei causas indagarint Naturæ speculatores: Aquam scilicet per terræ venas sulphureas, aut aluminosas labi, indéq; non calorem solùm, sed saporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Aristoteles libro de mundo. Continet, inquit, terra in se multos fontes, vt aquæ, ita & spiritus & ignis: Quidam amnium more fluunt, & vel ignescens ejiciunt ferrum: Nunc tepidæ aquæ erumpunt, nunc feruentissimæ, nonc temperatæ. Et Seneca: Empedocles existimabat ignibus, quos multis locis opertos tegit terra, aquam calescere, si subiecti sint solo, per quod aquæ transitus est. Et scitè de thermis Baianis Pontanus. Lib. 3. Nat. quæst.

Baiano sed ne fumare in littore thermas
Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:
Vulcani fora sulphureis incensa caminis
Ipse monent, latè multùm tellure sub ima
Debacchari ignem, camposq; exurere opertos.
Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,
Vnda fugax, tectis feruent & balnea flammis.

HOc loco attiogendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratissimus historicus, Islandiæ fontes quosdam nunc ad summum excrescere, & exūdare: Nunc adeò subsidere, vt vix fontes agnoscas. Qui etsi rariores apud nos inueniuntur, adscribam tamen similes, etiam alibi à natura productos, ne quis hic monstri quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Insula vnum, qui semper à tertia noctis hora, in sextam solstitio æstiuo exundet. In agro Pitinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluuium esse, qui omnibus Solstitijs æstiuis exundet, brumali tempore siccetur. Refert etiam de fonte quodā satis largo, qui singulis horis intumescat & residat. Nec id magis negligendum: subire terras flumina, rursusque redire: vt Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moscouia: Et quæ in Æsculapij fonte Athenis immersa sunt, in Phaletico reddi. Et Seneca scribit esse flumina, quæ in specum aliquem subterraneum demissa, ex hominum oculis se subducunt, quæ cōsumi paulatim & intercidere constet: Eademq; post interuallum reuerti, récipereq; & nomen & cursum priorem. Et iterum Plinius; fluuium in Atinate campo mersum, post 20 millia passuum exire. Quæ omnia, & his similia, Islandiæ fontes, miraculo nullo, præ cæteris esse debere, ostendunt.

Omne corpus immissum continuò conuertit in saxum. His duobus adiunctis, feruore nempe, seu ardore vehementissimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum suū fontem describit Frisius. Et fama quidem accepi, ipse non sum expertus, existere similem fontē in Islandiā, non procul à sede Episcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet simile Seneca, dicens, fontē quendam esse, qui ligna in lapides conuertat, hominumq; viscera indurescere, qui aquam eius biberint: Et addit eiusmodi fontes in quibusdam Italiæ locis inueniri: quod Ouidius Ciconum flumini tribuit 15. Metamorph.

Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit
Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu iuxta oppidum à falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpore abietes in lapidem conuersas esse, atq; quod maius est, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere. Et Domitius Brusonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis eius, qui est in agro vrbis Vrsentinorum olim, nunc Contursij lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides transire, non fide aliorum, sed propria, vt qui incola sit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius astipulatur) narrat, cortices autē lapidū, annos numero ostendere. Sic (si scriptoribus credimus) guttæ Gotici fontis sparsæ lapidescunt. Et in Vngaria, Cepusij aqua, in vrceos infusa, lapidescit. Plinius refert etiam, vt in Ciconum flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, lignum deiectum, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus algoris intolerabilis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus hic est quòd quisquā sciat, algoris intolerabilis, sed plurimi bene frigidi, ita vt vulgaribus riuis æstiuo sole tepescentibus, non sine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longè frigidiores fortè alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio è montis vertice fluentem riuum commemorat, nine frigidiorem: Et intra primum à Culma lapidem, Insanam vocatum: quæ aqua cū feruere videatur, sit tamen longè frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neq; id prorsus verum est. Non enim est vllus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri possit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures sunt) in Islandia dicit inueniri Cerealem referentes liquorem, vt etiam ibidem non diuersi saporis solùm, sed diuersi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.

Etsi autem tradunt Physici aquam naturaliter ex se neq; saporem neq; odorem habere, tamen, vt superius attigimus, veri simile est, quod alij per accidens vocant, eam sæpe referre qualitatem terræ, in qua generatur, & per cuius venas transitum atq; excursum habet: Atq; hinc aquarum odores, colores, sapores, alios atq; alios existere. Cuiusmodi sunt, de quibus narrat Seneca, quorum alij famem excitent, alij bibentes inebrient, alij memoriæ officiant, alij iuuent eandem, alij vini saporem & virtutem repræsentent: Vt ille apud Plinium in Andro Insula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Ian: vini sapore fluat. Et apud Aristotelem fons in agro Carthaginensi, qui oleū præbeat, & guttulas Cedri odore repræsentet. Item, Orcus fluuius Thessaliæ, influens in Peneum, olei instar supernatans: Cuiusmodi etiam narrat Cardanus

Lib. de mirab. auscultat.

Cardanus in Saxonia esse, iuxta Brunonis oppidum, fontem oleo perfusum: Et in Sueuia, iuxta Cœnobium, cui Tergensche nomen est. Itē, in valle montis Iurassi. Causam huius rei putat esse bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum sine dubio contineat. Idem, famam esse ait, in Cardia, iuxta locū Daschyli, in campo albo aquam esse lacte dulciorem. Alia quoq; iuxta pontem, qua Valdeburgum itur. Iam aquarū vini saporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar. Lib. 1. de Ha-mat.

En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
Vnde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

Est autem Naxus Insula vna ex Cycladibus, in mari Ægeo. Causam huius assignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetustate transeat in vinum. Aristoteles commemorat Siciliæ fontem, quo incolæ loco aceti vtantur. Idem saporum aquæ causam in calorem retulit, quòd terra excocta mutet & præbeat saporem aquæ.

Iam de aquæ coloribus ita Cardanus. Eadem est ratio colorum aquæ, ait, quæ & saporum: videlicet à terra originem trahere. Nam Candida est aqua, ad secundum lapidem à Glauca, Misenæ oppido: Rubea, vt in Radera Misenæ fluuio, iuxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Iudæa iuxta Ioppen: Viridis, in Carpato monte, iuxta Neusolam: Cærulea aut blaua, inter Feltrium & Taruisium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuisse referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluuio Saxoniæ, vbi in Visurgim se exonerat. Caussæ sunt argillæ colores, sed tenuiores. Item Aristoteles: circa Iapygiam promontoriū, esse fontem, qui sanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem suo fœtore nauigantes procul arcere. Aiunt præterea in Idumæa fontem esse, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum sit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc sanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odore sic Cardanus. Similis ratio differentiæ est in odoribus. Plerumq; tamen aquarum odores iniucundi sunt, quòd rarò terra bene oleat. Pessimè olim fœtabat in Ælide, Anigri fluminis aqua, vsq; ad perniciem, non solum piscium, sed etiam hominum. Iuxta Metonem in Messania, in puteo quodam optimè olens aqua hauriebatur. Hæc ideo recito, vt nullus magis in Islandia quàm alibi, aquarum, colores, odores, sapores, miretur.

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor est Isidorus, esse fontem quendam, cuius aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: Iuxta Nonarim, inquit, Arcadiæ, Styx (iuxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi vngula continebatur: referunt ea sublatum Alexandrum magnū) nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat. Idem, In Beroso Taurorum colle sunt tres fontes sine remedio, sine dolore mortiferi: Et quod longè maximum est, quod Seneca stagnum esse dicat, in quod prospicientes statim moriantur. Nos verò Islandi etiam hunc quartum Frisij fontē, cuius etiam Saxo meminit, vt antehac semper, itidem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum testamur: Hocq; igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quòd ab eiusmodi fontibus & serpētibus, insectis venenatis, ac alijs pestiferis & contagiosis, esse nos immunes voluerit.

Præterea est apud prædictos fontes tanta sulphuris copia. Montes tres à Munstero & Frisio igniuomi dicti, omnes longissimo interuallo à nostris fodinis distant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes, fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & situm faciant, necesse est eos fontes pari ferè interuallo à fodinis sulphureis remotos esse. Nec verò apud montem Heclam, vt Munsterus, nec apud hos Frisij fontes (quorum rumor quàm verus sit, hactenus ostensum est) sulphur effoditur: Nec patrum nostrorum memoria effossum esse arbitramur. Neq; verum est, quod de sulphuris copia tradit Munsterus, esse videlicet penè vnicum Insulæ mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum insula in quatuor partes diuisa sit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc vtitur mercimonio, nec sulphuris mica in vectigal Insulæ penditur. * Sulphur in bore-ali Islandiæ parte

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

Piscium tanta est copia in hac Insula, vt ad altitudinem domorū sub aperto cœlo vendēdi exponantur. Mone.

SVb aperto cœlo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naues mercibus extraneis

extrancis exonerarint, incipiãtq; easdem rursus piscibus & reliquis nostratium mercibus onerare. An verò nostri homines id aliquando fecerint, non satis liquet. Certè copiosa illa & vetus piscium abundantia iam desijt, Islandis & istius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis nostræ flagellum, quod vtinam ritè agnoscamus, immittente.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

Ealdus. Equos habent velocissimos, qui sine intermissione 30. millaria continuo cursu conficiunt.

QVidam in sua mappa Islandiæ, 20. millaria continuo cursu assequi tradit cuiusdam parecciæ equos. Sed vtrumque impossibile ducimus. Nam maximæ celeritatis & roboris bestias (Rangiferos appellant) scribit Munsterus non nisi 30. millaria 24. horarum spacio conficere.

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

Mans. Cete grandia instar montium prope Islandiam aliquando conspiciuntur, quæ naues euertunt, nisi tubarum sono absterreantur, aut missis in mare rotundis & vacuis vasis, quorum luso delectantur, ludificentur. Fit aliquando, vt nautæ in dorsa cetorum, quæ Insulas esse putant, anchoras figentes, sæpe periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua Trollwal, Tuffelwalen. i. Diabolica cete.

INstar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munsteri, Telenicia Echo, & cæcum, vt dici solet, insomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeò mendax & absurda hyperbole historiam, idque tantò magis quantò minus est necessaria. Nam quorsum attinet mentiri Historicum, si historia est rei veræ narratio? Quorsum tropicas hyperboles assumet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

Pictoribus atq; Poëtis,
Quodlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas:
Non itidem Historicis.

Dorsa cetorum, quæ insulas putant: Nata est hæc fabula, vt & reliquæ, ex mendacio quodam, vt antiquo, ita ridiculo & vano, cuius ego fidem titiuillitio non emam. Est autem tale: Missos fuisse olim Legatos cum sodalitio monastico, ab Episcopo Bremensi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis, Crantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papisticam, quæ tum Christiana putabatur, in Septentrionē prædicandam & diuulgandam: Eosque, vbi immensum iter Septentrionem versus nauigando consumpsissent, ad insulam quandam peruenisse: ibique iacta anchora descensum in Insulam fecisse, focos accendisse: (Nam verisimile est nautas in ipso mari glaciali frigore non parum esse vexatos) & commeatum naualem ad reliquum iter expediuisse. Ast vbi bene ignibus accensis incaluerant foci, Insulam hanc submersam citò euanuisse, nautas autem per præsentem scapham vix seruatos fuisse. Habes huius rei fundamentum, Lector, sed quàm incredibile, ipse vides. Quid verò tandem est animi nautis, qui in mari procelloso videntes scopulum, vel, vt Munsterus, Insulam perexiguam emergere, non vtiēt potius omni studio, allisionem & naufragium metuentes, quàm vt in portu parum tuto quiescere tentent? Sed vbi anchora figenda? Solent enim, vt plurimùm, desse nautis tam immensi funes, vt in altissimo æquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorsis cetorum, respondet Munsterus. Oportet igitur, vestigiū vnci prius effodiant. O stultos nautas, balenarum carnem, à terræ cespitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoscentes, nec lubricam cetorum cutem, à terrestri superficie internoscentes. Digni profectò, quibus cum ipse Munsterus, nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, vt & superius, de miraculis Islandiæ terrestribus agens, è Tantali, vt aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id est, ea consectatur, quæ nunquam reperiuntur, nec vsquam sunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram & pelagus verrere, ad Historiæ suæ supplementum studet: Vbi tamen nihil nisi commentitia tantùm venari potest.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne vltra peram, Munstere: Nullam siquidem es linguæ nostræ cognitionem adeptus: Quare meritò puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam ali-

os

os velle docere; Est enim eiusmodi inceptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, vt vel hoc tuo exemplo docebimus. Dum enim vis alijs autor esse, quomodo nostra lingua balenæ vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inscitiam, aspiratione, quæ penè sola vocis significationem facit, quod minimè verum est, affers: Non enim val nostra lingua balenam, sed electionem siue delectum significat, à verbo, Eg val d. eligo, vel deligo: vnde val, &c. At balena Hualur nobis vocatur: Vnde tu Trolihualur scribere debebas. Nec vero Troil Diabolum, vt tu interpretaris, sed Gigantes quosdam montanos significat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Leuis quidem illa in linguam nostram iniuria, in vnica tantùm voce: quoniam plures, haud dubiè, non noras.

Idem alijs etiam vsu venit: Non enim probandum est, quòd quidam, dum Islandiæ descriptionem, ab Islandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certè plurima promontoriorum, sinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, tesquorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina deprauare (quòd nostræ linguæ ignarus, non sciret à nostratibus accepta satis exactè legere) atque corrumpere, quàm prius ab ipsis Islandis, qui tum temporis, id est, Anno 1585. in Academia Haffnienſi vixerunt, quomodo singula legi ac scribi deberent, ediscere. Ipsum certè hac natiuorum nominum & appellationum voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum est, vt ipsi ea legentes, paucissima nostra agnoscamus) in linguam nostram, alioqui puram & auitam penè elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccasse reputamus. 1585.

Cæterum iam plurima Islandiæ miracula, quæ quidè scriptores nostri attigerunt, sic vtcunq; examinauimus. Sed tamen priusquàm alio diuertamur, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quod idem ille in mappa Islandiæ, quam sub suo nomine, prædicto anno edi fecerat, de duobus, præter supra dictos, fontibus Islandiæ prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras, albo inficiat. Quòd quidem vbi acceperit, aut vnde habeat, scire equidem non possumus: Nec enim apud nostrates, nec apud extraneos scriptores, reperire licuit. Sed vndecunq; est, fabula est, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamuis autem sit incredibile, Lanas nigras albo infici colore, cum traditum sit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen simile quiddam narratur à Theophrasto: Flumen esse in Macedonia, quod oues nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cuius etiam superius memini, rapsodia Noruagica, speculum scilicet illud Regale, hos ipsos fontes Irlandiæ, quæ hodie Hybernia, non Islandiæ esse affirmat. Quod forsan Lectori imposuit, in linguæ peregrinæ, pro R, S, legenti.

Non maiorem fidem meretur, quòd Historicus quidam habet: Esse in Islandia saxum, quod montium præruptа non extrinseca agitatione, sed propria natiuaq; motione peruolitet: Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet? Est enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum eius simile, fabulatos fuisse Epicuræos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitasse Luciano visi sunt) cõstet: Nisi fortè hominem, qui Islandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, sentit Historicus rupes quasdam circuisse, vel circumreptasse. Quod, etsi ridiculum est in Historiã miraculosam referre, hominem scilicet moueri vel ambulare, tamen ad saluandam Historici fidem, simulandum: ne figmentum illud, per se satis absurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perstringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicunq; Islandiæ, coruos albos, picas, lepores, & vultures adscripserunt: Perrarò enim vultures, cum glacie marina, sicut etiam vrsos (sed hos sæpius quã vultures) & cornicum quoddam genus, Islandis Isakrakur, aduenire obseruatum est. Picas verò & lepores, vt & coruos albos, nunquàm Islandia habuit.

Atque hæc ferè sunt, quæ de prima commentarij nostri parte per quotidianas occupationes, in præsentia, afferre licuit. Quæ in hunc finem à me scripta sunt, (quod etiã prius testatus sum,) vt scriptorum de terra ignota errores, & quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Neq; enim eorum famæ quicquam detractum cupio: Sed quòd veritati & patriæ, operam meam consecraram, illa, quæ hactenus dicta sunt à multis, de Insula, fidem valde exiguam mereri, necesse habui ostendere: ac ita mihi viam ad sequentia de Incolis sternere.

Commentarij primæ partis Finis.

Commentarij

Commentarij de Islandia pars secunda: quæ est de incolis.

ABsolutis hactenus miraculis Islandiæ, (cum nonnullis alijs, primæ parti annexis) quæ dum scriptores, velut Agamemnonios quosdam fontes, imò, vt quidiam præter & contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non variè deprædicant, minus veritati ipsi, & authoritati suæ consulunt; monet propositæ orationis series, vt ad alteram commentarij partem nos conferamus, quæ est de incolis: Vbi quid primùm dicam, aut vnde initium sumam, non satis teneo. Tanta enim sunt in nos vltimos Islandos, & tot quorundam ludibria, tot opprobria, tot scommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter hæc etiam nonnulla eorum, qui simplicissimam veritatem profiteri, volunt, nempe historicorum) vt si singula recensere velim, non aliud quàm

Icariæ numerum dicere coner aquæ. Sed, vt dixi initio, non cum omnibus æquè stricto iure agemus. Nam licet Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius, & alij, nimis audacter multa de gente nostra scripserint: Tamen suis monumentis de studijs liberalibus alioqui benè meriti, etiam apud nos eo erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etsi quis velit eos à calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leue est, eos res quasdam tam absurdas, impossibiles & ridiculas proposuisse, cuiusmodi illa fuerunt, quæ hactenus exposuimus, tum impias, & atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cuiusmodi iam sequentur aliquot, in historias retulisse. Ast alijs, quicunq; sunt, qui quotidianus conuicijs nationem Islandorum incessunt, respõsio, quam merentur, parata esse debet: Ex quorum numero, scurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis nostræ contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen suum immortali dedecori consecrauit.

Quapropter, vt instituti nostri ratio exigit, dum scriptorum de hac re monumenta persequimur, etsi quædam in eis occurrant, quæ contumeliæ parum habent, nos tamen plærasq; excutiemus, & errores, vt hactenus, annotabimus: tum si quid veri interea attulerint, id nequaquam dissimulabimus. Ac eo modo, primùm Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, & si qui sunt alij, audiemus, Graculo illo, cum suis rhythmis Germanicis, dira calumnia infectis in postremum, vt dignus est, reiecto locum. In hunc igitur modum, primùm de fide seu Religione Islandorum: Deinde de ipsorum moribus, institutis seu viuendi ratione, authores isti scribunt.

Secõde partis distributio.

1. Capitis huius partis diuisio.

SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertus Metropolitanus Hamburgensis, Anno Christi 1070. vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos: licet ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali viuentes, non multùm à lege nostra discrepantes: itaque, petentibus illis, ordinauit quendam virum sanctum, primum Episcopum, nomine Isleif.

KRantzius his verbis, & Munsterus alibi, fidei seu Religionis Christianæ dignitatem Islandis videntur adscribere: Facerentq; & se, & veritate dignum, nisi eandem aliàs nobis adimerent. Nam (vt de Krantzio infra) Munsterus, quæ supra prodidit, de fide nostra, seu opinione circa Inferni locum situmque, omninò est à Christiana pietate alienum: Velle scilicet scrutari arcana, quæ Deus sibi soli reseruauit, quæq; voluit nostrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacris, vbi locus vel situs inferni seu ignis æterni, Diabolo & Angelis ipsius, adeoq; damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinetur, aut circumscribatur: Nullum inquam, infra terram, seu in ea, aut vlia alia huius mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi damnatorum carceri pagina sacra assignat: quinimò, terram hanc interiturarn, & terram nouam & cœlos nouos, iustorum & sanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2. 2. Petri 3. Esa. 65. Quare Christianus rerum adeò abstrusarum inquisitionem libenter præterit: tum dogmata nullis apertis & illustribus scripturæ sacræ testimonijs stabilita, velut certa & vera recipere, aut alijs tradere, nefas esse ducit. Deut. 4. & 12. Esa. 8. Matth. 17. 2. Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus & Krantzius Islandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos æquo habere in precio De quo infra, section. 7. Sic igitur secum dissidet Munst. dum quos Christianos asserit, inferni architectos

architectos aliàs facit: Item, Krantzius & Munsterus, dū quos fide Christo insertos affirmant, eosdem omni pietatis & honestatis sensu exuunt: quòd scribant filios ab his, non maiore cura, quàm catulos diligi.

Sed vt ad rem: De Religione equidē nostra, quæ qualisue fuerit, cū Ethnicismus primùm fugari cœpit, nihil magnificè diceret possumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, vti existimo, de suis fidei initijs. Fatendū enim est, & cum serijs gemitibus deplorandum vsq; ad illam nunquā satis prædicatam diem, quæ nobis velut immortalitatis initiū illuxit & repurgati Euangelij doctrinam attulit, tenebras plusquā Cimmerias, etiā nostris hominibus, vt reliquis Septentrionis Ecclesijs, offusas fuisse. Illud tamen piè nobis sentire liceat, apud nos, vt & in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo vltra septa vagari, & de populis ignotis quicquā pronunciare) eiecta primum Idololatria Ethnica, sinceriorem longè & simpliciorem fidem seu religionem Christianam viguisse; quippe veneno Papistico minus infectā, quā posteà, vbi auctum Romanæ sedis fermentum pestiferum, & malum contagiosum maturuit, & per totum orbem virus suum diffudit: Nam vt posteà apparebit, multis annis antequā noua Pontificiorum Idololatria vires & incrementum cepit, Islandia Christum amplexa est: & vt laudatissimi duo illi Noruegiæ Reges, quibus vt commune nomen, ita commune nominis Christi propagandi studium & professio, nihil nisi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, & spiritum Sanctum, sonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F. qui Anno Christi 968. natus, Anno ætatis 27. imperium Noruegiæ adeptus est, & primus, vt accepimus, Noruegis Christum obtrusit: quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctū, Haraldi F. Qui anno Christi 1013. aut circiter, imperij habenas arctius in primis obtinuit: Per annos fere 17. Christi doctrinam audacter tradidit. Anno Christi 1030. ab improbis parricidis nefariè interfectus, in pago Noruegiæ Stickla Stodum, pro Christi nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate virum: cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Christi 1000 vixit in prædio seu villa Berthors huol, sita in Parochia Islandiæ, Landenum: Quiq; rerum humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitate & consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, eius seculo, indomitis Islandia motibus fluctuaret, incolis à nullo ferè superiore magistratu repressis, nullis se factionibus immiscuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac industria composuit: Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, si vltimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeò studiosè seditiones & turbas vitauit: aliosq; vitare aut euadere cupientes optimè iuuit: Nec quisquam eius consilio, nisi maximo suo commodo est vnquam vsus: nec quisquam ab eo, nisi cum vitæ & fortunarum periculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde mirandum sit, vnde homini tanta futurorum euentuum, & tam certa cōiectura & consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso deprehensa est. Vnde ipsius cauta, prouidens & consilij plena sapientia, apud nostrates in prouerbium abijt: Nials biita raden: quasi dicas, Niali consilium; vel, Niali consilio res geritur, aut succedit: cùm quid prudenter & admirando cum consilio gestum est.

Hic cum domi suæ, à 100. viris coniuratis ob cædem à filio ipsius, ipso tamen inscio, patratam cingeretur, & inimicis domum vndiq: igni succendentibus, sibi videret supremum fatum instare, ait tandem. Hæc quidem fato, hoc est, voluntate diuina accidunt. Cæterū spem & fiduciam in Christo sitam habeo, nos (de se & vxore loquens) licet corpus hoc nostrum caducum, inimicorum flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem subeat, ab æternis tamen flammis liberatum iri. Sicq; inter has voces, & flammarum sæuitiam, vitam, An. Christo 1010. cum vxore & filio homicida, finiuit. Vox profectò filijs Dei non indigna, animæ, cum mortis acerbitate luctantis summum solatium arguens.

Hæc ideo addidi, vt ostendam quâ coniectura adducar ad existimādum mox initio Christianismi (vt sic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisse tam deceptas & errorum tenebris immersas hominum mentes, quàm nunc, paulò ante hæc nostra tempora fuerunt.

Ast verò iam postquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, & Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, & pios successores, salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit, mentiúmq; nostrarum graui veterno & densa caligine excussis, dextræ suæ digito, hoc est, spiritu Sancto, (Matth. 12. vers. 28.) cordis nostri auriculas vellicauit, ac oculos, quibus saluificam ipsius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes & singuli credimus & confitemur Deum esse Spiritum, (Iohan. 4. vers. 24.

24. æternum Esai 40. vers. 28.) Infinitum (Ierem. 23. vers. 24. Psalm. 136. vers. 7. 8. 9.) optimum (Matth. 19. 17.) omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Vnum essentia & natura: Vnum prouidentia: vnum efficientia rerum & administratione (Deut. 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis diuinitatis, proprietatibúsque distinctum, Patrem, Filium & spiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam diuinitatis personam, cœli terræ & omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1. vers. 1. & sequent.) Sustentatorem & gubernatorē (Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi (Psalm. 2. 7. & sequent:) & nostrum per eundem Patrem (Rom. 8. 15.) Animæ & corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Iesum Christum, secundam diuinitatis personam, filium Dei patris (Iohan. 1. 18. &c.) Vnigenitum (Iohan. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) æqualem patri (1. Paral. 17. 13. Iohan. 1. 1.) Deum verum (Iohan. 1. 2. &c.) ante omnia creata præordinatū (1. Pet. 1. 20. Apocal. 13. 8. &c.) & statim post lapsum, promissum Messiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum, vt Abrahæ (Gen. 12. 3 &c.) Isaac. (Gen. 26. 4.) Iacob. (Gen. 28. 14.) & prænissionibus confirmatum (Genes. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10.) Sacrificijs Mosaicis (Leuit. 1. 2. &c.) Et alijs typis præfiguratum: immolatione Isaac (Gen. 22.) Exaltatione ænei serpentis. (Num. 21.) Iona (Ion. 2. &c.) Prophetarum testimonio proclamatum (Esai 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis verè exhibitum; hominem verum (Iohan. 1. 14. &c. Paul. Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis nostris: resuscitatum propter iustificationem nostri (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascendentem in cœlum (Act. 1. 9. &c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris sine intermissione interpellantem (1. Iohan. 2. 1. &c.) per spiritum Sanctum suum qui tertia est diuinitatis persona patri & filio compar & consubstantialis. (Actor. 5. 4.) Ecclesiam sibi verbo & Sacramentis colligentem (Matth. 16. 18. Roman. 10. 14. &c.) Et ad vitam æternam sanctificātem (Actor. 9. 31. &c.) Ac tandem consummatis seculis & cœlo venturum (Actor. 1. 11.) Iudicare vivos & mortuos (1. Thess. 4. 15.) redditurum impijs secundum opera sua, cósq; pœnis æternis adiudicaturū (Mat. 13. 42. & 25. 41.) credentes verò in nomine ipsius æterna vita donaturū (Mat. 25. 34. &c.) Hunc, inquam, Iesum Christum redemptorem (Mat. 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) & Dominum nostrum (Ephes. 4. 5.) agnoscimus: Nosq; illi nomen in sacro baptismo dare ac dedisse (Actor. 2. 38.) Et per baptismū illi insertos esse (1. Cor. 12. 13.) apertè, ingenuè, liberè ac libenter fatemur ac contestamur: omnesque alios, quicunq; aliud nomē sub cœlo datum esse hominibus, per quod salui fiant, comminiscuntur, seriò detestamur, execramur & damnamus. (Actor. 4. 12.) Verbum ipsius sanctissimum vnicam salutis normam statuimus, illudque tantummodò, omnibus humanis commentis abiectis & spretis, infallibilem fidei nostræ regulam & amussim nobis proponimus: (Galat. 1. 8. Esa. 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) Quod duplicis Testamenti, veteris & noui appellatione complectimur. (Hebr. 8.) traditum per Prophetas & Apostolos (Ephes. 2. 20.) singulari & imminensa Dei bonitate in hunc vsque diem semper in Ecclesia conservatum & conseruandum in posterum. (Matth. 28. vlt. Psalm. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo & toto pectore agimus, quòd etiam ad nos, vastissimo interuallo a reliquo Eccle-iæ corpore diuulsos & vltimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc suum, concessum, ad reuelationem gentium, & paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne ostendum (Nam in Christo omnes thesauri sapientiæ reconditi) quod nunc totam nostram gentem radijs suis salutificis illuminat ac fouet, pertingere voluerit. Hæc ita breuiter, ipsam summam perstringendo, fides nostra est, & nostra religio, quam mōstrante spiritu Sancto, & ipsius in vinea Christi ministris, hausimus: idq; ex fontibus Israëlis.

Krantzius.

Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos.

Chronologiæ Islandicæ gratia antiquissimæ.

DVbium nobis est, vtrum his verbis dicere voluerit Krantzius, Islandos primùm Anno Domini 1070. ad Christum esse conuersos: an verò, prius quidem esse conuersos non neget, sed eo primùm anno id Adalberto innotuisse dicat. Vtrumuis autem affirmet, tamen fidem ipsius hoc loco suspectam reddunt annales & chronologiæ nostræ gentis antiquissimæ, quæ contrariam testantur: quibus vtrum nos, de rebus nostris proprijs & domesticis & intra nostræ insulæ limites gestis credere, an verò Krantzio, aut cuiuis alteri in nostratium rerum

historia

historia peregrino, sit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profectò multis adducor vt nostris potius assentiar. Nostrates enim nota tantùm & fere domestica asserunt: ille peregrina & ignota. Hi suas Chronologias sine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula & sugillatione cōtexuerunt tantūmodò, vt rebus gestis suum verū temp' seu æram assignarent; ille quædam cum re & veritate pugnantia in contumeliā gentis nostræ ignotissimæ, historiæ suæ admiscuit, vt paulò post apparebit: hi omnium episcoporū Islandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem & successum describunt: ille vnius tantùm mentionē facit, idq; longè secus quàm res habet. Porrò vt his fidem faciam, pauca, quæ in vetustissimis nostris annalibus de Islandia ad Christum conuersa, & de Episcoporum in nostris Ecclesijs successione reperi, quórum etiam fides apud nos publicè recepta est, cum extraneis communicabo. Quæ tametsi leuiuscula, nec omnia prorsus digna quæ scribantur, scribenda tamen omninò sunt ad nostrarum rerum veritatem, aduersus Krantzium & alios asserendam: Sic igitur habent. Vetustissimi annales.

Anno Christi 874. prius quidem, vt ante commemorauimus, inuenta, sed tunc primum à Noruagis (quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, è cuius nomine promontorium Islandiæ orientalis Ingulffs hoffdi appellationem traxit) occupata est Islandia. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis & agnatis & præterea numerosa familia nominatim in annalibus nostris recensentur: nec illorum tantùm numerus describitur, sed quas oras, quæ littora, & quæ loca mediterranea, singuli occupauerint & incoluerint, & quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, sinibus, portubus, isthmis, porthmis, promontorijs, rupibus, scopulis, mōtibus, collibus, vallibus, tesquis, fontibus, fluminibus, rinis, ac deniq; villis seu domicilijs suis nomina dederint, quorum hodié plæraq; retinentur & in vsu sunt, apertè narratur. Itaq; Noruagi occupatæ iam Islandiæ 60. annorum spacio, aut circiter, habitabiles partes sua multitudine implent: Centum verò prope modum annis Ethnici manserunt, si paucissimos, qui in Noruagia fortè sacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. Annis autem vix centum à primo ingressu elapsis, mox de religione Christiana agi cœptum est, nempe circa annum Domini 974 quæ res non sine insigni rebellione plusquam 20 annis variè à multis tentata est. Commemorantur autem duo Episcopi extranei, qui cum alijs, in conuertenda ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter laborarint: Prior Fridericus, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Islandos venit, atque docendi munere strenuè functus est, ac tantum fecit, vt Anno 984. sacræ ædes Islandis in vsu fuerint. 874. Islandia primum inhabitata. 974. Fridericus Saxo.

Alter verò ille extraneus Episcopus siue concionator, quem Thangbrandt nuncupauere, anno 997. in Islandiam primùm venit.

Hinc post 26. annorum disceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuentu generali omnium incolarum decretum est, vniuersali eorundem consensu, vt Ethnicorum numinum cultu seposito, religionem sectarentur Christianam. Ann. Dom. 1000.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. sancitum est, vt leges seculares seu politicæ (quarum constitutiones allatas ex Noruagia quidam Vlfliotus, Anno 926. Islandis communicarat) vbique cederent iuri Canonico seu diuino.

Anno 1056. abit peregrè ex Islandia Isleifus quidam, in Episcopum Islandiæ ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, & Cathedram Schalholtensem adit Anno 1057. Moritur 1080. Ætatis 74. 4. Kalendas Iulias.

Videbuntur forsitan hæc minuta, concisa, vilia, nec narratione satis digna, cum multis fortè quæ sequuntur: Sed nec historiam Romanam conteximus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra Krantzij & aliorum errores conuincendos, prout nostrum est institutum, valeant. Et certè, quātum ad fidem nostrarum Chronologiarum, constat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuisse: Cuius, in præfatione suæ Daniæ, hæc sunt verba. Nec Thylensium inquit, (sic enim Islandos appellat) industria silentio obliteranda: qui cum ob natiuam soli sterilitatem, luxuriæ nutrimētis carentes, officia continuæ sobrietatis exerceant, omniáq; vitæ momenta ad alienorum operum notitiam conferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res gestas cognosse, memoriaq; mandare, voluptatis loco reputant non minoris gloriæ iudicantes, alienas virtutes disserere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum thesauros Historicarum rerum pignoribus refertos curiosius consulens, haud paruam præsentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui: nec arbitros habere contempsi, quos tāta vetustatis

vetustatis peritia callere noui. Hæc Saxo. Quare lubet Episcoporũ Islandiæ Catalogum persequi, vt ex annalibus nostris continuata diligenter, quoad eius fieri potest, omnium series, his quæ de primo Isleifo contra Krantzium attulimus, fidem faciat.

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	II	I	
	Gysserus.	Ionæ Augmundi F.	
1082	Ordinatur peregrè.	Isleifi discipulus.	
1083	Redit in Islandiam cum Episcopatu.	Ordinatur peregrè: anno ætat. 64.	1106
1118	Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit dies Martis.	cognomentum illi, sanctus: cuius memoriæ dies 3. Martij, apud Islandos est antiquitùs dicatus.	
	III	Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.	1121
	Thorlacus Runolphi. F.	II.	
Anno ætatis 32:	Ordinatur eodẽ anno, quo prædecessor	Ketillus siue Catullus.	
	Gysserus vita excessit, sed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die.	Ordinatur.	1122
1133	Moritur.	Moritur.	1145
	IIII	III	
	Magnus.	Biorno.	
1134	Ordinatur.	Ordinatus venit in Islandiam.	1147
1148	Postridiè festi omnium Sanctorũ in villa sacerdotali Hiitardal cõuiuans, cœnaculo fulmine percusso, cum viris 70. flammis absumptus est.	Moritur.	1162
		IIII	
		Brandus.	
		Ordinatur.	1163
		Cathedram adit.	1165
		Moritur.	1201
	V	V	
	Klaingus.	Gudmundus, cognomento Bonus.	
1151	Eligitur.	Eligitur & ordinatur.	1203
1152	Cathedram adit.	Moritur.	1237
1176	Moritur.	VI	
	VI	Botolphus.	
	Thorlacus.	Redit ordinatus.	1239
	Eligitur biennio ante obit. prædecessoris.	Moritur.	1246
1178	Ordinatur.	VII.	
1193	Moritur.	Henricus.	
	VII	Cathedram adit.	1247
	Paulus.	Moritur.	1260
1195	Ordinatur.	VIII	
1211.	Moritur.	Brandus.	
	VIII	Abbas peregrè abit.	1262
	Magnus.	Cathedram adit.	1263
1216	Ordinatur.	Moritur.	1264
	IX	IX.	
	Siguardus.	Iorundus.	
1239	Cathedram adit.	Cathedram adit.	1267
1268	Moritur.	Moritur.	1313
	X	X	
	Arnerus.	Audunnus.	
1269	Cathedram adit.	Cathedram adit.	1314
1298	Moritur.	Moritur.	1322

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholt.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XI	XI	
	Arnerus Helgonis F.	Laurentius.	
1304	Ordinatur.	Eligitur & ordinatur.	1324
1305	Cathedram adit.	Moritur Idib. April.	1331
1309	In Noruagia abit ligna à rege Norwagiæ petiturus, quibus templi Schalholtense reædificaretur, quod eodem anno fulmine tactum conflagrarat.	XII Egillus. Cathedram adit.	1332
1310	Redit ex itinere.	Moritur.	1341
1320	Moritur.	XIII Ormus. Cathedram adit.	1343
	XII	Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorũ.	1355
	Ionas Haldorus.	XIIII	
1321	Eligitur.	Ionas Erici F. cognomento Skalle.	
1322	Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.	Cathedram Holensem aditurus venit in Islandiam. Hic Ionas, olim in Episcopum Gronlandiæ ordinatus, à Pontifice Romano impetrauit, vt liceret sibi Episcopatum Holensem adire, qui tunc temporis vacabat. Vnde cum confirmationem huius dignitatis ac muneris, à Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud Presbyteros diœcesis Holensis, suspectæ fidei esse cœpit. Quare ab ijsdem in Norwagiam relegatus est, vt ea res arbitrio Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus fauente Cathedram Holensem obtinuit.	1358 Gronlandiæ Episcopus.
1323	Cathedram adit.		
1328	Moritur.		
	XIII		
	Ionas Indridi F. Norwagus.		1356
1339	Cathedram adit.		
1341	Moritur.		
	XIIII		
	Ionas Siguardi F.		
1343	Cathedram adit.		
1348	Moritur pridiè Diui Magni.		
	XV		
	Gyrthus.		
1349	Ordinatus Asloiæ Norwagorum, ab Episcopo Asloensi Salomone.		
1356	Abiens peregrè fluctibus vitam finit.	Moritur.	1391
	XVI	XV	
	Thorarinnus.	Petrus.	
1362	Cathedram adit.	Ordinatur, quo anno prædecessor rebus mortalium exemptus est.	
1364	Moritur.	Cathedram adit Holensem.	1392
	XVII	Moritur.	
	Oddgeirus.	XVI	
1366	Cathedram adit.	Ionas Wilhelmus, Anglus, siue genere, siue cognomine, præfuit Ecclesiæ Holensi.	1432
1381	Moritur in Assumpt. beatæ virginis, in portu Norwagiæ Burgensi, è mercium aceruo in imum nauis delapsus. Sepultus Bergis in æde Saluatoris.	XVII Godschalcus.	1457
	XVIII	Moritur.	
	Michaël Danus.	XVIII	
1385	Cathedram adit.	Olaus Regwaldi F. prædicti Godschalchi ex sorore nepos, vterq; Norwagus, eligitur.	1458
1388	Resignat profectus in Daniam.	Moritur.	1497
	XIX	XIX	
	Wilhelmus Danus.		
1394	Cathedram adit. Moritur.		

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholt.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XX	XIX	
	Arnerus.	Godechalcus.	
	Hic cognomento fuit Milldur. i. liberalis. Gessit vna præfecturam Islandiæ tertiùs: Episcopatū Scalholtens. & vice Episcopatū Holensē.	Demortui Olai nepos ex fratre, & ille Nornagus, eligitur eodem anno quo patruus decessit.	
1420	Obijt.	Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. annos multos ex subditis duriter exercuisse fertur.	1500
	XXI		
	Ionas Gerickson.		
	Suecus siue cognomento siue natione præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi: ac postea ob quædā nimis audacter tentata, à quodam Thoraldo de Modruuallum (vt fama est) captus, & aligato ad colli saxo in amne Schalholtensi, qui à ponte nomē habet, viuus submersus & strāgulatus est.	Anno 1520. cū inter pocula & voluptates conuiuales versaretur audiretq; obijsse Iona Sigismundū, quem cum vxore & liberis multos annos crudelissimè vexauerat, in subitum morbum repentè incidit, & sic paulò post. eam, qua in tota vita in miseros subditos vsus est, vim cum miserabili morte commutauit.	
	XXII	XX	
	Gosuinus.	Ionas Arasonius.	
1445	Præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi.	Cathedram adit: etiam hic Papisticarū superstitionū vltimus & acerrimus assertor. Qui, cum Gyssero & Martino episcopis Scalholtinis acriter resisteret, à pientiss. Rege Christiano tertio iubetur sub pœna exilij protinus in Daniam aduentare. Sed hoc neglecto, captus	1525
	XXIII		
	Sueno.		
1472	Dictus sapiens præest.		
	XXIIII		
	Magnus Eiolphi F.		
1489	Præest.	Martinum Schalholtinæ Episcopum custodiæ mandauit. Tandem & ipse à viro quodam magni nominis quem prius vt fertur, lacessinerat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus, ibidem cū filijs duobus, authoritate regij præfecti, capitis supplicio affectus est. In cuius vltionem, nō multò post præfectus ille regius, cum socijs aliquot, à quibusdam sicarijs, decollatorum olim famulis, nefariè occisus est.	1548 1550 1551
	XXV		
	Stephanus.		
1494	Cathedram adit.		
	Deinde Godtschalco episcopo Holensi, qui crudelis nomen meritus esse videtur, Synchronos similem cum illo clementiæ & iusticiæ laudem reportauit.		
1519	Moritur: aut circiter.		
	XXVI		
	Augmundus.		
	Eligitur anno obitus Stephani.		
1522	Cathedram adit.	XXI	
	Hoc episcopo, præfectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalholtiam inuitatus, in ipso conuiuio à coniuratis quibusdam interfectus est eò quòd impiè passim in incolas & bona ipsorum grassatus esset. Augmundus verò tanquam istius cædis author, quanquam se iuramento purgarat, in Daniam transuectus, Obijt.	Olaus Hialterus.	
		Abit patria.	1552
		Cathedram adit.	1553
		Hic primus sincerioris doctrinæ apud Holenses amorem in multorum animis, etiam adhuc prædecessoris sui collega, accendit: Deinde eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertius docuit & propugnauit.	
		Moritur.	1568
	XXVII	XXII	

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholt.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XXVII	XXII	
	Gysserus.	Gudbrandus Thorlacius.	
1540	Eligitur viuente Augmundo.	Ille non modò suæ ætatis, sed &	
1541	Cathedram adit, Papisticarum tra-	posteritatis ornamentum. Qui præ-	
	ditionum abrogator circa coniugium	terquàm quod inchoatũ opus à præ-	
	sacerdotum: Eius nuptiæ Schalhol-	decessore Olao sibi relictum ducente	
1544.	tiæ celebratæ.	S. S. optimè ad eam, quam dedit	
	XXVIII	Deus perfectionem, deduxit. (Disc	
	Martinus.	labores &' diligẽtiam in asserenda	
1547	Præest, & sequentibus.	veritate Euangelica, & papisticis	
	XXIX	superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam	
	Gislaus Ionas.	in hac patria sua officinam Typo-	
	Hic statim, Augmundo episcopo,	graphicam primus Islandorum aper-	
	cœpit iuuenis veræ pietatis & pu-	uit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros	
	rioris doctrinæ Euangelicæ studio,	complures in linguam vernaculam	
	& amore flagrare, eandemq; pastor	translatos, etiam sacrosancta Biblia,	
	ecclesiæ Selardalẽsis diligenter pro-	elegantissimis typis Islandica lingua	
	pagare, qua ratione Pontificiorũ edi-	in officina ipsius excusa, in æternum	
	tum adeò in se deriuauit, vt illorum	debebit.	
	insidijs ac rabiei cedere coactus,	Hic inquam Episcopus præsens	
	Hamburgum se contulerit, vnde	officium suscepturus.	1570
	Hafniam Danorum profectus, in	Abijt:	1571
	cœpto veræ Theologiæ studio	Redit & Cathedram Holensem	
	strenuè pergens, in multorum, præ-	ingreditur.	
	cipuè verò in summa D. D. Petri		
	Palladij tũ temporis Episcopi, fa-		
	miliaritate & gratia viuebat. Postea,		
1556	inde in patriam reuerso, Martinus		
1587.	sponte cessit. Moritur & hic 31.		
	annos plus minus Euangelium Iesu		
	Christi professus; nec tantum viua		
	voce, sed & quocunq; demum po-		
	tuit modo, docendo, dicendo, scri-		
	bendo, re & consilio Ecclesiam Dei		
	iuuit & promouit.		
	XXX		
	Otto Enerus, vir grauis, pius &		
	eruditus.		
1588	Electus abit patria.		
1589	Ordinatur:		
	Redit & cathedram adit, suscep-		
	tiq; muneris labores aggreditur.		

CIrca hæc igitur tempora mentibus nostris è cœlo reddita lux est, & regni cœlestis ianua per sinceriorem doctrinæ Christianæ expositionem reserata. Nam & Schola trivialis in vtraque sede Episcopali, laudatissimi Regis Daniæ Christiani tertij munificentia & pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata est: ac subinde patris Christianissimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Diuo Friderico secundo rege nostro sanctissimo, Anno 1588. ad cœlestem patriam euocato, aucta & promota: quæ etiam hodiè, clementissimi regis & principis nostri, Christiani 4. fauore & nutu viget floretque: in qua iuuentus nostræ Insulæ, artium dicendi & sacræ Theologiæ rudimentis

rudimentis imbuta, ad scientiam & veram pietatem formatur, vt hinc ministri Ecclesiarum petantur.

Peruenimus tandem ad hodiernum vsq; diem in Episcoporum Islandiæ catalogo: quo prædicti viri clarissimi Dom. Gudbrandus Thorlacius, & Dom. Otto Enerus ille Holis, hic Schalholtiæ Ecclesiarum sunt antistites: quorum vtrumque, vt Deus opt. max. Ecclesiæ suæ saluum & superstitem, propter gloriam nominis sui sanctissimi, diu conseruare velit, omnes seriò & ardentibus votis flagitamus.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Must. Krantz. Frisius.

> Specus habitant plerúmque, aut ad montium latera in excauatis mansiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multà & domos ex ossibus piscium & balenarum constructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris asperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad solis æstum vitandum. Item Munsterus. Multi in Islandia hodie costis & ossibus balenarum, domos suas construunt, &c.

HIc membrum secundum initium sumit, de incolarum viuendi ratione & moribus. Et primùm, quibus vtantur edificijs seu domibus: nempè secundũ Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, &c. Specubus & montium cauernis. Quamuis autem in splendidis ædificijs, alijsq; id genus mundani ornatus pretiosis rebus parum inest, quod ad verè beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hic veritatem tacere possumus: dicimúsq; omnino Cosmographos & Historicos in errore etiam hic versari. Etenim, cuiusmodi gentis publica domicilia esse scribunt, ea sunt tantùm in paucis locis, tum magalia, vt opilionum, tum piscatorum casæ & receptacula, eo tantum anni tempore quo piscaturæ operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. At ipsas domus, seu ipsa hominum domicilia, antiquitùs quidem satis magnificè & sumptuosè, quoad huius terræ fert conditio, ligno, cespite & saxis habuerunt Islandi constructa, vsq; ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Noruagis, qui ligna sufficiebant, negociatio, & mercium commutatio esse desijt, quæ inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cum nec syluas ædificijs aptas habeamus, nec fluctuum maris beneficio iam vt olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte sufficiat, adferatur: Nec mercatores extranei inopiæ nostræ succurrant. Vnde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum declinarunt, & iam quædam collapsa sunt, quædam ruinam minantur. Nihilominus multa sunt prædia, multæ villæ, quas haud facilè recensuero, quarum ædificia veterem illam excellentiam imitantur, & quarum domus sunt maximæ, & latæ & longæ, tum plærúmque benè altæ. Vt exempli gratia. Prædia seu villæ, quæ cubilia habent plusquam 50. cubitos longa, 10. lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, vt cœnaculum, hypocaustum, penuarium &c. huic sua proportione respondentes. Possum multa nostratium ædificia ampla & vasta, nec in speciem deformia, nec ob artis structuram & sumptuosam firmitudinem, seu robur, contemnẽda cum aliquot delubris, siue sacris ædibus, solis lignis, antiqua & operosa grauitate & pulchritudine exstructis commemorare: Cuiusmodi est templum Cathedrale Holense atrium habens, cuius columnæ vtrinque quinque, vlnas 14. altæ, 5. circitur crassæ: tum trabes ac tigna, & reliquum culmen, huic substructioni proportionaliter respondens. Ligna ad hoc ipsum atrium Anno 1584. horrenda tempestate collapsum, clementissimus Rex noster D. Fridericus, cuius nobis sacratissima est memoria, Anno 1588. benignissimè largitus est. Ipsum verò templũ atrium suum omni quantitate manifestè excedit: tum templi intima pars quæ chorus appellari solet, & templi meditullio, & atrio magnitudine nonnihil cedit. Erat autem hoc longè maius olim, vt accepi Schalholtense, quod iam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum est. Præterea aliquot alia templa nostræ Insulæ, horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia licet non æquantia. Sed hic nequaquam res exigere videtur, vt in prolixiorem eius rei descriptionem euager. Vt enim Domus & ædificia nostra nihil depredicamus: ita eorundem nos nihil pudet, quòd contenti paupertate nostra Christo gratias immortales agamus, qui à nobis vili tecto nõ dedignatur recipi, quódq; templa & domus nostras, quas Munsterus, Krantzius, & Frisius piscium & balenarum ossibus non verè dicunt exstructas, non aspernetur magis, quàm

Negotiatio cum Noruagis cessit. Syluæ fluctibus maris delatæ.

quàm illa extraneorum culmina marmorea, parietes vermiculatos, pauimenta tesselata reliquúmque id genus ornamenti.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Communi tecto, victu, statu, (hîc Krantzius habet, strato) gaudent cum iumentis. Item: Solo pastu pecorum & nunc captura piscium victitant. Munsterus, Krantzius.

HAec sunt & sequentia, quæ Krantzius suo Munstero præmansa, in os ingessit, adeò vt Munstero non opus fuerit ea vel semel masticare, quod ex collatione vtriusq; patet. Munsterus enim hæc opprobria, vt ex Krantzij in suam Norueglam præfatione hausta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. Cosmographiæ capit 8. in gentem nostrum euomit. Quæ hactenus fuerunt, etsi satis grauia sunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc verò commentum malignissimum, & quæ sequentur, non facilè est sine stomacho præterire. Nostrum igitur est, etiam hîc veritatem asserere, & mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Tecto: Primùm igitur quòd de communi tecto, (vti etiam de victu & statu) cum iumentis dicunt, falsum & erroneum clamamus, teste non modò re ipsa, si quis id hodiè per quirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, & veritati plus quàm gentem nostram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia: qui ipsi domos & habitationes nostras viderunt, & norunt in singulis præsijs seu villis, multas esse distinctas domus: nempe in abiectissimis & villissimis 7. vel. 8. in maioribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; quæ vt plurimùm, & tecto & parietibus distinctæ, vni possessori vel domino, rarò duobus aut tribus, rarissimè pluribus inseruiunt, ac vsibus quotidianis & domesticis sufficiunt. Vnde facilè intelligis, Lector, quàm verè eodem tecto cum iumentis vtantur Islandi, cum singuli rustici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria bouilia, ouillia, equilia, agnilia, debitis interuallis dissita habeant, quæ serui, quoties opus est, petunt, vnde rursus habitationem subinde repetunt.

Quòd autem quidam in mappa Islandiæ de prouincia Skagefiord annotauit, sub eodem tecto homines, canes, sues & oues, viuere, partim falsum, partim minimè migandum est. De ouibus quidem, vt iam dictum est, & præcipuè suibus (cum illa prouincia sues non habeat) falsum: De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aulæ caruerint nec hodiè careant, vt nimis omnibus est notum. Sed de canibus paulò post. Sect. 7. huius.

Victu. An iumentorum pabula possint commodè victus appellatione contineri, meritò dubitauerim: Cùm Doletus, Ciceronis interpretem agens, dicat: Victum, inquit, cum iurecombitauerim: Cùm Doletus, Ciceronis interpretem agens, dicat: Victum, inquit, cum iurecontinentur, quæ esui, potui, cultuiq; corporis, saltis, ita exponemus, vt victus verbo contineantur, quæ esui, potui, cultuiq: corporis, quæque ad viuendum homini sunt necessaria. Et Vlpianus, de verborum significat. Ipsdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco verò Authores illi, etiam iumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Cæterum videamus quomodo hîc eluceat veritatis & candoris præstantia. Iumenta non habemus præterquam equos & boues: His gramina & fœnum (nisi vbi fœni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum præbet. At hi ipsi scriptores fatentur, Islandos piscibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ouillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco & aduentitio, viuere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen ijdem his verbis asserunt: Communi victu gaudent cum iumentis: Quod quid sit Munstero, ipse paulò superius haud obscurè docuit. Islandia, inquit, populos multos continet, solo pecorum pastu, & nunc captura piscium victitantes. Quid autem est pecorum pastus, aliud, quàm pecorum cibus? ait Doletus: nisi Munsterus fortè pecorum pastum, ipsa pecora ad pastum hominum mactata appellet: cui, vt existimo, vsus Romanorum refragatur, qui, vt homines vesci, ita pecora pasci docuit: hominúmque victum, pecorum autem, pastum & pabulum vocari iussit. An verò existimem tam dementes fuisse Munsterum & Krantzium, vt senserint Islandos gramnibus & fœno viuere? Quo miseriæ Nabuchodonozor, diuinæ vltionis iugum subiens, redactus est, Dani. 4. 30. Facilè dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modò nostrates, sed vestrates quoque vescuntur, iumenta & pecora fortè non reijcere, si familiari pabulo destinantur. Vt equi frumento & panibus hordeaceis pascuntur: ijdem lac (quemadmodum etiam

etiam vituli & agni) & cereuisiam, si offeratur, bibunt, & quidem auidè. Sed & canes quæuis fercula & cibaria deuorant. An idcircò quisquam dicet, homines communi victu cum canibus & iumentis gaudere?

Iam quæcunq; famis grassantis tempore contigêre, pro vniuersali gentis alicuius consuetudine in historiam referri non debent. Vt non licet nobis de extraneis scribere, huius aut illius terræ populos canum, murium aut felium vsu victitare solitos, etsi fortè fame, siue obsidione, siue alioqui annonæ charitate inualescente immissa, id facitarint.

Potum autem interdum esse multis cum iumentis communem non magnoperè contraibimus: nempè aquam limpidissimam, naturalem illum potum, omnibus animantibus à Deo creatum: quem etiam ex parte, medicinæ consulti comendant, imò nec patres Hebræi, nec ipse Seruator noster fastidiebat.

Ad amictum verò quod attinet, (Nam & amictum victus vocabulo comprehendimus) nequaquam hic cum iumentis communis est. Illa enim pilis & villis natura (quod Munsterum & Krantzium nouisse iurarim) vestiuit: homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere necesse habent. Hæc indumenta, quæ quidem Islandia suppeditat, ex lanis ouium conficiuntur. Sed non cogitaram ideò recte dici, amictum esse nobis cum ouibus communem, sine eundem. Vtuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ouilla lana confectis, licet artificio subtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim est, ex eo laudem vel superbam æstimationem quærere, quod naturæ nostræ infirmitatem arguit.

Statu. Restat ille status, quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cuiusmodi sit, aut eum esse velint nostri scriptores, certè non facilè assequor. Status inquit Doletus, est vel corporis, vel causarum, vel ordinis & cõditionis. Certè alium esse statum nostri corporis, quàm iumentorum (nam præter duos pedes etiam manus habemus, & corpore ac vultu sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem & conditionem nostram ducimus. Illi boni viri, si id de se aut alijs cognitum habent, fateantur. Nos hæc tam vana & in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contemptibilia iridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

Cæterum quia nostrum est, nec amori patriæ, nec vlli rei tantum tribuere, quin plus semper & vbique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid sit, quod huic infami scriptorum conuicio occasionem fortè dederit.

Occulo harum fabularum. Sunt in vicinia Schalholtiæ, ad littus Islandiæ australe, paræchiolæ tres, inter duos rapidissimos amnes Thiorsaa & Olffwis Aa interceptæ; quæ & syluis & cespitibus, consueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite, fere destituuntur. In istis paræchijs habitantes, & si qui sint vicini, quamuis plures eorum, vt de omnibus rebus, ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, quæ ad focos & balnea opus habent, sibi opportunè prospiciunt: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam, sed infimæ tantum sortis coloni, qui quoniam istis rebus domi destituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant, in culinis fœno ad coquendos cibos vtuntur: Ast vbi hyemis niuosæ sæuitia horrida ingruit, coloni isti miseri ad suum bouile refugiunt, illic scilicet exstructis tabulatis interdiù operas domesticas exercentes, à bobus, cum focos habere nequeant, calorem mutuantur, quemadmodum mihi ab alijs narratum est. Sicq; illi tantùm, qui sanè paucissimi sunt, communi cum bobus tecto, in bruma, vti quidem non gaudent, sed coguntur. Verùm victum & statum longè alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hæc est in istis Paræchiolis quorundam sors & inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta est, quamuis non satis iustè. Vbi, quo iure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de istis paucis colonis verum est, libenter quæsierim? Tædet de his pluribus agere: Tantùm quia mihi cum Theologis res est, illud Salomonis ijs reponam. Qui calumniatur egenum, Proverb. 14. deridet factorem eius.

Equidem quia gens hæc nostra pauper & egena est & fuit, ac veluti quidam mendicus inter diuites, tot extraneorum probra & scommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certè, si aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune est, tamen omnes ex ijsdem constamus elementis, & vnus & idem omnium Pater, Deus.

SECTIO QVARTA.

Krantzius Metrop.

In simplicitate sancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius querant, quàm natura concedit. Beata gens, cuius paupertati nullus inuidet. Sed mercatores Anglici & Dani quiescere gentem non sinunt, qui ob piscaturam euchendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoq; nostra inuexerunt. Nam & fruges aquæ miscere in potum didicerunt, & simplicis aquæ haustus oderunt. Nunc aurum & argentum cum nostris admirantur.

Simplicitate. Equidem sanctæ simplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, meritò gaudemus: Sed id dolemus, quòd reperiatur etiam apud nos iustitiæ ac legum ingens depravatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum scelerum myriades consequuntur; quod pij & boni omnes quotidiè deplorant. Id mali autē nequaquam supremi Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, sed veritus nostrapte culpa accidit: qui hæc quæ clàm ipso præposterè geruntur & quæ in inferiore magistratu desiderantur, ad maiestatem ipsius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porrò, non solùm Angli & Dani, sed maximè Germani, vt nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob piscaturam sed pisces euchendos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miscendarum frugum aquæ, Islandos docuerunt. Quippe ipsi Norvagi primi, quòd nobis constet, terræ nostræ incolæ, à quibus oriundi sunt Islandi, artem illam, sicut etiam aureos argenteósq; nummos, secum ex Norvegia attulerunt; vt initio non fuerit minor argenti & auri vsus apud nos, quàm est hodiè.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumue frequentes ad nos nauigationes, terra nostra multò, quàm nunc, senescentis mundi incommoda, cœlo solóq; perseuerans, fertilior, in delectissimis quibúsque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Munsterus Krantzius.

Rex Daniæ qui & Norvagiæ quotannis præfectum immittit genti.

838. ANno Domino 846. natus est Haraldus Harfagre (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858. Rex Norvagiæ designatus, vbi ætas virēque iustum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperij Norvagici mutauit. Nam antea in minutas prouincias diuisum (quas Fylki vocabant, & qui his præerant regulos, Fylkis Konga) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum & genere & potentia valentes aliquot regni incolæ ægrè ferrent, patria exulare, quàm ipsius Tyrannidis iugum non detrectare maluerunt. Vnde hi in Islandiam, antea quidem à quibusdam visam & inventam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto superius Anno 874. transtulerunt: Atque sic genti nostræ originem præbentes, se Islandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodiè posteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque Islandi diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386. plus minus. Et quamuis Rex Norvagiæ Haquinus ille conatus, qui omnium regum Norvagiæ diutissimè, nempe plusquam 60. annos imperium gerebat, sæpè per legatos tentarat tributarios sibi facere Islandos, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipsi præstarent. 1260.

Atque postea semper in data fide persistentes, & regibus Norvagiæ parentes, translato per Margaretam, Daniæ, Sueciæ, & Norvagiæ reginam, Norvagorum imperio, ad Danos, vnà cum reliquis imperij Norvagici Insulis, Serenissimum Daniæ regem; Dominum & Regem suum hodiè salutant. Margareta.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Krantzius Metrop.

Omnia eos communia sunt, præter vxores.

HOc loco præmittit Krantzius talem Ironiam.

Multa insignia in moribus illorum. &c. Porrò etiam hîc fidem vestram eluat ingenium, ad asserendum res incompertas nimis proclive, cupidinem notitiæ, & nominis ac famæ, imò veritatis curam preposteram arguit, omnium & rerum personarúmq;, & temporum experientia: O scriptores suspiciendi.

Testes sunt leges politicæ, quibus inde ab initio cum Norvagis vsi sunt eisdem Islandi: De Rege

Rege & subditis: De foro, & his quæ in forensem disceptationem cadere possunt: De hæreditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptijs, furto, rapinis, mutuo, contractibus & cæteris: Quæ omnia, quorsum illis, quibus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus & immobilibus contentiones, turbæ & certamina, in foris ac iudicijs Islandorum: Testes sunt Reges nunc Daniæ & olim Noruagiæ, qui tot libellis supplicibus Islandorum, ad componendas istas de possessionibus controuersias, olim & nunc interpellati sæpè fuerant. Testis contra seipsum Krantzius, cuius verba distinction. i. huius, hæc fuerunt. Ante susceptam Christi fidem (Islandi) lege naturali viuentes parum à lege nostra discrepabant, &c. Si lege naturæ, certè lege illa iustitiæ, quæ tribuit vnicuique suum: Si lege iustitiæ, certè proprietatum & dominiorum distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipsam legem etiam in Ecclesia, & quidem satis atrociter, sæpè delinquitur: tamen & Ecclesia & Ethnici iustissimam & optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos suos & pueros æquo habent in precio: Nisi quòd à pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium quàm catulum, &c.

QVamuis principio huius commentarioli censuerim, Munsterum & alios magni nominis viros, in ijs, quæ de Islandia scripta reliquerunt, esse à calumniæ nota liberandos: num tamen id hic, etiam à candidissimo & maxime sincero quocunque fieri possit, non satis video. Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt Nautarum maleuolas nugas & mendacia secuti, tam atroci & contumelioso opprobrio gentem nostram diffamarent, commacularéntque? Nihil profectò, nisi secura ridendi & contemnendi gentem pauperem & ignotam, licentia, & si quæ sunt huic vicia confinia.

Cæterum nôrint omnes non tam Islandis, quàm ipsis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, & plurima etiam alia in historiam suam accumulant, efficiunt vnà, vt alibi quoque suspectæ fidei habeantur. Illúdq; quod ait Aristoteles, lucrantur, vt cum vera dixerint, illis sine suspitione non credatur.

Sed age Lector, subsiste paulisper, mecúmq; grauitatem & sapientiam tantorum virorum expende: Ne tantum Islandiæ Elogium intactum prætereamus. Docuerunt hactenus Krantzius & Munsterus: Islandos esse Christianos. Item: Islandos ante susceptam Christi fidem lege naturali vixisse. Item: Islandos vixisse lege quadam non multum à lege Germanorum discrepante. Item: Vixisse eos in sancta simplicitate. Adesdum igitur Lector, & quas Christianismi, Legis naturalis, legis Germanorũ, sanctæ simplicitatis notas Authores illi requirant, & in Islandis monstrent ac depingant, perpende. Vna fuit supra, quòd infernum siue car-
1 cerem damnatorum montis Heclæ voragine & radicibus circumscribant Islandi; de quo vide
2 Sect. 1. huius: & sect. 7. prior. part. Altera nota, quòd, cum Anabaptistis, proprietatum
3 & dominiorum distinctiones tollant: de quo Sect. præced. Tertia eáque longè excellentissima hæc est: illi præclari affectus naturales, amor, cura, & animus tam pius & paternus Islandorum in liberos, quòd videlicet eiusdem precij sint apud illos canes & filij, aut hi etiam vilioris. Siccine nobis Munstere & Krantzi, Legem Christi, naturæ, Germanorum, & sanctam simplicitatem depingitis? O picturam præclaram & excellentem, quamuis nõ prorsus Apellæam: O Inuentum acutum & admirandum, si benè authenticum: O scientiam plusquàm humanam, etsi non prorsus diuinam.

Nos verò Islandi, quamuis vltimi & gelidum conclusi ad Arcton, longè alias Christianismi no as requirimus. Nam & præceptum Dei habemus, vt quilibet proximũ diligat velut seipsum. Iam nemo est, puto, qui seipsum non plus diligat, aut pluris faciat, quàm canem. Quod si tantus esse debet proximi cuiuslibet fauor, tanta æstimatio, tantus amor, quantus quæso erit in liberos? Quorum arctissimum amorem, præterquam quod ipsa parens natura nobis firmissimè cõciliauit, etiam Lex diuina curam summam in enutriendo habere iussit. (Exo. 12. 24. Ephe. 6. 4.) vt scilicet sint in sancto coniugio, Ecclesiæ quædam seminaria, omnis pietatis & honestatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrimè cecinit.

Vult Ecclesiolam quamlibet esse domum.

Item:

Item:

Coniugium humanæ quædam est Academia vitæ.

Vt iam satis constet, apud Christianos longè pluris faciendos & curandos filios, quàm canes: Et, si qui non aliter curent, Christianos non esse.

Sed & hic in prolem dulcissimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam satis apertè conspicitur: vt si quos hoc penitùs exueris, eosdem etiam homines esse negaueris. Monstrant id matres Carthaginenses, cum tertio bello Punico adolescentes quiq; lectissimi obsides in Siciliam mitterentur, quos illæ fletu & lamentatione miserabili ad naues comitatæ, & ex his quædam à filiorum compleximus ægrè diuulsæ, cum ventis pandi vela cernerent, nauésq; è portu egredi, dolore stimulante, in subiectos fluctus dissiluere: Sabellico authore. Monstrat Ægeus, qui nauem filij Thesei, cum velis atri coloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, perijsse filium ratus, vitam in proximis vndis finiuit. Sabellic. lib. 3. cap. 4. Monstrat Gordianus senior, Africæ proconsul, qui similiter, ob rumores de morte filij, vitam suspendio clausit. Campofulgos. lib. 5. cap. 7. Monstrant idem Iocasta Creontis filia, Auctolia Sinonis F. Anius Tuscorum Rex, Orodes Rex Parthorum, & alij numero innumero: De quibus vide stat lib. 2. Plutarchum, & alios, &c. Huc illud. Amor descendit, &c. Adeò, vt videas non minus esse homini proprium, sobolem intimè diligere, & summo amore prosequi, quàm aui volare: vt si iam aliquando homines esse Islandos, nedum Christianos scriptores nostri fassi sint, hunc amorem & affectum in filios ijsdem, quantumuis inuiti & repugnantes, adscribant: sin minus, non modò hominis titulum & dignitatem illis detrahant, sed etiam infrà bruta & quasuis bestias, quæ ipsæ, stimulante natura, maximo prolis suæ & arctissimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras plagiarias ipsis Islandis antiquiores, quippe à Noruagis acceptas, quæ exstant in codice legum nostrarum, titulo Mannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemuis nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Iam verò si quis eò fortunæ deueniat, vt proprium filium, siue incolæ, siue extranei alicuius potestati, vel fame vel extrema quacunq; vrgente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne famelicum inedia deficientem aspicere cogatur, canem verò in proprias dapes reseruet, Is minimè dicendus est filium æquo aut inferiore loco habere quàm canem, siue id faciant, Islandi, siue extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanorũ vel Danorum nautæ apud nos mendicos quosdã, liberis onustos, quorũ hic maximus est numerus, qui iocando, vt sunt nugis scurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: Cúmq; rogarint extranei; Quid tu mihi vicissim? Responderint mẽdici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14. dabo ex eis vnũ vel plures, &c. Solet enim ista mendicorum colluuies istiusmodi scurriles dialogismos cum extraneis instituere. Quod si tum quispiam bonus vir, misertus stoliditatis & inopiæ mendicorum, vno illos filio leuauerit, eíque propter Deum in alijs terris, aliquo tandem modo benè prospexerit, num mendicus, qui alioqui cum filio, fame & paupertate moriturus, filium miserenti permittit & committit, filium istum suum minoris facit quàm canem? Præstitum est à multis tam Islandis quàm extraneis huiusmodi beneuolentiæ & commiserationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobilissimus Accilius Iulius à serenissimo rege Daniæ olim missus ad Islandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui vt audiui, 15. pueros pauperculos assumpsit & secum in Daniam auexit: Vbi postea ipsius beneficio singulos suo vitæ generi addictos, in viros bonos & frugi euasisse, mihi narratum est.

Quid si quis in extrema constitutus angustia, filium non modò vendat; sed si emptorem nõ habet, ipse mactet & comedat? Nota sunt huius rei exempla: Parentum videlicet inuitæ crudelitatis in filios, stimulante nõ odio vel astorgia, sed ineuitabili necessitate compellente. Num quis inde vniuersale gentis alicuius cõuicium exstruxerit? Legimus, in obsidione Samariæ matres duas filios suos mactasse, & coctos comedisse: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obsidione Ierosolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miserrimæ matris, filium misellum iam mactaturæ. Infans, ait, (referam enim Eusebij verba de hac re, etsi notissima, vt miseræ matris affectus appareat,) miselle & infelix, cuinam in hoc belli, famis, & seditionis tumultu, te commodè reseruem? Si Romanorum subijciamur imperio, illic seruitutis iugo pressi, vitam infœliciter

infœliciter exigemus. Sed seruitutem credo fames anteuertet. Accedit factiosorum prædonum turba, his vtrisq; miserijs toleratu multò asperior. Age igitur mi gnate, sis matri cibus, sis prædonibus furia, sis communi hominum vitæ fabula, quæ res vna ad Iudæorum calamitates desse videtur. Quæ cum dixisset, natum trucidat, assatúmq; dimidiú mox comedit, dimidium reseruat &c. Eusebius libro 3. capite 6. Iam quis est, qui non credat miserrimam hanc matrem filium hunc suum, domini alicuius, si se obtulisset, apud quem credidisset seruatum iri, aut emptoris possessioni fuisse permissuram? Nota est fames, Calagurium, Hispaniæ vrbem, olim à Cneio Pompeio obsessam opprimens (Val. libro septimo cap. 7.) cuius ciuibus, vxores & liberi in vsum extremæ dapis conuersi sunt, quos profectò, pro cibarijs & alijs dapibus haud inuiti vendidissent. Nota'est quoque fames, quæ Anno Domini 851. (Vincent. libro 25. cap. 36.) Germaniam attriuit, vt etiam pater filium suum deuorare voluerit. Notum etiam est, post mortem Henrici septimi Imperat. fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes deuorarint, & præcipuè quidem in Polonia & Bohemia. Et ne exempla tantùm antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annonæ sæuitiam, Anno 1586. & 1587. in Hungaria grassatam fuisse, vt quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immanissimo Christianorum hosti proprios liberos vendiderint, & in perpetuum seruitutis iugum manciparint: quidam paruulos suos, quos vlterius tolerare non sustinebant, crudeli misericordia in Danubium proiecisse, & suffocasse dicantur. Sed, num hæc & similia exempla quempiam eò insaniæ adigent, vt dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in escam propriam mactare consueuisse, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis submergere & suffocare solitā esse? Non opinor. Sic nec; quòd mendici apud Islandos, extrema vrgente necessitate, cuius durissimi sunt morsus, filios suos libenter amittant, toti genti, & quidem probri loco, communiter adscribendū est à quoquam, nisi apud eundē omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

Cæterùm optarim ego, parcius Islandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matronæ, & præcipuè nobiles, canes in maximis delicijs habent, vt eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in sacris concionibus, sinu gestent, quem morem in peregrinis quibusdam, quos Romæ catulos siniarum & canum in gremio circumferre Cæsar conspexit, hac quæstione reprehendit, dum quæreret: Numquid apud ipsos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui à natura inditos sibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac præcipuè sobolis incitarentur, in bestias transferunt, quarum delicarum voluptas, Islandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam Munstere & Krantzi, alias nobis Christianitatis, (vt sic dicam) legis naturæ, legis item Germanorum, & sanctæ simplicitatis notas quærite.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

Episcopum suum colunt pro Rege: ad cuius nutum respicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, scripturis, & ex consuetudine aliarum gentium constituit, quàm sanctè obseruant.

PVit equidem initio ferè ad repurgatam Euangelij doctrinam maxima Episcopi obseruantia; sed nunquam tanta vt exteris legibus aut consuetudini cederent nostræ leges politicæ, ex nutu Episcopi. Nec tempore Alberti Krantzij, multò minùs Munsteri (quorum ille 1517, hic 1552. post partum salutiferum decessit) Episcopi Islandorum regiam obtinuerunt authoritatem, cùm sciffcei multi ex ijs, qui diuitijs paulò plus valebant, aduersus ipsos consurgere non dubitarint; quæ res apud nostrates liquidò constat. Interim tamen Episcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in suam potestatem redegerunt, alios furibunda sæuitia id temporis persecuti sunt,

Porrò etsi tum fuit magna, imò maxima Episcopi obseruantia, tamē nunc dispulsis tenebris Papisticis, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur, eorúmq; mentes contemptus libertate & refractaria contumacia, aduersus Deum & sacrum ministerium, etiam hic armare non negligit.

SECTIO

SECTIO NONA.

Illic victitant plerúmq; piscibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde à maritimis ciuitatibus infertur: & qui inde cum magno lucro pisces exportant. Item Munsterus. Illic piscibus induratis vtuntur loco panis qui illic non crescit. Munster.

VIde Lector, quàm Munsterum iuuet, eadem oberrare chorda: vt cum de gente ignota nihil scribere possit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falsa afferre, vel eadem sæpiùs repetere, sicque cramben eandem recoquere sustineat: Dixerat enim paulò ante, Islandos piscibus viuere. Verba ipsius superiùs etiam recitata, hæc sunt. Islandia populos continet multos, solo pecorum pastu & nunc captura piscium victitantes, &c. Et vt cætera transeam in quibus leue quiddam notari poterat; Illud sanè, panem in Islandia non crescere, perquam verum est. Quod etiam illi cum Germania commune esse crediderim, quòd videlicet nec illic panis crescat, nisi fortè in Munsteri agro, vbi etiam acetum naturale optimè crescit. Sed hæc, troporum indulgentia, scilicet, salua erunt. Ad conuicia autem, quæ ex victu Islandorum petunt extranei, infrà paucis respondebitur, Sect. 15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Incolæ res maiorum & sui temporis celebrant cantibus & insculpunt scopulis, atque promontorijs, vt nulla, nisi cum naturæ iniuria, intercidant apud posteritatem. Munster. Krantzius.

Citharædi, & qui testudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quàm plurimi, qui prædulci modulamine & volucres & pisces irretiant & capiant. Frisius.

QVin veterum gesta aliquot cantibus & poëmatibus nostratium, vt & soluta oratione, apud nos conseruentur, non negamus. Quòd verò à nobis aut maioribus nostris eadem scopulis vel promontorijs insculpta sunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque illam tantam Citharædorum, aues aut pisces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi esse generosi ac veracis, vt crimina falsa refellere, ita laudem immeritam sibi haud vendicare, nec, etsi quis tribuat, agnoscere. Veter. [illegible] apud Islandos conseruata.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

SEd cum scriptoribus iam dictis, viris alioqui spectatæ eruditionis & preclari nominis, qui tamen hæc ita inconsideratè scriptis suis interseruerunt, actionis finis esto.

Etiam magna mei pars est exhausta laboris:

Sed restat tamen fætus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcircò anonymum secundo partu mater edi voluit, vt venenatis aculeis nomen Islandorum tantò liberiùs pungeret.

Porrò licet aduersus hanc bestiam in arenam descendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen constare volo, quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non vt cum illius pestifera virulentia, conuicijs aut maledicentia certem (Nam vt est in triuiali paroemia,

Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,
Vinco, seu vincor, semper ego maculor:)

Sed vt bonis & cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, satisfaciam, qui maledicentiam istam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri sunt, aut olim audierint, ne & hi nos meritò calumniam tantam sustinere credant: Tum etiam vt alios qui istis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis nostræ opprobrium vtuntur, & inde dicteria & contumeliosas subsannationes ad despiciendos Islandos petunt, ab illa mordendi licentia in posterum, si fieri possit, abducamus.

Ergò, ne longis ambagibus Lectori fastidium oratio nostra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, quæ maledicus ille Germanus in suum pasquillum congessit: Quem etiam sua de Islandis carmina Encomiastica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, nisi præuiderem fœtum illum probrosum,

probrosum, tot & tam varijs maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauseam mouere posse, ac sua spurcitie ab ijs legendis absterrere.

Referam igitur præcipua, (ijs scilicet omissis quæ cum alijs communia habet, atque hactenus ventilata sunt) sed, quàm ille, longè mitius; ne, vt dixi, linguæ ipsius obscœna petulantia, aures bonæ & eruditæ offendantur: Qui ipsum videre aut audire volet, quærat apud propolas. Nobis inquam, non est in animo putida ipsius calumnia & conuiciorum sentina, has chartas inquinare. Primùm igitur obijcit Germanicus hic noster, si Dijs placet, Historicus: Multos ex pastoribus Islandiæ toto biennio sacram concionem ad populum nullam habere: Vt in priore editione, huius pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior editio eiusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores in integro anno tantū quinquies concionari solitos: quæ duo quàm ritè sibi consentiant, videas bone Lector, cum constet Authorem mox à prima editione vix vidisse Islandiam. Ita scilicet plerumq; mendacium mendacio proditur, iuxta illud: Verum vero consentit: Falsum nec vero, nec falso.

1. Obiectio seu conuicium.

Sed cum nostrum non sit veritatem vspiam dissimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia vixit, nempe anno 1554. aut circiter multò fuisse rariores, quàm sunt hodiè. tum scilicet tenebris Papisticis vix dum discussis. Quod etiam de Psalmis Dauidicis à vulgo Latinè demurmuratis, vt idè nostratibus exprobrat, intelligere est: Papistæ enim totam spem salutis in sua Missa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parùm fuere solliciti. Postquam verò caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se rem habere, Deo inprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundā pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segnitiem & curam præposteram non possimus omni modo excusare. Quod vtrum in nullos suorum popularium etiam competat, aliæ quoque nationes viderint.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

2. Conuicium.

Secundò calumniatur vitilitigator: Adulteria & scortationes non modò publica esse & frequentia scelera inter Islandos: sed ab ijs pro scelere ne haberi quidem.

ETsi autem fœdissimæ istæ turpitudines etiam in nostra repub. non prorsus inusitatæ sunt: tamen cum omnibus constet in alijs quoque nationibus longè etiam frequentiores esse, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia maior: immeritò & malignè hoc nomine magis Islandos, quàm populos & gentes reliquas, quarum, vt dixi, nomen etiam plus nostratibus hoc crimine malè audit, notauit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longè minus ad scelera, & turpitudines in nostra patria conniueri, quàm passim hic fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in præsenti conuitio attexuit: videlicet, quòd scelera ista ab Islandis pro scelere non habeantur. Nam in quâ demum repub. id impudens ille asserere audet? Illáne; quæ in legem codicis II. titulo Mannbelge: cap. 28. iurauit; quæ statuit, vt iterum adulterium qui cum coniuge alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam plectatur? Illáne, quæ pro adulterio, à famulo cum vxore domini commisso, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogauit? Illáne, quæ eundem, si ad statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proscribendum decreuit? Illáne: cuius leges politicæ, quemuis in adulterio cum vxore, à viro legitimè deprehensum, si euaserit, homicidij mulctam expendere iubent? Illáne, cuius itidem leges politicæ, in complexu matris, filiæ aut sororis, à filio, patre, vel fratre deprehensum, vitam suam dimidio eius, quod quis si eundem insontem interfecisset, expendere teneretur, redimere iubent? Illáne, cuius leges politicæ adulterium sceleris infandi nomine notarunt & damnarunt? Et in eo tertiò deprehensum, capite plectendum seuerè mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quàm iniurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium & scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum oinittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni & pij omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut malè audire.

SECTIO

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

TErtium conuicium est, quo fraudis & perfidiæ erga Germanos Islandis notam inurit. Fuit autem proculdubio famosi huius libelli author, cerdo & propola circumforaneus, multósq; Islandiæ angulos, sordidæ mercaturæ gratia, ostiatim adierat: quod ipse de se in præcharis illis suis rhythmis testatur, maximâ Islandiæ partem sibi peragratam esse. Vnde cum ipse mala fide cũ multis egerit (plerumq; enim fraus & mendacia coniunguntur, & mendacem se fuisse, hac ingenij sui experientia satis probauit) etiam fortè à se deceptorum fraudem est expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit: Dissimulato interea, qua fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua est nauigatio ad Islandos, cum nostris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cùm non alios conuiciari, sed aliorum in gentem nostram immerita conuicia monstrare instituerim, consultò supersedeo. 3. Conuicium.

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

Quarto: negat in conuiuijs quemquam discumbentium à mensa surgere: sed matres familias singulis conuiuis quoties opus fuerit matellas porrigere. Præterea variam conuiuiorum edendi bibendiq; rusticitatem notat. 4. 5. & 6. Conuiuia.

Cubandi & prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto promiscuè viri cum fœminis pernoctent, inque lecto cibum capiant: atq; interea se non nisi aleæ aut latrunculorum ludo exerceant. 5

Sexto. Calumniatur eosdem faciem & ea vrina proluere. 6

Septimo. Nuptiarum, sponsalium, natalitiorum celebritatem & funerum ritus contemptuosè extenuat. 7

HÆc & huiusmodi plurima in gentem insontem, imò de se & suis optimè meritam, impiè rus calumniator euomit. Quæ quidem eius generis sunt, vt illi de his respondere prorsus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid huiusmodi apud homines sordidos, & ex ipsa vulgi colluuie infimos, quibuscũ longè sæpius, quàm bonis & honestis conuersabatur, animaduertisse præcharum hunc notarium Germanicũ (vixerat enim, vt eius rhythmi testantur, diutiusculè in locis maritimis Islandiæ, quo ferè promiscuum vulgus, tempore piscaturæ annuatim confluit, & tam extranearũ nautarum, quàm sua nequitia corruptum, sæpius inhonestè mores & vitam instituit) Tamen manifestiorem etiam hoc loco iniuriam nobis facit, vnius nebulonis & desperati Sycophantæ turpitudine, totâ gente (vt ferè solent etiã alij) aspergendo, quàm vt refutatione vlla indigeat. Cuius rei etiam ipsi extranei in nostra Insula non parum versati, locupletissimi testes esse possunt.

Possem multas eius farinæ fœditates, rusticitates & obscœnitates, etiam in ipsius natione deprehensas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in aliorum opprobriũ diserti esse iuuat: nec tam tener esse volo, vt verbulis transuerberer. Id tantùm videritni boni & pij omnes, cuius sit animi, pessima quæq; ab vno aut altera designata, totî genti obijcere. Si quis Germaniæ aut alterius nationes vrbes & pagos omnes peragret, & scelera ac mores pessimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, scortationes, adulteria, incestus, luxuriem, rapinas & reliquas impietates & obscœnitates in vnum conetas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuiuis toti nationi communes esse asserat, atq; hæc omnia insigniter mentiendo, exaggeret, isne optimæ rei studiosus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, &, vt propriè notem, porcus impurus, iste, inquam, Rhythmista, naturam & ingenium suum eiusmodi loidoria prodiderit?

Notum est enim porcos, cũ hortos amœnissimos intrarint, nec Jilliũ nec rosas aut flores aliqui pulcherrimos & suauissimos decerpere: Sed rostro in cœnum prono, quicquid est luti & stercoris volutare, vertere & inuertere, donec impurissima, hoc est, suo genio apprimè congruentia eruant, vbi demum solida voluptate pascuntur.

Ad istum igitur modum hic porcus Rythmista, optima, & quæ in nostra Repub. laudabilia esse possunt, sicco pede præterit, pessima quæq;. atq; ea, vel à nullo, vel admodum paucis designata,

designata, hoc est, suæ naturæ, & ingenio aptissima, vt se esse, qui dicitur, re ipsa probaret, corrasit: vnde posthac porci nomen ex moribus & ingenio ipsius factum, sortitor.

SECTIO DECIMAQVINTA.

p. Conuicium. NOnum conuicium hic recensebimus, quod à victu, ac præcipuè cibo ac potu Islandorum maledicus ille porcus, non vno aut paucis verbis, sed prolixa inuectiua petiuit: Nempe quòd cibis vtantur vetustis, & insulsis, idq; sine panis vsu: Tum etiam quòd varia & incognita extraneis piscium genera illis sint esui, & aquam ac serum lactis in potum misceant. Quæ omnia venenatus hic pasquillus diserta contumelia, & ingeniosa calumnia, pulchrè amplificauit.

Cæterum etsi illum prolixiore responsione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leuiter nostræ genti obijciunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primùm igitur totam hanc gentem bipartitò secabimus: In mendicos, & hos qui & se & cum alijs etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, & eorum qui ad hos proximè accedunt, omnia cibaria recensere aut examinare haud facile est, nec quòd illos edere, aut edisse, extrema aliquādo coëgit necessitas, reliquæ genti cibariorū generā aut numerū præscribere fas est. Nam & de suffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum seruantissima videri voluit antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora distinguemus, vt nihil mirum sit, grassante annonæ sæuitia, multa à multis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuisse, quæ aliàs vix canes pascant. Vt nuperrimè de Parisiensibus accepimus, Anno 1590. arctissima Henrici 4. Nauarræi obsidione pressis, & famem Saguntinam, vt P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpessis; eos non modò equinam, sed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum ossibus in mortario contusis farinæ pugillo vno aut altero misto, confectam, in suas dapes conuertisse; & de alijs quoque populis notum est, qui simili vrgente inopia, etiam murium, felium & canum esu victitarint. Sic etiam Islandis aliquando vsu venit (quanquam à canina, murium & felium, vt & humana carne hactenus, nobis quantum constat, abstinuerint) licet non ab hoste obsessis: Nam cùm ad victum necessaria ex terra marique petant, & ab extraneis nihil commeatus, aut parum admodum aduehatur, quoties terræ marisque munera DEVS præclauserit, horrendam annonæ caritatem ingruere & ingruisse, & dira fame vexari incolas, necesse est. Vnde fit, vt illos qui in diem viuere soliti fuerint, nec præcedentium annorum superantes commeatus habuerint, extrema tentasse, quoties egestas vrserit, credibile. Cæterum, vtrum hæc res publico & perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Islandos, quàm alias nationes, occasionem meritò præbere debeat, candidis & bonis animis iudicandum relinquo.

Porrò quod de gentis nostræ proprijs & consuetis alimentis multi obijcere solent, potissimum de carne, piscibus, butyro, absque sale inueteratis, Item de lacticinijs, frumenti inopia, potu aquæ, &c. & reliquis: id nos in plurimis Islandiæ locis (nam sunt multi quoque nostratium, qui Danorum & Germanorum more, quantum quidem castis & temperatis animis ad mediocritatem sufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, vt & ipsis Pharmacopolijs, destituimur, mensam instruere & frugaliter viuere sustineant) ita se habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet prædicta victus genera, passim sine salis condimento vsitata esse. Et insuper addemus, hæc ipsa cibaria, quæ extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipsos tamen extraneos apud nos, non sine voluptate, manducare solitos. Nam etsi frumenti aut farris penè nihil vulgò habeamus, nec sal, gulæ irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus suppetit: docuit tamen Deus opt. max. etiam nostros homines rationem tractandi & conseruandi, quæ ad vitam sustentandam spectant, vt appareat, Deum in alendis Islandis non esse ad panem vel salem alligatum. Quòd verò sua omnia extranei iucundiora & salubriora clamant; negamus tamen satis causæ esse, cur nostra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEVM gulæ nostræ debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod sine opiparis illis delicijs & lautitijs, quæ tam iucundæ & salubres putantur, etiam nostræ gentis hominibus, annos & ætatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmissimā, robur ac vires validas (quæ omnia statuimus boni & conuenientis alimenti, καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος esse indicia) concedere dignetur,

Ratio conseruandos cibos sine sale.

dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorsus tam crasso ac sterili, quàm huic nostro aëri & alimentis assignare Philosophi videntur, quod re libentius, quàm verbis multi fortasse nostratium comprobare poterant

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) paupertas inuida deprimeret.

Sed hîc vulgi iudicium, vt in alijs sæpè, etiam eos qui sapere volunt (iam omnes bonos & cordatos excipio) nimis apertè decipit: Videlicet hoc ipso, quòd omnia, quæ illorum vsus non admittit, aut quæ non viderunt, aut experti sunt antea, continuò damnent. Veluti, si quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum esse aliquod, non possit adduci vt credat: Sic illi sensu suæ experientiæ omnia metiuntur, vt nihil sit bonum, nihil conducibile, nisi quo illi soli viuunt: At profectò nos, eò dementiæ non processimus, vt eos qui locustis vescuntur, quod tum de alijs, tum Æthiopiæ quibusdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Aeridophagis appellatis, & Indiæ gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus & Magestanes dederunt, teste Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris marinis, aut squillis gibbis, quæ res hodiè nota est, vulgi propterea ludibrijs exponere præsumamus, à quibus tamen edulijs, in totum nostra consuetudo abhorret.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

DEcimo. Hospitalitatem nostris hominibus inhumanissimus porcus obijcit. Marsupium inquit, non circumferunt, nec hospitiari aut conuiuari gratis pudor est. Nam si quis aliquid habèret, quod cum alijs communicaret, id faceret sane in primis ac libenter. His quoq; annectamus, quod templa, seu sacras ædiculas domi propriæ à multis Islandorum extructas velut pudendũ quiddam commemorat: quodq; eas primùm omnium de manè oraturi petant, nec à quoquam prius interpellari patiantur. Hæc ille velut insigne quoddam dedecus in Islandis notauit. 19. Conuiciatore.

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, sui:

Nec porci diuina vnquam amarunt: quod sanè metuo ne nimis verè de hoc conuiciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his vltimis duabus obiectionibus constare poterit.

Verùm enimuerò, cùm ipse suarum virtutum sit testis locupletissimus, nos Lectorem eius rei cupidum ad ipsius hoc opus Poëticum remittimus, quod is de Islandia composuit, & nos iam aliquot proximis distinctionibus examinauimus: cuius maledicentiæ & fœditatis nos hîc pro ipso puduit; ita, vt quæ is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate & maledicentia in nostram gentem scribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta eius est & tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia. DEVS BONE: Hoc conuiciorum plaustrum (paucissima namq; attigimus: Nolui enim laterem lauare, & stulto, vt inquit ille sapientissimus, secundum stultitiam suam respondere, cum in ipsius Rhythmis verbum non sit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit pasquilli istius autorem hominem fuisse pessimum, imò fæcem hominum, tum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, sine pietate, sine humanitate?

Sed hîc meritò dubitauerim, peiusne horum conuiciorum autor de Islandis meritus sit, an verò Typographus ille Ioachimus Leo (& quicunq; sunt alij, qui in suis editionibus, nec suum nec vrbis suæ nomen profiteri ausi sunt) qui illa iam bis, si non sæpius Typis suis Hamburgi euulgauit. Hoccine impunè fieri sinitis, ô senatus populusq; Hamburgensis? Hanccine statuistis gratiam deberi Islandiæ, quæ vrbi vestræ iam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim nostratium quibusuis commodis, pecudum, pecorumq; carnibus, butyro & piscium copia quotannis, penè immodica, quædam quasi cella penuaria fuit? Sensere huius Insulæ commoda etiam Hollandiæ olim & Angliæ vrbes aliquot: Præterea Danis, Bremensibus, & Lubecensibus cum Islandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis vnquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportarunt, qualis hæc est Gregoriana calumnia: In vestrâ, vestrâ inquam vrbe, nata, edita, iterata, si non tertiata: quæ alias nationes, quibus Islandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius gentis opprobrium & contemptum armauit: quam à ciue vestro acceptam iniuriam, iam 30. annos, & plus eò, Islandia sustinet. Sed etiam, inscio magistratu, eiusmodi multa sæpè fiunt: Neq; enim dubitamus, quin viri boni eiusmodi scripta famosa indignè ferant, & ne edantur, diligenter caueant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum iure

Vrbes Angliæ commercia olim in Islandia exercuerunt.

iure naturali: Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Cæsareo, de libellis famosis: in quo irrogatur pœna grauissima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, scribunt, proferunt, emi vendiue curant, aut non statim repertos discerpunt.

Cæterum iam tandem receptui canamus: Nósq; ad te, Islandia parens carissima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Christo hospitia cupidè & libenter exhibere non desistis, inuisam facient, conuertamus: Vbi te primùm ad id quod modò diximus, nempè serium & ardens studium ac amorem DEI, & diuinæ scientiæ, nobis in Christo patefactæ, totis viribus hortamur: vt vni huic cuncta posthabeas, doctrinæ & verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum ministerium & ministros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio prosequeris: sed reuerearis, foueas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impijs & profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis & honestatis præscriptum geras, in vita priuata & communi, vt huic status & ordines Ecclesiastici & Politici, in vniuersum obtemperent: In vtroque vitæ genere ab illa amussi seu norma æqui & boni dependeas, & cæteros qui pertinacia aeimpietate ab ea deflectunt, auerseris, quos æquum est pœnis condignis affici, id quod magistratui curæ futurum non diffidimus. In primis verò nullos nisi spectatæ fidei & probitatis viros, quique ad istas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes coniungant, ad gubernacula admittas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis ritè occurritur. Res ista enim, si probè curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi & huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur: subditorum conditio, longè erit optatissima: vita & mores tantò magis laudabiles sequentur: pietas & honestas tantò erunt illustriores. At verò si secus fiat, si Pastores Ecclesiarum suo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non respõdeant, si ad administrationẽ politicam promiscuè admittantur, quicunq; eò propria leuitate, ambitione vel auaritia & contentione honoris, ruunt: si ijdem criminum aut improbitatis, vel suspecti vel conuicti sint, aut suspectorum & conuictorum protectores, vel ijsdem illicitè indulgentes, quis tuus quæso demum futurus est status? quæ facies? quæ conditio? Certè longè omnium miserrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam & interitum tuum appropinquabis, quàm si istis te regendam commiseris, qui quod in ijs est, licet sint & ipsi ex tuis, iugulum tuum, propter emolumenta priuata, & odia latentia, quotidiè petere cõtendunt. Quamobrem (ne ista pluribus agam) quanti intersit, vt hæc probè curentur, facilè, ó Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hæc tuis auribus à me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altissimos, qui sub hac ad te Apostrophe latent, Serenissimæ Regiæ Maiestatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita deploro damna publica, quæ ea de causa exoriuntur maximè, quòd patria nostra à regia sede, & conspectu, tantò interuallo sit remota, vt multi propterea tantò sibi maiorem sumant licentiam, & impunitatem securius promittant. Cæterum ista numini iustissimo, quod æquis omnia oculis aspicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum est, ó patria, vt studium in te nostrum, eo quo speramus animo, i. comi & benigno, suscipias: quod quamuis minimè tale est, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco desistere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me satis strenuè diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id est si modò quicquam est & quantulumcunque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium pro mea tenui parte afferre possem, nequaquam supprimendum putaui nec enim illos laudare soleo,

Qui, quòd desperent inuicti membra Glyconis,
Nodosa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.

Me sanè, si hæc commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, operæ nequaquã pœnitebit. Quòd si ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidisse haud videbor. Sin verò alios alumnos tuos, meos conterraneos, arte & industria superiores, ad causam tuam, vel nunc, vel in posterum suscipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid est cur operæ precium non fecisse dicar? quibus scribentibus, licet mea fama in obscuro futura est, tamen præstantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me consolabor: Nam etsi famæ & nominis cura summa esse debet, maior tamen patriæ; cuius dignitate salua & incolumni, nos quoq; saluos & incolumes reputabimus.

Scripsi Holis Hialtædalensium in Islandia, Æræ Christianæ
Anno 1592. 17. Kalendas Maias.

A briefe

A briefe commentarie of Island: wherein the errors of such as haue written concerning this Island, are detected, and the slanders, and reproches of certaine strangers, which they haue vsed ouer-boldly against the people of Island are confuted.

By Arngrimus Ionas, of Island.

To the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Christian the 4 of Denmarke, Norway, and of the Vandals and Gothes, King elect: of Sleswic, Holste, Stormar, and Dithmarse Duke: Earle of Oldenburg, and Delmenhorst: His most gratious Lord.

THat heroical attempt of Anchurus, sonne of King Midas (most gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peerelesse, deserueth highly to be renowmed in histories: in that freely and courageously he offered his owne person, for the stopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, about Celoena, a towne in Phrigia, which daily swallowed multitudes of men and whatsoeuer else came neere vnto it. For when his father Midas was aduertised by the Oracle, that the said gulfe should not be shut vp, before things most precious were cast into it: Anchurus deeming nothing to be more inualuable then life, plunged himselfe aliue downe headlong into that bottomles hole; and that with so great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers request nor by the allurements and teares of his most amiable wife, he suffered himselfe to be drawne backe from this his enterprise.

Sperthius also and Bulis, two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the reuenge of Xerxes that most puissant King of the Persians, entended against the Lacedemonians, for killing the ambassadors of his father Darius, hyed them vnto the sayd king, and that he might auenge the ambassadours death vpon them, not vpon their countrey, with hardy, and constant mindes presented themselues before him.

The very same thing (most gracious prince) which moued them, and many others being enflamed with the loue of their countrey, to refuse for the benefite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it selfe, the same thing (I say) hath also enforced me, not indeed to vndergoe voluntarie death, or freely to offer my selfe vnto the slaughter, but yet to assay that which I am able for the good of my countrey: namely, that I may gather together and refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the same: and so take vpon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps subiect to the sinister iudgement of many.

In this purpose the example of Cneius Pompeius hath likewise confirmed me: who being chosen procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme scarcetie and dearth of the citie hauing taken vp some store of graine in Sicilia, Sardinia, and Africa, is reported to haue had greater regard of his countrey, then of himselfe. For when he made haste towards Rome, and a mighty and dangerous tempest arising, he perceiued the Pilots to tremble, and to be vnwilling to commit themselues to the rigor of the stormie sea, himselfe first going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake foorth into these words: That we should sayle necessitie vrgeth: but that we should liue, it vrgeth not. In which words he seemeth wisely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne priuate safetie.

This man doe I thus imitate; { If small with great as equals may agree: / And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying vp in store those things which might be applied to succour the fame and credite of our nation, hauing now this long time bene oppressed with strangers, through the enuie of certeine malicious persons, I boldly aduenture to present these fewe meditations of mine vnto the viewe of the world, and so hoysing vp sailes to commit my selfe vnto a troublesome sea, and to breake foorth into the like speeches with him: That I should write necessitie vrgeth: but that my writings in all places should satisfie euery

euery delicate taste, or escape all peeuishnes of carpers it vrgeth not. I doubt not but many will allow this my enterprise: the successe perhaps all men will not approue. Neuertheles, I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, susteining so many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praise or dispraise, redounding perhaps vnto me vpon this occasion. For what cause should moue me to shunne the enuie and hate of some men, being ioyned with an indeuour to benefite and gratifie my countrey?

The errors of the writers of Island intolerable.

But if I shall seeme somewhat too bold in censuring the errors of writers, or too seuere in reprehending the slanders of some men: yet I hope all they will iudge indifferently of me, who shall seriously consider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many also and how grieuous be the reproches of some, against vs, wherewith they haue sundry wayes prouoked our nation, and as yet will not cease to prouoke. They ought also to haue me excused in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their natiue soile, and to pardon my iust griefe for these iniuries offered vnto my countrey. And I in very deed, so much as lay in me, haue in all places moderated, my selfe, and haue bene desirous to abstaine from reproches: but if any man thinke, we should haue vsed more temperance in our stile, I trust, the former reason will content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to vndergoe the same hazard, which I see is commonly incident to all men, that publish any writings: I must now haue especiall regarde of this one thing: namely, of seeking out some patron, and Mecœnas for this my briefe commentary, vnder whose name and protection it may more safely passe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpose I could not finde out, nor wish for any man more fit then your royal Maiestie, most gratious prince. For vnto him, who hath receiued vnder his power & tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I say) doe we make humble sute, that he would haue respect also vnto the credit of our nation, so iniuriously disgraced.

Yea verily (most gracious King) we are constreined to craue your Maiesties mercifull aide, not only in this matter, but in many other things also which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwise belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof: which not by me, but by the letters supplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will shortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your sacred Maiestie, after the example of your Christian predecessors, will vouchsafe vnto our countrey also, amongst other Islands of your Maiesties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the necessitie of fleeing for redresse vnto your sacred Maiestie, is ours: so the glory of relieuing, regarding, and protecting vs, shal wholy redound vnto your sacred Maiestie: as also, there is layd vp for you, in respect of your fostering and preseruing of Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almost of the whole earth, and in the vttermost bounds of your Maiesties dominion (which by the singular goodnes of God, enioyeth at this present tranquillitie and quiet safetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heauens.

But considering these things are not proper to this place, I wil leaue them, and returne to my purpose which I haue in hand: most humbly beseeching your S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchsafe to become a fauourer, and patron vnto these my labours and studies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (most gracious and mercifull souereigne) for vs to make our humble prayers vnto almighty God, that king of kings, and disposer of all humane affaires, that it would please him of his infinite goodnes, to aduance your Maiestie (yearely growing vp in wisedome & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the highest pitch of souereigntie: and being aduanced, continually to blesse you with most prosperous successe in all your affaires: and being blessed, long to preserue you, as the chief ornament, defence and safegarde of these kingdomes, and as the shield and fortresse of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you shine glorious like a starre, amongst the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The same most mercifull father likewise grant, that these praiers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maesties most ample territories & Islands, so much the more

sure

ure and certein they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 1593. in the moneth of March.

Y. S. M.

mest humble subiect,

Arngrimus Ionas, Islander.

To the courteous and Christian reader Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, wisheth health.

THere came to light about the yeare of Christ 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of Germany: namely a booke of German rimes, of al that euer were read the most filthy and most slanderous against the nation of Island. Neither did it suffice the base printer once to send abroad that base brat, but he must publish it also thrise or foure times ouer: that he might thereby, what by in him, more deepely disgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with shamefull, and euerlasting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his desire so greedy to get lucre, by a thing vnlawfull. And this he did without controlment, euen in that citie, which these many yeres hath trafficked with Island to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is Ioachimus Leo, a man worthy to become lions foode.

Great errors grow vpon mistaken fabulous reports.

Moreouer, there are many other writers found, who when they would seeme to describe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Island, & the maners, & customs of the Islanders, haue altogether swarued from the matter and truth it selfe, following mariners fables more trifling then old wiues tales, & the most vain opinions of the common sort. These writers, although they haue not left behind them such filthy & reprochful stuffe as that base rimer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not suffer them to be excused, & altogether acquited from causing an innocent nation to be had in derision by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing these things with my selfe, & considering that there dayly spring vp new writers, which offer iniury to the fame & reputatio of the Islanders, being such men also as do shamelesly filtch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers w feined descriptions, & a new rehearsal of monsters, I often wished that some one man would come forth, to make answere to the errors of historiographers & other vniust censurers: and by some writing, if not to free our innocent nation from so many reproches, yet at leastwise, in some sort to defend it, among christian & friendly readers. And for this cause I haue now procured an honest and learned young man one Arngrimus Fitz-Ionas, to peruse the works of authors, that haue written any thing concerning Island, and by sound reasons to detect their errors, & falshoods. And albeit at the first he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common loue of his countrey preuailed with him so farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other mens also of sufficient credit.

Now, he that vndertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalẽge at my hands, that I should in two or three words at least, make a preface vnto his booke; thinking it might gaine some credit, and authority thereby. Wherfore to speake my minde in a word: for my part, I iudge him to haue taken both honest & necessary paines, who hath done his indeuour not onely to weigh the diuers opinions of wrighters concerning things vnknowen, and to examine them by the censure of trueth, and experience, but also to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine sycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this small treatise of his, being as it were guarded with the sacred loue of truth, and of his countrey, against the peruersnes of carpers. Farewel. Anno 1592. Iulij 29.

Here beginneth the Commentary of Island.

EVen as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that some vpon no iust & lawful grounds (being

(being egged on by ambition, enuie, and couetise) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme themselues vpon iust and necessary causes: namely such as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or such as being any way prouoked thercunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least (not being prouoked) by reason of the enemie approching are constrained to be vp in armes: right so, they that fight vnder Apolloes banner. Amongst whom, a great part, not vpon any honest, philosophical, or indeede Christian intention, addresse themselues to wright: especially such as for desire of glory, for enuy and spight, or vpon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others: and that they may be accompted superiours, sometimes whette their stiles against the person, name and fame of this or that particular man, sometimes inueighing against a whole countrey, and by shamelesse vntrueths disgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light things profitable: namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philosophy, History and such like: and they who (taking vse and experience for their guides) in the said Sciences haue brought things obscure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confused to order: and they that haue faithfully commended to euerlasting posteritie, the stories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours haue aduaunced the knowledge of tongues: to be short, that endeuour themselues to represse the insolencie, confute the slanders, and withstand the vniust violence of others, against themselues, their Nation or their Countrey:

And I for my part, hauing scarce attained the sight of good letters, and being the meanest of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no lesse then become one of their number, who haue applied themselues to ridde their countrey from dishonor, to auouch the trueth, and to shake off the yoke of railers & reuilers. My estate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth, and the in-bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the best I can: sithens it hath pleased some strangers by false rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to iniurie my sayd countrey, making it a by-word, and a laughing-stocke to all other nations. To meet with whose insolencie and false accusations, as also to detect the errours of certeine writers concerning this Island, vnto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themselues, stubburnly mainteining that which is false and foolish, neither can I hope to remooue them from this accustomed and stale opinion) I haue penned the treatise following.

And albeit Island is not destitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my superiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithstanding, being earnestly perswaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island, I thought good (to the vtmost of mine ability) to be no whit wanting vnto the common cause: both that I might obey his most reasonable request, and also that I might encourage other of my countreymen, who haue bene better trained vp in good learning, and indued with a greater measure of knowledge then I my selfe, to the defence of this our nation: so farre am I from hindering any man to vndertake the like enterprise.

But to returne to the matter, because they (whatsoeuer they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boast that they vse the testimonies of writers: we are seriously to consider, what things, and how true, writers haue reported of Island, to the end that if they haue giuen (perhaps) any occasion to others of inueying against vs, their errours being layd open (for I will not speake more sharpely) all the world may see how iustly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine some ancient writers of this Island, by the rule of trueth and experience: yet (otherwise) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reuerend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole commonwealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for nouices (if there be any such writers or rather pasquilles) when they shall heare and know truer matters concerning Island, then they themselues haue written, they shall seeme by their inconstancie and peruerse wit to haue gained nought else but a blacke marke of enuy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may haue some order, it shall be diuided into two generall

rall parts: the first of the Island, the second of the inhabitants: and of these two but so farforth as those writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded: because I am not determined to wander out of these lists, or to handle more then these things and some other which perteine vnto them. For I professe not my selfe an Historiographer, or Geographer, but onely a Disputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the first part concerning the situation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adiuncts of this Iland.

The first section.

The Isle of Island being seuered from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarse knowen vnto Sailers.

ALbeit a discourse of those things which concerne the land, and the adiuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of slanderers, yet seemeth it in no case to be omitted, but to be intreated of in the first place, that the friendly reader perceiuing how truely those writers of Island haue reported in this respect, may thereby also easily iudge what credit is to be giuen vnto them in other matters which they haue left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others haue receiued from them as oracles, from whence (as they say) they haue borrowed scoffes and taunts against our nation.

First therefore, that the distance of Island from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed so great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be prouided, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude & latitude of the said Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Mariners course (be it neuer so direct, as they suppose) doth at all times swerue. In ſ meane while therfore I will set downe diuers opinions of authors, concerning ſ situation of Island, that from hence euery man may gather that of the distance which seemeth most probable; vntil perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at least adioin, what I shal thinke true as touching this matter.

	Longit. deg.	min.	Latitud. deg.	min.
Munster placeth Island almost in	20		68.	
Gerardus Mercator	325		68.	
Gemma Frisius placeth the midst of Island	7.	0	65.	30
Hersee	7.	40	60.	42
Thirtes	5.	50	64.	44
Nadar	6.	40	57.	10
Iacobus Zieglerus.				
The West shore of Island	20.	0	63.	0
The promontorie of Chos	22.	46	63.	0
The East shore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extension in	30.	0	68.	0
The North shore is extended Westward and hath bounds of extension in	28.	0	69.	0
The description of ſ West side.				

	Longit. deg.	min.	Latitud. deg.	min.
The promontorie of Heckelfell	25.	0	67.	0
The promontorie of Madher	21.	20	65.	10
The inland cities of Island				
Holen the seat of a bishop	28.	0	67.	50
Schalholten the seat of a bishop	22.		63.	30
Reinholdus.				
By Holen in Island			68.	
Iohannes Miritius.				
By Mid-Island			69.	½
Neander.				
Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, insomuch that ſ said circle arctic doeth almost diuide it in the midst &c.				

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings haue noted the situation of Island: notwithstanding it is to no purpose to set downe any more of their opinions, because the more you haue, the more contrary shall you finde them. For my part, albeit I haue probable

bable coniectures perswading me not to beleeue any of the former opinions concerning the situation of Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leaue the matter in suspense then affirme an vncerteinty, vntill (as I haue sayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to gesse at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne obseruation, and experience.

A certeine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburgh, Island must haue none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to proue by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburgh. Besides all those Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyiar, or more rightly Faareyiar, as likewise the desert shores of Norway, are distant from vs but two dayes sailing. We haue foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland: and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe ouer to the prouince of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon, and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.

Seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg. Island but two dayes sailing distant from Faar-Islands, & from the neerest shores of Norway.

The second section.

Munsterus. Olaus Magnus and others.

In this Iland, at the Summer solstitium, the Sun passing thorow the signe of Cancer, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter solstitium there is no day. Also: Vadianus. But in that Iland, which farre within the artic circle is seated in the maine Ocean, at this day called Island, and next vnto the Ilands of the frozen sea, which they call Engrontland, there be many moneths in the yere without nights.

AT the solstitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to say, no time, wherein the Sunne is seene aboue the horizon) we confesse to be true onely in that angle of Island (if there be any such angle) where the pole is eleuated full 67 degrees. But at Holen (which is the bishops seat for the North part of Island, and lieth in a most deepe valley) the latitude is about 65 degrees and 44 minutes, as I am enformed by the reuerend father, Gudbrand, bishop of that place: and yet there, the shortest day in all the yere is at least two houres long, and in South-Island longer, as it appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. Heerehence it is manifest, first that Island is not situate beyond the arctic circle: secondly, that in Island there are not wanting in Summer solstitium many nights, nor in Winter solstitium many dayes.

Island is not within the circle artic.

The third section.

Munsterus. Saxo.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaueth vnto the North part thereof. Another writeth: From the West part of Norway there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, enuironed with an huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. Zieglerus. This is Thyle, whereof most of the ancient writers haue made mention.

IT is named of ice, &c. Island hath beene called by three names, one after another. For one Naddocus a Norwagian borne, who is thought to be the first Discouerer of the same, as he was sailing towards the Faar-Ilands, through a violent tempest did by chance arriue at the East shore of Island; where staying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of snow couering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the snow, called this Iland Sneland. After him one Gardarus, being mooued thereunto by the report which Naddocus gaue out concerning Island, went to seeke the sayd Iland; who, when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardars-holme, that is to say, Gardars Ile. There were more also desirous to visit this new land. For after the two former, a certaine third Norwagian, called Flok, went into Island, and named it of the ice, wherewith he saw it enuironed.

Island first discouered by Naddocus by a tempest.

Sneland.

Gardasholme.

Island.

Of ancient habitation, &c. I gather not this opinion out of these wordes of Saxo (as some men do) that Island hath bene inhabited from the beginning, or (to speake in one word)

word) that the people of Island were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne soile like vnto trees and herbs: sithens it is euident, that this Island scarse began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres since.

This is Thyle, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the controuersie is not decided. Which notwithstanding, I thinke might easily grow to composition, if men would vnderstand that this Iland was first inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 870. Vnlesse some man will say that Thule King of Aegypt (who, as it is thought, gaue this name thereunto) passed so farre vnto an Iland, which was at that time vntilled, and destitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may seeme to be but a dreame, while they are distracted into so many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Island: another, that it is a certeine Iland, where trees beare fruit twise in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the last Iland of the Scotish dominion, as Iohannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylensey, which Virgil also seemeth to haue meant by his vltima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the English men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is euident out of that verse of Virgil in his first Eclogue:

And Britans whole from all the world diuided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the sixt, that it is Scrichfinnia.

Which continually cleaueth to the North part of the Iland. That clause that ice continually cleaueth &c. or as Munster affirmeth a little after, that it cleaueth for the space of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the most part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driuen towards the West: neither doth it returne before Ianuarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. What if a man should reckon vp many yeeres, wherein ice (the sharpe scourge of this our nation) hath not at all beene seene about Island? which was found to be true this present yeere 1592. Hereupon it is manifest how truely Frisius hath written that nauigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reason of the ice and colde, whereby the passage is shut vp, when as English ships euery yere, sometimes in March, sometimes in April, and some of them in May; the Germans and Danes, in May and Iune, doe vsually returne vnto vs, and some of them depart not againe from hence till August. But the last yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine shippe of Germanie laden with Copper within the hauen of Vopnafiord in the coast of Island about fourteene dayes in the moneth of Nouember, which time being expired, she fortunately set saile. Wherefore, seeing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaueth vnto Iland, Munster and Frisius are much deceiued.

The ice of Island not always to the West.

We lay at all some yeres in Island.

Nauigation open to Island from March till the midst of November.

The fourth section.

Kranzius Munsterus.

The Iland is so great that it conteineth many people. Item Zieglerus saith: The situation of the Iland is extended betweene the South and the North almost 200 leagues in length.

SO great, &c. One Wilstenius schoolemaster of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, sent vnto mine Vncle in West Island, a short treatise which he had gathered out of the fragments of sundrie writers, concerning Island. Where we found thus written: Island is twise as great as Sicilie, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munster, hath 150 Germaine miles in compasse. As for the circuit of our Iland, although it be not exactly knowen vnto vs, yet the ancient, constant, and receiued opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues: namely by the 12 promontories of Iland, which are commonly knowen, being distant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole summe.

Island 144 Germaine miles in compasse.

Many people. &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countreymen of the Iland, who in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaner sort of the communalty) and he found in the East part of Island 700.

700. in the South part 1000. in the West part 1100. in the North part 1200. to the number of 4000 inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he shall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time vnpeopled.

The fifth section.

Munster. Frisius. Zieglerus.

The Iland, most part thereof, is mountainous and vntilled. But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to driue their cattell from the pasture, least they surfet or be choaked.

That danger of surfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers or any of our predecessours dayes, be they neuer so ancient.

The sixth section.

Munster. Frisius.

There be in this Iland mountaines lift vp to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetuall snowe, their roots boile with euerlasting fire. The first is towards the West, called Hecla: the other the mountaine of the crosse: and the third Helga. Item: Zieglerus. The rocke or promontorie of Hecla boileth with continuall fire. Item: Saxo. There is in this Iland also a mountaine, which resembling the starrie firmament, with perpetuall flashings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by vncessant belching out of flames.

MVnster and Frisius being about to report the woonders of Island doe presently stumble, as it were, vpon the thresholde, to the great inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount Hecla, although it hath some shew of trueth: notwithstanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they should burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifest errour. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island, nor yet any thing els (so farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might minister occasion of so great an errour vnto writers. Howbeit there was seene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South Island lying neere the Sea, and couered ouer with continuall snow and frost, a marueilous eruption of smoake and fire, casting vp abundance of stones and ashes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the sayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they report of firie mountaines: is it possible therefore that they should seeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall causes? What? Doe they any whit preuaile to establish that opinion concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next after in Munster, Ziegler, and Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to auouch absurdities, or, that they should with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impossible. As though in these kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre causes of sufficient force for the same purpose. There is in the rootes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming so neere as it doeth to the nature of brimstone and pitch. There is ayer also, which insinuating it selfe by passages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe vp the nourishment of so huge a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine bellowes) a most ardent flame is kindled. For, all these thus concurring, fire hath those three things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion, and force of making passage: matter which is fattie and moyst, and therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caues of the earth: force of making passage, and that the inuincible might of fire it selfe (which can not be without inspiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (euen as in vndermining trenches, and engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge yron bullets are cast foorth with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled brimstone, and Salt-peeter, whereof Gunne-powder is compounded) chingle and great stones being skorched in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomitted vp and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake:

Three naturall causes of fire mountaines.

quake: which if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Posidonius, Succussio) it must either be an opening or a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall a sunder. By quaking the earth is heaued vp and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) casteth out huge heaps: such an earth-quake was the same which I haue mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did so sore trouble the South shore of Island. And this kinde of earth-quake is most clearkely described by Pontanus in these verses:

> The stirring breath runnes on with stealing steppes,
> vrged now vp, and now enforced downe:
> For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps,
> to ridde it selfe from vncouth dungeon.
> Then quakes the earth as it would burst anon,
> The earth vquakes, and walled cities quiuer,
> Strong quarries cracke, and stones from hilles doe shiuer.

I thought good to adde these thinges, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three fained mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer destitute of snowe. Howbeit, it beseemeth not the authority and learning of such great clearks to marueile at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth alwayes burne. Wherefore, if we will giue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine also, sithens it is enu red with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of vncleane soules: which thing they haue not doubted to ascribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the firie bottome. And it is no marueile that fire lurking so deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and neuer breaking forth except it be very seldome, should not be able continually to melt the snowe couering the toppe of the sayd mountaine. For in Caira (or Capira) Cardanus also, the highest toppes of the mountaine are sayd continually to be white with snowe: and those in Veragua likewise, which are fiue miles high, and neuer without snowe, being distant notwithstanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We haue heard that either of the forsayd Prouinces standeth neere vnto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Islands) the Pike so called, arising into the ayre, according to Munster, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Historiographer of the West Indies witnesseth) is it not able to melt the girdle of snowe embracing the middest thereof. Which thing, what reason haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted vp euen vnto the skies. For they haue no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount, standing iust by a monastery of the same name, being couered with snowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer time, neither descrieth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, neuer yet (as I sayd in the beginning of this section) so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so extolled and admired these three) should not easily finde out, and reckon vp in a whole yere. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Munster and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoeuer they be that haue ascribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre besides the marke; insomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countreymen haue recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For The chronicles of Island. from

from that yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking foorth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore obserued) haue burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter.

The seuenth section.

Fridus. Munsterus.

The flame of mount Hecla will not burne towe (which is most apt for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the same force that bullets are discharged out of warlike engines with vs, from thence are great stones cast foorth into the aire, by reason of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimstone. This place is thought of some to be the prison of vncleane soules. Item: Zieglerus. This place is the prison of vncleane soules.

Will not burne towe. Where these writers should finde such matters, it is not easie to coniecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they euer bene heard of heere among vs, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man with vs so rashly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any such conclusions, or (to our knowledge) that euer durst: which notwithstanding Munster affirmeth, saying: They that are desirous to contemplate the nature of so huge a fire, & for the same purpose approch vnto the mountaine, are by some gulfe swallowed vp aliue, &c. which thing (as I sayd) is altogether vnknowen vnto our nation. Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient language of the Norwagians, wherein you may finde some miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confusedly written, few of them true, and the most part vaine and false. Whereupon it easily appeareth that it was written long since by some that were imagined to be great wise men in the time of Popery. They called it a royall looking glasse: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the most part vnder the shew of religion and piety, whereby it is more difficult to finde out the cousinage) it doeth all ouer swarme, it deserueth not the name of a looking glasse royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wiues looking glasse. In this glasse there are found certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much vnlike these which we now entreat of, nor any whit more grounded vpon experience, and for that cause to be reiected.

Speculum regale written in the Norwagian tongue.

Whence the fables of Island grew.

But that I may not seeme somewhat foolehardy, for accusing this royall looking glasse of falshood (not to mention any of those things which it reporteth as lesse credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I suppose deserue no credit at all.

1 Of a certain Isle in Ireland, hauing a church and a parish in it, the inhabitants whereof deceasing are not buried in the earth, but like liuing men, do continually, against some banke or wall in the Churchyard, stand bolt-vpright: neither are they subiect to any corruption or downefall: insomuch that any of the posteritie may there seeke for, and beholde their ancestors.

2 Of another Isle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3 Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to resist all poisons, and to kill serpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey whatsoeuer, by the onely vertue and presence thereof, yea euen without touching.

4 Of a third Isle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of deuils, but that the sayd deuils haue no iurisdiction ouer the other halfe, by reason of a Church there built, although, as the whole Isle is without inhabitants, so this part is continually destitute of a Pastor, and of diuine seruice: and that it is so by nature.

5 Of a fourth Isle of Ireland floating vp and downe in an huge lake, the grasse whereof is a most present remedy for all kinde of diseases, and that the Iland, at certeine seasons, especially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, so that any man may then easily enter into it, as it were into a shippe: which notwithstanding (sayth he) destiny will not suffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore he reporteth that this Island euery

seuenth

seuenth yere groweth fast to the banke, so that you cannot discerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there succeedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6 Of the hunters of Norway who are so expert to tame wood (for so he speaketh very improperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be ascribed) that woodden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the soles of their feet do cary them with so great celeritie euen vpon hie mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the swiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one course & with one stroke of a dart.

These and such like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Island, Gronland, of the miracles of water, and aire, this master of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glasse: whereby, although he hath made his owne followers woonder, and the common people to be astonished, yet hath he ministred vnto vs nothing but occasion of laughter.

But let vs heare Frisius. The flame of mount Hecla (sayth he) will not burne towe (which is most apt matter for the wicke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I say that this strange opinion may be confirmed by many reasons borrowed out of your schoole of Philosophy. For the naturall Philosophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nourished with moiste: whereupon, euen blacksmithes, by sprinckling on of water, vse to quicken and strengthen their fire. For (say they) when fire is more vehement, it is stirred vp by colde, and nourished by moisture, both which qualities doe concurre to water. Item, water is wont to kindle skorching fires: because the moisture it selfe, which ariseth, doth proue more fattie and grosse, neither is it consumed by the smoke enclosing it, but the fire it selfe feedeth vpon the whole substance thereof, whereby being made puren and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reason of colde. And therefore also wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item. There be places abounding with brimstone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The graund Philosopher also hath affirmed, that fire is nourished by water. Arist. 3. de anim. And Plinie, in the second booke of his naturall historie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympheum there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The same author sayth: The ashe continually flourisheth, coucring a burning fountaine. And moreouer that there are sudden fires at some times, euen vpon waters, as namely that the lake of Thrasumenus in the field of Perugi, was all on fire, as the same Strabo witnesseth. And in the yeares 1226. and 1236. not farre from the promontorie of Islande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the sea. Yea euen vpon mens bodies sudden fires haue glittered: as namely, there sprang a flame from the head of Seruius Tullius lying a sleepe: and also Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his souldiers, and exhorting them to reuenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like sort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, so is it quenched with earth or haye: also of another field which burneth not the leaues of shadie trees that growe directly ouer it. These things being thus, it is strange that men should accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for disputation sake, when indeede there is no such matter so farre foorth as euer I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

Plinius.

And by the same force that bullets, &c. Munster saith the like also. This mountaine when it rageth, it soundeth like dreadfull thunder, casteth forth huge stones, disgorgeth brimstone, and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it coureth so much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to haue compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will presently make mention, seeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very same. Vulesse perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake seldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the same kinde. For it hath now rested these 34. yeares full out, the last

last fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we haue before noted. And there can no such wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the same or greater are to be ascribed vnto other burning mountaines, as it shall by and by appeare.

But that brimstone should be sent foorth it is a meere fable, and neuer knowen vnto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the prison of vncleane soules. Here I am constrained so vse a preface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my selfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants distinctly by themselues, I must of necessitie confusedly handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong vnto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these writers, who haue confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation & miracles of the island. Wherfore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder, that wise men should be growen to this point, not onely to listen after, but euen to follow and embrace the dotings of the rude people: For the common sort of strangers, and the offskowring of mariners (here I do except them of better iudgement aswell mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockishnesse are carried to this imagination of the prison of soules: and that because they see no wood nor any such fewell layed vpon this fire as they haue in their owne chimneys at home. And by this perswasion of the grosse multitude, the report grew strong, especially (as they are too much accustomed to banning and cursing) while one would wish to another the firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall, and visible fire could consume mens soules being spirituall, bodilesse, and inuisible substances. And to be short, who can but woonder, why they should not faine the same prison of damned soules, aswell in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations then this: But you will say, that Pope Gregorie fained it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it should be so: then there is the same trueth of this prison that there is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further I thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a ship of certaine strangers departing from Island, vnder full saile, a most swift pace, going directly on her course, met with another ship sailing against winde & weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselues, who hailing them of whence they were, answere was giuen by their gouernour, De Bischop van Bremen: being the second time asked whether they were bound: he answered, Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho. I am affeard lest the reader at the sight of these things should call for a bason: for it is such an abominable lie, that it would make a man cast his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we esteeme no more of it, then of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy to be smiled at, much lesse to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papists: let vs rather come vnto our owne writers.

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthie man Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vaste guffe, or as hell it selfe, which resoundeth with lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round about. Great swarmes of vgly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie hoouering about this place which are thought of the inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in whatsoeuer part of the whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cryes, what monstrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold (most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares: Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that second kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygargi: neither are there any with vs, that can beare witnesse of the foresaid spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would nestle in that place, when as they should rather be driuen from thence by fire and smoke, being things most contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithstanding for proofe of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow of the

the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout should that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyse and tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie, distant, and remote places of the earth from vs; Concerning which thing I would aske the author of this fable many questions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from henceforth he would learne to tell troth, & not presume with so impudent a face to enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of such vnknowen and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endeuouring to search out the causes of the great and strange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let vs rather consider what Munster in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

It is without doubt (saith he) that some mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we vnderstand that there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, & sometime smoaking as it were a streaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the vpper part, for want of matter, somewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement spirite (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumpes resembling iron, great stones, & much other matter, not without the domage of the whole region adioyning. Thus farre Munster. Where consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne sword, consider (I say) that in this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diuerse, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes. A certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The History of which mountain (because it is short & sweete) I will set downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his history of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. About 35. miles distant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night they shine farre and neare, aboue 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold ministring continuall matter & nourishment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an irō chain to be made: afterward ascending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letteth downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far more slender then himselfe had cōmanded. The smith hammers out another of more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returnes to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like successe that he had before. Neither did the caldrō only vanish & melt away: but also, vpon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almost cōsumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute that attempt, &c. What great difference is there betweene these two censures? In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold: but in mount Hecla of Island they seeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reiect this as a thing too new, & altogether vnknowen to ancient writers. Why therefore haue not writers imagined the same prison of soules to be in Chimæra an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Island? Why haue they not imagined the same to be in the mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceiue so much fire, that

Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersalis lib. 4. cap. 1.

that the very stones & sand lying in the water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt vpon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there proceede whole riuers of fire, as Plinie testifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Isle of Hiera, flaming in the midst of the sea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewise burning for certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approch in the night: frō whence the sound of Cymbals and the noyse of rattles, with vnwonted and vncouth laughters are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare vnto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and casting vp stones into the aier, as Munster himselfe witnesseth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Vesuuius, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adioyning, & to the vtter destruction of Caius Plinius prying into ỹ causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region therabout? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in deede they foresaw, that men would yeeld no credite to those things as being too well knowen, though they should haue feined them to haue beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumor whereof came more slowly to their eares) to be fitter for the establishing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, ỹ there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in these fire workes, not the fury of hell. But now let vs examine a few more such fables of ỹ cōmō people, which haue so vnhappily misledd our historiographers & cosmographers.

Frisius. Ziegler. Olaus magnus.

The eight section.

Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaste holes, the depth whereof, especially at mount Hecla, cannot be discerned by any man, be he neuer so sharpe sighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who answere their friends (exhorting them with deepe sighs to returne home) that they must depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they suddenly vanish away.

TO confirme the former lie, of an earthly & visible hell (albeit I will easily grant that Frisius in writing these things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heauen haue inuented this fable, no lesse reprochfull then false, and more vaine & detestable then Sicilian scoffes. Which fellowes these writers (being otherwise men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) haue followed with an ouer hastie iudgement.

But it were to be wished, that none would write Histories with so great a desire of setting foorth nouelties & strange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & old-wiues toyes, & so to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might those drowned mē be swimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parleing with their acquaintance & friends? What? Will you coniure, & raise vp vnto vs from death to life old Orpheus conferring with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in these parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of snowey Tanais, & Hebrus descanting vpon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falshood, & vanity of these trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent considerer of all things in his 18. booke de subtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them out. Whose words be these. There is Hecla a mountaine in Island, which burneth like vnto Ætna at certain seasons, & hereupon the cōmon people haue conceiued an opinion this long time, that soules are there purged: some, least

least they should seeme lyes, heape vp more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reaso. But what be those vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghosts answering the, that they are going to mount Hecla: as the same Cardane saith. And further he addeth. Neither in Island only, but euery where (albeit seldome) such things come to passe. And then he tels this storie following, of a man-killing spright. There was (saith he) solemnized this last yeare the funerall of a comon citizen, in the gate neare vnto the great Church, by that marketplace, which in regard of the abundace of herbs, in our toong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the custome of Phisitians) presently aske of what disease the man died? he giueth me answere that this man vsed to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night amõg the rest he espied an hobgeblin pursuing him: which to auoid, he ran away with al speed: but being caught by the spright, he was throwne down vpon the ground. He would faine haue made a shout, & was not able. At length (when the spright & he had struggled together vpon the ground a good while) he was found by certain passengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himselfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he vp and tolde this strange relation. Hereupon (being vtterly daunted, & discouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phisitians, nor by Priests, he could be perswaded, that these things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no such matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard also afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more cõstantly affirme himselfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he was cast vpon the ground by a ghost. And when some demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to strãgle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my selfe with mine own hands. When others doubted least he might suffer these things of a liuing man, they asked him how he could discerne a dead man frõ a liuing? To this he rendered a very probable reason, saying that he seemed in handling to be like Cottum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And presently after he addeth. In like manner as in Island, so in the desert sands of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, where the sunne is hoat, the very same apparitions, the same sprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Island do, that in the places of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, there is a prison of damned soules.

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring euen the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth these two things, namely ỳ apparitions of sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing al mẽ know, if they do not maliciously feigne themselues to be ignorant) And secondly that that conference of the dead with the liuing in ỳ gulfe of Hecla is not grounded vpon any certainty, but only vpon fables coined by some idle persons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutish comon sort haue vsed, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of soules. And is there any man so fantasticall, that wilbe induced to beleeue these gulfes, mẽtioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be neuer so ful of dead mens miracles? yea doubtlesse. For frõ hence also they say, ỳ reproches are iustly vsed against our nation: namely ỳ there is nothing in all the world more base, & worthlesse then it, which conteineth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we haue gotten by those historiographers, who haue bin so greedy to publish nouelties. But this opinion, bred by the sottishnes of the cõmon people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene sufficiently ouerthrowen as a thing foolish & vaine, and as being deuised for the vpbrayding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernall secrets.

The

The ninth section.

Frisius and Munster.

But round about the Iland, for the space of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth ise, making a miserable kind of mone, and not vnlike to mans voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount Hecla and in the ise, there are places wherein the soules of their countreymen are tormented.

NO doubt, a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, shut vp within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at some times (by fits and seasons) changing places: namely, whē it is weary of lurking at home by the fires side within ỹ mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to sea, but without a ship, & to gather it selfe round into morsels of yce. Come forth, & giue eare all ye ỹ wonder at this secret. Lo, I will afford these historiographers another addition of history very notable. Let them write therfore, that ỹ Islanders haue not only hel within their iurisdiction, but also ỹ they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe vntouched ỹ very same day. How can that be? Why: it is an ancient custome of the Island that they which inhabite neare the sea shore do vsually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, euen vpon the very same ise which the historiographers make to be hel, & in the euening returne home safe and sound. Set downe also (if ye please) that the prison of the damned is kept in store by the Islanders in coffers and vessels, as we shall anon heare out of Frisius.

Taking of Seales on the ice.

But you had need wisely to foresee, lest ỹ Islanders beguile all your countries of the cōmendation of courage & constācy: namely, as they (for so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can and will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. And I am able to reckon vp a great many of our countrimen who in ỹ very act of hunting, wandring somewhat farre from the shoare (the ice being dispersed by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting vpon the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole daies & nights being tossed vp & downe in the waues of ỹ raging sea, & so (for it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the historiographers) haue had experience of the torments, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the last, the weather being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being transported again to the shoare, in this their ship of ice, haue returned home in safety: some of which number are aliue at this day. Wherefore let such as be desirous of newes snatch vp this, & (if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their history. Neither do these vaine phantasies deserue otherwise to be handled & cōfuted, then with such like merimets, & sportings. But to lay aside all iesting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digressed. First of all therefore it is euident enough out of the second section, ỹ ice floateth not about this Iland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere: then, that this ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh monstrous soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all resound or lament, like vnto mans voice, we may in no case confesse. But wheras they say that, both in the Isle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the soules of our countrimen are tormented, we vtterly stand to the deniall of that: and we thanke God & our Lord Iesus Christ from the botome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death & hell, & opened vnto vs the gate of the kingdome of heauen) because he hath instructed vs more truely, concerning the place, whether the soules of our deceased countrimen depart, then these historiographers doe tell vs. We know and maintain that the soules of ỹ godly are transported immediatly out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the heauenly paradise. We know & maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & ashes of mountaines, or into visible ice, but immediatly are carried away into vtter darknesse, where is weeping & gnashing of teeth, where there is colde also, & fire not cōmon, but far beyond our knowledge & curious

Westerne winds disperse the ice.

Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Island.

curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but soules also, & is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also hold, & the Islanders are no whit neerer vnto this extreame & darke prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatsoeuer. Neither is it any thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this dungeon. It is sufficient for vs, that (by the grace and assistance of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whose precious blood we are redeemed) we shall neuer see that vtter darknesse, nor feele the rest of the torments that be there. Now let vs here shut vp the disputation concerning the hell of Island.

The tenth section.

If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, & shall keepe it neuer so warily enclosed in a coffer or vessel, it wil at that time when the ice thaweth about the Iland, vtterly vanish away, so that not the least part thereof, no nor a drop of water is to be found. Frisius. Zieglerus. Iuto.

SVrely, this was of necessity to be added: namely, & this ice, which according to historiographers representeth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, consist of & matter of some element. For whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Frisius absurd opinion) whereas also it pierceth through hard & solide bodies, no otherwise then spirits & ghosts: therefore it remaineth, seeing it is not of an elementary nature, & it must haue either a spirituall, or a celestial, or an infernal matter. But & it should be infernall, we can not be perswaded, because we haue heard that infernall cold is farre more vnsufferable then this ise, which vseth to be put into a boxe with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked flesh, by touching thereof. Nor yet will we grant it to be spirituall: for we haue learned in naturall Philosophy, that spiritual substances can neither be seene nor felt, & cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithstanding most manifestly agree to this ise of the Historiographers, howsoeuer according to them it be supernatural. Besides also, it is most true, that the very same yse being melted with the heat of the sunne, & resolued into water, vpon the vpper part therof, standeth fishermen in as good stead to quench their thirst, as any Land-riuer would do, which thing can no way be ascribed to a spirituall substance. It is not therefore spirituall, nor yet infernall. Now none wilbe so bold to affirme, that it hath celestiall matter, least some man perhaps might hereupon imagine, & this ise hath brought hell (which the hist riographers annexe vnto it) downe from heauen together with it selfe: or that the same thing should be common vnto heauen, being of one & the same matter with ise, & so that the prison of the damned may be thought to haue changed places with the heauely paradise, & all by the ouersight of these Historiographers. Wherfore seeing the matter of this historicall ise is neither elementarie (as we haue so often proued by this place of Frisius) neither spirituall, nor infernall, both which we haue concluded euidently, in short, yet sound and substanciall reasons: nor yet celestiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifest, & according to the said historiographers, there is no such thing at all, which notwithstanding they blaze abroad with such astonishing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly seene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which proposition when it shall fall out true, in the same respect, in the same part, and at the same time, then will we giue credite to these frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may easily iudge, that wee need none other helpe to refute these things, but onely to shew how they disagree one with another. But it is no maruell that he, which hath once enclined himselfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, should oftentimes fall into error. There was a like strange thing inuented by another concerning the sympathy or conioining of this ise: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, so narrowly, & so swiftly, that a man by no diligence can obserue it, by reason of the vnchangeable necessitie of following. But we haue oftentimes seene such a solitarie lumpe of ise remaining (after the other parts there-

of

of were driuen away) and lying vpon the shore for many weekes together, without any posis or engines at all to stay it. Therefore it is plaine that these miracles of ise are grounded vpon a more slippery foundation then ise it selfe.

The eleuenth section.

Frisius. Not farre from these mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the sea shoare, there be foure fountaines of a most contrary nature betweene themselues. The first, by reason of his continuall heat conuerteth into a stone any body cast into it, the former shape only still remaining. The second is extremely cold. The third is sweeter then honey, and most pleasant to quench thirst. The fourth is altogether deadly, pestilent, and full of ranke poison.

EVen this description of fountaines doth sufficiently declare howe impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all these miraculous stories. For he seemeth to affirme, that the three foresaid mountaines doe almost touch one another: for he ascribeth foure fountaines indifferently vnto them all. Otherwise if he had not made them stand neare together, he would haue placed next vnto some one of these, two of the foresaid fountaines. But neither doe these mountaines touch (being distant so many leagues a sunder) neither are there any such foure fountaines neare vnto them, which, he that wil not beleeue, let him go try. But to confute these things, the very contrariety of writers is sufficient. For another concerning two fountaines gainsayth Frisius in these words. There do burst out of the same hill Hecla two fountaines, the one whereof, by reason of the cold streames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of elemẽts. These be Frisius his two first fountaines, sauing that here is omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the said fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of the mountaine it selfe, and neare vnto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demaund, by what reason any of the Peripatetickes can affirme, that there is some thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray you, learned writers) proceedeth this coldnesse: From whence commeth this heate: Haue we not learned out of your schole that water is an element most colde and somewhat moist: and in such sort most cold, that for the making of secundarie qualities, it must of necessitie be remitted, & being simple, that it cannot be applyed to the vses of mankind: I do here deliuer these Oracles of the naturall Philosophers, not knowing whether they be true or false. M. Iohn Fernelius, lib. 2. Phys. cap. 4. may stand for one witnesse amongst all the rest, & in stead of the all. So excessiue (saith he) be these foure first qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is hotter thẽ pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, & nothing heauier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatsoeuer exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of aire. Moreouer, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in thẽ, that they cannot be any whit encreased, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape vp the reasons or arguments of the natural Philosophers. These writers had need be warie of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, aswel as they did the ice of the Islanders. We wil prosecute in order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers. The first by reason of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Island, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I haue learned out of authors, that Germanie euery where aboundeth with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote Baths of Baden, Gebarsuil, Calben in the dutchy of Wirtenberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchsius doeth mention in his booke de Arte medendi. And not onely Germanie, but also France, & beyond all the rest Italy that mother of all commodities, saith Cardan. And Aristotle reporteth, that about Epyrus these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. And I say, these things should therefore be ỹ lesse admired, because the searchers of nature

Many hote Baths in Island.

haue

haue as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Brimstone & Allom, and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taste also, & other strange qualities. Aristotle in his booke de Mundo hath taught this. The earth (saith he) conteineth within it fountains not only of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them flowing like riuers, doe cast foorth red hote iron: from whence also doeth flow, sometimes luke-warme water, sometimes skalding hote, and somtimes temperate. And Seneca. Empedocles thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly conteineth in many places, especially if the said fire bee vnder that ground where the water passeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths. The causes of hote Baths. Lib. 3. cap. quæst.

No maruell though from banke of Baian shore
hote Baths, or veines of skalding licour flow:
For Vulcans forge incensed euermore
doeth teach vs plaine, that heart of earth below
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.
From hence the flitting flood sends smokie streames,
And Baths doe boile with secret burning gleames.

I thought good in this place to touch that which Saxo Grammaticus the most famous historiographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of Island do somtime encrease & flow vp to the brinke: sometimes againe they fall so lowe that you can skarse discerne them to be fountaines. Which kind of fountaines, albeit they bee very seldome found with vs, yet I will make mention of some like vnto them, produced by nature in other countries, lest any man should think it somwhat strange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of these. There is one (saieth he) in the Isle of Tenedos, which at the Solstitium of sommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night, till the sixt. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there is a riuer which in the midst of sommer alwaies encreaseth, and in winter is dried vp. He maketh mention also of a very large fountaine, which euery houre doeth encrease and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that some riuers run vnder the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, vnto which Cardan addeth Tanais in Moscouia: and those things which were throwen into Aesculapius fountaine at Athens, were cast vp againe in Phaletico. And Seneca writeth that there are certaine riuers which being let downe into some caue vnder ground, are withdrawen out of sight, seeming for the time to be vtterly perished and taken away, and that after some distance the very same riuers returne, enioying their former name and their course. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a riuer receiued vnder ground in the field of Atinas that issueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, should teach vs that the fountaines of Island are not to be made greater wonders then the rest.

Doth forthwith conuert into a stone any body cast into it. By these two properties, namely, warmth or most vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Frisius describe his first fountaine. And I haue heard reported (though I neuer had experience thereof my selfe) that there is such a fountain in Island not far frō the bishops seat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Seneca reporteth of the like, saying: That there is a certain fountain which conuerteth wood into stone, hardening the bowels of those men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that such fountains are to bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Onid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. ascribeth vnto the riuer of the Cicones.

Water drunke out of Ciconian flood
fleshy bowels to flintie stone doeth change:
Ought else therewith besprinckt, as earth or wood
becommeth marble streight: a thing most strange.

And Cardane. Georgius Agricola affirmeth, that in the territorie of Elbogan, about the town

lown which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are conuerted into stone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the stone called Berites, or the Flint. And Domitius Brusonius reporteth, that in the riuer of Silar (running by the foote of that mountain which standeth in the field of the citie in old time called Vrsence, but now Contursia) leaues and boughs of trees change into stones, & that, not vpon other mens credite, but vpon his own experience, being borne & brought vp in that country: which thing Plinie also auoucheth, saying, that the said stones doe shew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or stony husks. So (if we may giue credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being dispersed abroad, become stones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepusius being poured into pitchers, is conuerted to stone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being cast into the riuer of the Cicones, and into the Veline lake in the field of Pice, is enclosed in a barke of stone growing ouer it.

The second is extremely cold. As for the second fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge so extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, insomuch that (our common riuers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from those coole springs. It may be that there are some farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a riuer (streaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then snow: and within a mile of Culma, the riuer called Insana seeming to be very hote is most extremely cold, &c.

Riuers of Island in sommer season luke-warme.

The third is sweeter than honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with vs, which may in the least respect be compared with the sweetnesse of honie. And therfore Saxo wrote more truly, saying, that certaine fountaines (for there be very many) yeelding taste as good as beere: and also in the same place there are fountains & riuers not onely of diuers tasts, but of diuers colours.

And albeit naturall Philosophers teach, that water naturally of it selfe hath neither taste nor smel, yet it is likely (as we haue touched before, which other call per accidens) that oftentimes it representeth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veines whereof it hath passage and issue: and from hence proceed the diuers & sundry smels, colours and sauours of all waters. Of such waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof some prouoke hunger, others make men drunken, some hurt the memory, & some helpe it, & some resemble the very qualitie and taste of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie speaketh of in the Isle of Andros, within the temple of Bachus, which in the Nones of Ianuary used to flow ouer with wine. And Aristotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops smelling like Cedar. Also Oreus a riuer of Thessalie flowing into Peneus, swimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere vnto the town of Brunswic, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in Sueuia neere vnto the Abbey called Tergensch. Also in the valley of the mountain Iurassus. He supposeth the cause of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but conteine oile in it. The same author saieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daschylus, in the white field, there is water sweeter then milke. Another also neere vnto the bridge which we passe ouer going to the towne of Valdeburg. Propertius likewise in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters representing the sauour of wine in these words.

In lib. de mirab.

Amidst the Isle of Naxus loe, with fragrant smels and fine
A freshet runs; ye Naxians goe fill cups, carouse, there's wine.

This Naxus is one of the Islands called Cyclades lying in the Ægæan sea. Cardane giueth a reason hereof, namely, because Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Aristotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants vse in stead of vineger. The same author maketh the cause of sauours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giueth sauour vnto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water so saieth Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the sauours thereof, for both haue their originall fro the earth. For there is white water within two miles of Glauca a town in Misena: red water

water in Radera a riuer of Misena not farre from Radeburg: & in old time neere vnto Ioppa in Iudea: greene water in the mountaine of Carpathus by Neusola: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountains of Feltrius & Taruisius: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in Thermopylis: cole-blacke water in Alera a riuer of Saxonie, at that place where it dischargeth it self into the Weser. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saieth, that about the promontorie of Iapigia, there is a fountaine which streameth blood: adding moreouer, that Mariners are driuen farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench thereof. Furthermore, they say that in Idumæa there is a fountaine which changeth color foure times in a yeere: for somtimes it is greene, somtime white, somtime bloodie, & somtimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the smels of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like reason of difference in smels. But for the most part the steames of waters bee vnpleasant, because the earth doeth seldome times smel well. The water of the riuer Anigris in Aelis stanke, to the destruction, not onely of fishes, but also of men. About Meton in Messania, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen most sweet smelling, and odoriferous water. I doe recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater wonder at the colours, smels, and sauours of waters that be in Island, then at those which are in other countreis.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Isidore affirmeth, that there is a certaine fountaine whose water being drunke, extinguisheth life. And Plinie saieth, That about Nonaris in Arcadia, the riuer of Styx (neere the mountaine of Cillene, saieth Cardane: it would be contained in nothing but an horse-hoofe: and it is reported that Alexander the great was poisoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in smell nor colour, being drunke, is present death. In Besosus an hill of the people called Tauri, there are three fountains, euery one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which is the strangest thing of all the rest) Seneca maketh mention of a poole, into which whosoeuer looke, do presently die. But, as for this fourth fountaine of Frisius, which Saxo doeth likewise mention, we Islanders, as alwayes heretofore, so euen at this day do testifie, that it is vtterly vnknowen vnto vs: and therefore in this regard, we render vnto God immortall thanks, because he hath vouchsafed to preserue our nation from such fountains, from serpents and venemous wormes, & from al other pestiferous & contagious creatures.

The foure Author faineth.

Island free from snakes and other venemous beasts.

Furthermore about the foresaid mountaines there is such abundance of brimstone. The three mountains called by Munster and Frisius, Fierie mountains, do all of them stand an huge distance from our Mines. Wherefore, when as neere vnto these hils they haue found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe so mightily extoll for wonders, they must needs haue some Brimstone Mines also, standing a like distance from the said fountaines. And assuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munster would haue it, nor by Frisius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimstone digged vp at this day: nor I thinke euer was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munster reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimstone: namely, that it is almost the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. For whereas the Iland is deuided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but euen the halfe thereof) doeth vse it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimstone paied for tribute of the Iland.

Brimstone Mines onely in the North part of Island.

The twelfth Section.

There are so great store of fishes in this Iland, that they are laid foorth on piles to be sold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houses.

Munster.

IN the open aire. In deed we haue seen other country merchants doe so, vntill they had vnladen their ships of outlandish wares, & filled thē againe with fishes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifest. Certainly, that plentifull and ancient abundance of fish is now decaied, and the Islanders now begin to be pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying

Abundance of fish about Island diminished.

laying the iust scourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

The thirteenth Section.

Friuius. They haue most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

A Certaine Cosmographer in his Map of Island reporteth concerning the horses of one parish, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impossible. For Munster writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse & strength of body, called ‖ Rangiferi, cannot run aboue 30. leagues in 24. houres.

‖ Raine deare.

The foureteenth Section.

Munster. There be seen sometimes neere vnto Island huge Whales like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ships, vnlesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round and emptie vessels, which they delight to tosse vp and downe. It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be Ilands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to say, the deuilish Whale.

Like vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters falsifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe saieth) his blind dreame. Such a false and shameless ouer-reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make leasings, if history be a report of plaine trueth: Why should he vse such strange surmountings: What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he rauish the reader, if he propoundeth vnto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things:

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.
But not Historiographers.

Certain letters sent by Brandan bishop of Breme, to preach Christian faith in the North.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not woorth a strawe. And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Krantzius, if I be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time sent certaine Legates with a Couen of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian: and when they had spent a long iourney in sailing towards the North, they came vnto an Iland, and there casting their anker they went a shore, and kindled fiers (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a litle vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at sea) and so prouided victuals for the rest of their iourny. But when their fires grew very hote, this Iland sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was present. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saieth) a little Iland, would not rather with all diligence haue auoided it for feare of running a shore and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therfore vpon the backs of Whales, saith Munster. But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O silly Mariners that in digging cannot discern Whales flesh frō lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the vpper part of the ground: without doubt they are woorthy to haue Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewise before treating of the land-miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeuoureth to proule here and there for miracles,

racles, perusing sea and land to stuffe vp his history: where notwithstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subiect to manifold errours, as we will shew by this your example. For while you take in hand to schoole others, & go to teach them by what name a Whale-fish is to be called in our tongue, leauing out through ignorance the letter H, which almost alone maketh vp the signification of the worde, you deliuer that which is not true: for val in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise of the verbe Eg vel, that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence val is deriued, &c. But a Whale is called Hualur with vz, & therefore you ought to haue written Trollhualur. Neither doeth Troll signifie the deuill, as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You see therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great iniurie to our language being in one word onely: because (doubtlesse) you knew not more then one.

Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island receiued from Islanders themselues, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the most names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, springs, riuers, homocks, valleis, hils & townes (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read those things aright, which he receiued from our countreymen) he had rather (I say) depraue & corrupt them all, then learne of the Islanders themselues, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585, liued in the vniuersitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our natiue names and words, (whereupon it came to passe that we reading the same, could acknowledge very few to be oure owne) that he is no slight offender against our tongue, otherwise retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we haue after some sort examined most of the myracles of Island, which our writers haue mentioned. Notwithstanding before we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the last forenamed mã (in this Map of Island, that he caused to be put forth in the foressid yeere vnder his own name) hath giuen out concerning two other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. Which thing where he receiued it, or whence he had it, we can by nomeans imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in y writers of other countries. But whence soeuer it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black wooll may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receiue no colour: notwithstanding there is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a riuer in Macedonia which maketh blacke sheepe white. Also, that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glasse, which I mentioned before, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also called Hybernia, and not to Island. Which peraduenture deceiued the Reader, reading in a strange language S in stead of R.

That likewise descrueth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great stone in Island which runneth vp and downe the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and naturall motion. Hee that will beleeue this, what will he not beleeue? For it is such a rare deuise that the Epicures themselues (who yet seemed to Lucian to haue fained many incredible things) I am sure neuer inuented the like: vnlesse perhaps the sayd Author doeth imagine, (that a man who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should compasse about, and clime vp certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should mooue or walke, yet is it so to bee supposed to saue the credite of the Author, that we may not more seuerely condemne that fable, which is so sencelesse of it selfe and not woorthy to be read.

They are guiltie of the same crime also who haue found out rauens, pies, hares and vultures,

Vultures, beares and crowes come vpon the drift ice into Island.

tures, all white in Island: for it is wel knowen that vultures come very seldome together with the Ise of the sea, vnto vs, as beares also (but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crowes called by the Islanders Isakrakur. But as for white pies, hares, and rauens Island neuer had any.

And these in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines, we were able at this present to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatise, which were penned by me for this purpose (as in the beginning I did protest) that the errors of Authors concerning an vnknowen land, and the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuse but shew, that those things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our Island deserue very litle credite: and so to addresse myselfe vnto the matters following concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

Of Island the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

HAuing hitherto finished the miracles of Island with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while writers doe wonder at and diuersly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they haue bene very carelesse both of trueth it selfe, & of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste vnto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against vs poore Islanders dwelling in the vtmost parts of the world (and amongst these also, some things of theirs who take vpon them to professe most simple trueth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon vp the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Icarian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike seuerely with all. For although Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius & others haue written many things too boldly of our nation: yet hauing otherwise deserued wel of learning by their monuments, they shalbe still in ỹ same reputation w vs that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free thē from the marke of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should broch certaine senceless, impossible & ridiculous things, such as those are which we haue hitherto laid downe: as also that they should record in histories prophane and horrible vntrueths, some of which kind shal now immediately be discussed. As for others, whatsoeuer they be, who vpbraid the nation of Islanders with daily reproches, they are to haue that answere in a readinesse which such men deserue. In the number of whom, that scoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the Germane tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into euerlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with some things containing litle reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of them, noting the errors as hitherto we haue done: in the meane time also when they shall alleage any trueth, we will in no case dissemble it. And after this maner, first we will heare Munster, Krantzius and Frisius, and others also, if there be any more, what they haue to say, reiecting that Parot and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is woorthy, vnto the last place. First therefore the sayd Authors write concerning the faith or religion of the Islanders: and secondly, of their Maners, Customes, and course of life in maner folowing.

The

The first Section.

Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders conuerted vnto Christianitie: albeit, before the receiuing of Christian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named Islief to be their first Bishop. Krantzius in prefatione sua Norwegiae.

KRantzius in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute vnto the Islanders the prerogatiue of Christian faith: and they should deale both beseeming themselues and the trueth, if they did not in other places depriue vs of the same. For (to speake of Krantzius anone) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely to be desirous to prie into those secrets which God hath kept close vnto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the deuill and his angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perish, and that a new earth, and new heauens shall be created for the habitation of iust and holy men, Reuel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Esay 65. wherefore a Christian man willingly giueth ouer to search into such hidden secrets: and he accounteth it vnlawful to receiue or deliuer vnto others, opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths, Deut. 4. and 12. Esay. 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim. 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Krantzius doe grace the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster disagreeth with himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, afterward he maketh to be master-builders of hell. Also Krantzius and Munster both together, when as those whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into Christ, they except from all sense of piety and honesty, in that they write that their sonnes are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to say concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was first put to flight. No more (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere vnto vs to say concerning ẏ beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must needs confesse & bewaile with deepe sighes, that vntill that day which shined vnto vs like the beginning of immortalitie, & brought vnto vs the pure doctrine of the gospel, our countrymen, as likewise other churches of the North, were ouerspred with more then Cimmerian darkenesse. But we may iustly and religiously thinke thus muche, that among vs and our neighbors of Norway (for I will not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of vnknowen people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith & religion did florish far more sincere and simple, as being lesse infected with the poison of poperie at that time, then afterward, when as the pestiferous leauen of the see of Rome being augmented, & the contagious mischiefe growing ripe, the poison thereof was dispersed through ẏ whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papists began to preuaile, and did sound foorth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghost, like vnto those two most renoumed kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, so had they one common care and profession to aduance the gospel of Christ. I meane Olaus the sonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yere of Christ 968. attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the first, as we haue heard, that offred Christ vnto the Norwegians, ouer whom hee reigned fiue yeeres: and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the sonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Christ 1013. or there about, gouerned with The first christian king of Norway.

with more seueritie, & for the space of 17. yeeres did boldly deliuer the doctrine of Christ. In the yere of Christ 1030. being vniustly slaine by wicked murtherers, he shed his blood for ȝ name of Christ in a town of Norway called Sticfla Stodum.

Nialus the first knowne professour of Christian faith in Island.

Our countrey also had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whose name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Christ 1000. liued in the village of Berthorshuol situate in the parish of Island called Landehum: who also for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wisedome and sage counsell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Island was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in subiection to no superiour magistrate, he intermedled not in any quarels, sauing that by his discreet vertue & diligence he set through and brought to composition a great number: hee neuer did nor suffered violence, but onely vpon the last day of his life. So carefully auoyded he al seditions and strifes: and gaue good assistance to others, who were desirous also to auoyd and escape them: neither did any man euer put in practise his counsel, but it turned to his especiall good: nor euer any did swerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and possessions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were so certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man should haue so great and so sure forecast and counsell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his discreet and prouident wisedome ioyned with counsell became a prouerbe amongst vs Nials byta raden: That is to say, the counsel of Nialus: or, the thing is done, or succeedeth by Nialus his counsel: when any business was atchieued prudently, and with admirable discretion. This man, when, for a slaughter committed by his sonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne house beset with a 100. men, who had conspired his death, and when his enemies began on all sides to set his house on fire, seeing his ende approch, at length he brake into these words. Doubtlesse these things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Christ, that we (meaning his wife and himselfe) although this our fraile body shal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it shalbe deliuered from eternal flames. And so in the midst of these voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manslayer his sonne, in the yere of Christ 1010. ended his life. A voyce vndoubtedly full well beseeming the sonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his soule amidst the very pangs of death.

I therefore added those things to shew by what reason I was moued to thinke that in the very beginning of Christianitie receiued amongst vs, mens minds were not so beguiled and ouerwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before these our times they haue bene.

A misuse of the Islanders Religion.

But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by his godly successours, did make the doctrine of salustion more manifest, and shaking off the heauie slothe, and thicke miste of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy spirit (Matth. 12. v. 28.) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes that we might behold his sauing health: We all, and euery of vs do beleeue and confesse that God is a spirit (Iohn 4. v. 24.) eternal (Esay 40. v. 28.) infinite (Iere. 23. v. 24. Psal. 139. v. 7. 8. 9.) most good (Matth. 19. v. 17.) almighty (Gen. 17. 1. Reuel. 1. 8.) one in being, and nature: one in prouidence: one in the making and gouerning of all things (Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But distinguished by the persons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) God the Father the first person of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth, and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in those that folow) the vpholder & gouernor of all (Psa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Father of our Lord Iesus Christ (Psal. 2. 7. and verses following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.) keeper of our soules and bodies (Luke 12. 12.) And that Iesus Christ the second person of the Godhead is the sonne of God the Father (Iohn 1. 18 &c.) onely begotten (Iohn 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1 Chro. 17. 13. Ioh. 1. 1.) true God (Iohn 1. 2. &c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1. Pet. 1. 20. Reuel. 13. 8. &c.) and presently after mans fall promised to be the Messias (Gene. 3. 15. &c.) published eftsoones vnto the holy Patriarches, as vnto Abraham (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) vnto Isaac (Gen. 26. 4.) vnto Iacob

Iacob (Gene. 28. 14.) and confirmed by promises (Gen. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1, 10.) prefigured by ȝ sacrifices of Moses (Leu. 1. 2. &c.) and by other types, as namely by the offering of Isaac (Gen. 22.) by the lifting vp of the brasen serpent (Num. 21.) by Ionas (Ionas 2. &c.) proclaimed by the testimony of the Prophets (Esa. 7. 14.) and at length in the fulnesse of time truely exhibited: true man (Iohn 1. 14. &c. Gal. 4.) that he died for our sinnes, and was raised againe for our iustification (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascending into heauen (Acts 1. 9. &c.) and making intercession for vs at the right hand of his Father without ceasing (1. Iohn 2. 1. &c.) by his holy Spirit (which is the thirde person of the Godhead, coequall, and consubstantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts. 5. 4.) gathering the Church to himselfe by the word, and Sacraments (Matth. 16. 18. Rom. 10. 14. &c.) and sanctifying it to eternal life, Acts 9. 31. &c. And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heauen (Acts. 1. 11.) to iudge the quicke and the dead (1. Thessal. 4. 15.) that he will render vnto the wicked according to their workes, and that he will iudge them to eternal paines (Matth. 13. 42. & 25. 4. but that he wil reward them with eternal life, who beleeue in his Name (Matth. 25. 34.) This Iesus Christ (I say) wee acknowledge to be our redeemer (Matth. 1. 21.) our head (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) and our Lord (Ephe. 4. 5.) And that wee in our holy baptisme do giue, and haue giuen our names vnto him (Acts. 2. 38.) and that we are engraffed into him by baptisme (1. Corin. 12. 13.) And this we do plainely, ingenuously, freely, and willingly confesse and witnesse: And as for all others who inuent any other name in heauen giuen vnto men by which they may be saued, we doe earnestly detest, curse, and condemne them (Acts. 4. 12.) We holde his most holy Word to be the onely rule of our saluation: And that alone (all mans deuises being cast away and contemned) we propound vnto our selues as an infallible rule, and leuel of our faith (Galat. 1. 8. Esai 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) which we conteine vnder the name of the olde and newe Testament (Hebr. 8.) deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles (Ephe. 2. 20.) by the singular and infinite goodnesse of God, preserued euer vnto this day and to be preserued hereafter alwayes in the Church (Matth. 28. last verse. Psal. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Therefore we render thankes vnto our most gratious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole heart, because that euen vnto vs being separated an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the reuelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the treasures of wisedome hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cherish with the saluing beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come vnto vs. This in briefe (running ouer the very summe) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirit and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we haue drawen and that out of the fountaines of Israel.

Kranzius.

In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Ilanders conuerted vnto Christ, &c.

IT is doubtful vnto vs whether in these words Kranzius would haue said, that ꝧ Islanders were first conuerted vnto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070: or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before conuerted, but saith that it was knowne first vnto Adalbert that yeere. But whethersoeuer of these he affirmeth: notwithstanding the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather giue assent concerning our owne proper and domestical affaires, done within the bounds of our Island, or to Krantzius or any other being ignorant in the story of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader) vnto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For our countreymen affirme those things onely that be knowen, and in a maner domesticall: he writeth matters forreine and vnknown: they haue compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might assigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the vp-

The most ancient Chronicles of Island.

braiding

braiding of our nation being most vnknowen vnto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, yeres, order, succession of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, & that farre otherwise then the trueth. Furthermore that I may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our most ancient records of the conuersion of Island vnto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches. Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee set downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires against Krantzius and others: thus therefore standeth the certeintie thereof.

Island first inhabited.

In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discouered before that time, as is aboue mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whose name the East cape of Island is called Ingulffs hoffdi. These planters are reckoned vp by name in our recordes more then to the number of 400. together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides: neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainely set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what in-land places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the first inhabitants did giue vnto Streights, bayes, harboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, springs, floods, riuers. And to be short, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houses, whereof many at this day are reteined and vsed. Therefore the Norwayes with their company peopled all the habitable parts of Island now occupied by them for the space of 60 yeeres or thereabout: but they remayned Ethnickes almost a 100. yeres, except a very fewe which were baptised in Norwaie. But scarce a 100 yeres from their first entrance being past, presently Christian religion began to be considered vpon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing about 20. yeres together, was diuersly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the rest there are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in conuerting the Island to Christian faith: the former was one Fridericus a Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came into Island, and behaued himselfe couragiously in the office of preaching, and preuailed so much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were vsed in Island.

Fridericus Saxo the first preacher of the Christian faith in Island. Anno Domini 981.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called Thangbrandt came first into Island in the yeere 997.

Anno Domini 1000.

And then after 26. yeeres consulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000. it was decreed in a generall assembly of all the inhabitants by their whole consent, that the worship of heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace Christian Religion.

Againe, in the yeere 1050. it was decreed in a solemne assembly of the inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated vnto the Islanders by one Vlfliot in the yeere 926.) should euery where giue place to the Canon or diuine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one Isleif went beyond the seas out of Island to be cosecrated bishop of Island.

He came home consecrated into Island, and entred into the bishopricke of Scalholt in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of July.

These things perhaps wil seeme trifling, short and base, nor sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the Romane history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to conuince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpose. And vndoubtedly as touching the trueth of our histories, it is euident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much vnto them: whose words in his preface of Denmarke be these: Neither is the diligence of the Thylenses (for so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence: who when as by reason of the natiue barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall sobrietie, and vse to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other mens exploits, they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know, and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praiseworthy to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasures replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously

A notable testimonie of Saxo concerning the Islanders.

riously searching into, haue compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation: neither despised I to haue those men for my iudges, whom I knew to be skilful in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to proceede in the recitall of the Bishops of Island, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre foorth as is possible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we haue alledged against Krantzius concerning Isleif the first Bishop of Island.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holon.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	I. Isleif.	I. Ionas sonne of Augmundus.	
1056.	Consecrated beyond the seas.	Isleif his disciple.	
1057.	Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of Schalholt.	Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64. his sirname was Sanctus, vnto whose memorie the 3. of March was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.	1106.
1080.	Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.	Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May.	1121.
	II. Gysserus.	II. Ketillus or Catullus.	
1082.	Consecrated beyond the sea.	Consecrated.	1122.
1083.	Returneth into Island with his Bishopricke.	Dieth.	1145.
1118.	Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tuesday.	III. Biorno.	
	III. Thorlacus sonne of Runulphus.	Being consecrated came into Island.	1147.
In the yere of his age 32.	Consecrated the same yeere, wherein his predecessor Gysserus deceased, but yet 30. dayes before	Dieth.	1162.
1133.	his death. Dieth.	IIII. Brandus.	
	IIII. Magnus.	Consecrated.	1163.
1134.	Consecrated.	Entreth is Episcopall see.	1165.
1148.	On the morrowe after the feast of all Saints, in his parish towne of Hitardal, the house being striken with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were consumed with fire.	Dieth.	1201.
	V. Klaingus.	V. Gudmundus sirnamed Bonus.	
1151.	Chosen.	Elected and consecrated.	1203.
1152.	Entreth the see.	Dieth.	1237.
1176.	Dieth.	VI. Botolphus.	
	VI. Thorlacus.	Returneth consecrated.	1239.
	Chosen two yeres before the death of his predecessour.	Dieth.	1246.
1178.	Consecrated.	VII. Henricus.	
1193.	Dieth.	Entreth the see.	1247.
	VII. Paulus.	Dieth.	1260.
1195.	Consecrated.	VIII. Brandus an Abbot.	
1211.	Dieth.	Goeth beyond the seas.	1262.
	VIII	Entreth the Bishopricke.	1263.
		Dieth.	1264.
		IX.	

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	VIII.	IX.	
	Magnus.	Ierundus.	
1216.	Consecrated.	Entreth his see.	1267.
	IX.	Dieth.	1313.
	Siguardus.	X.	
1239.	Entreth his see.	Audunnus.	
1268.	Dieth.	Entreth his see.	1314.
	X.	Dieth.	1332.
	Arnerus.	XI.	
1269.	Entreth his see.	Laurentius.	
1298.	Dieth.	Elected and consecrated.	1324.
	XI.	Dieth in the Ides of April.	1331.
	Arnerus sonne of Helgo.	XII.	
1304.	Consecrated.	Egillus.	
1305.	Entreth the see.	Entreth his see.	1332.
1309.	Saileth into Norwaie, to craue timber of the king of Norway, wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the same yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.	Dieth.	1341.
		XIII.	
		Ormus.	
		Entreth his see.	1343.
		Dieth vpon the feast of all Saints	1355.
		XIIII.	
		Ionas sonne of Ericus, sirnamed Skalle.	
1310.	Returneth home.	Being to enter his sea of Holen	1358.
1320.	Dieth.	came into Island. This Ionas being	
	XII.	before time consecrated bishop of	A bishop of Gronland.
	Ionas Haldorus.	Gronland, obteined licence of the	
1321.	Elected.	bishop of Rome to enter the See of	1356.
1322.	Consecrated the first of August.	Holen, which was at that time va-	
1323.	Entreth his see.	cant. Whereupon comming and	
1338.	Dieth.	not bringing with him the confir-	
	XIII.	mation of this dignitie and func-	
	Ionas sonne of Indrid a Norua-	tion, receiued from the Pope, hee	
1339.	gian borne. Entreth his see.	began to be suspected among the	
1341.	Dieth.	priests of the diocesse of Holen.	
	XIIII.	Wherefore he was sent backe by	
	Ionas sonne of Siguardus.	them into Norway, that the matter	
1343.	Entreth his see.	might bee set through by the iudge-	
1348.	Dieth on S. Magnus euen.	ment of the king. The king there-	
	XV.	fore fauouring his part, he obteined	
	Gyrthus.	the bishopricke of Holen.	
1349.	Consecrated at Aslo in Norway by Salomon bishop of Aslo.	He dieth.	1391.
1356.	Going beyond the seas he was drowned.	XV.	
	XVI.	Peter.	
	Thorarinnus.	Consecrated the same yere where-	
1362.	Entreth his see.	in his predecessour departed out of	
1364.	Dieth.	this present life.	
	XVII.	Entreth the see of Holen.	1392.
	Oddgeirus.	Dieth.	
1366.	Entreth his see.		
1381.	Dieth vpon the Assumption of the blessed		

In the yeere of Christ.	The bishops of Schalholt.	The bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of Christ.
	blessed Virgin, in the port of Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ship. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Sauiour.	XVI. Ionas Wilhelmus English, Either borne or sir-named. Entred the see.	1432.
	XVIII. Michael a Dane.	XVII. Godschalcus.	
1385.	Entreth his see.		
1388.	Resigneth, and saileth into Denmarke.	Died.	1457.
	XIX. William a Dane.	XVIII.	
1394.	Entereth the Bishopricke. Dieth.	Olauus son of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godschalcus by the sisters side, both of them, being Norwayes.	
	XX. Arnerus sirnamed Mildur, that is to say, Liberall. He was at one time Lord President of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and vicebishop of Holen. He died.	He was established.	1458.
1420.		He died.	1497.
	XXI. Ionas Gerickson Sueden either sirnamed or borne, is made Bishop ouer the Church of Schalholt: and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken by one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is reported) and a great stone being bound to his necke, hee was cast aliue into the riuer of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was there strangled.	XIX. Godschalcus. The nephewe of Olaus deceased, by the brothers side: also hee being a Noruagian was elected the same yeere wherein his vncle deceased.	
1432.		He entreth the see. And for the space of 20. whole yeres is reported, cruelly to haue entreated many of the subiects. In the yeere 1520. whē he was in the midst of his cups, and banquetting dishes, & heard that Ionas S[illegible]mundus was departed out of [illegible] life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres most cruelly oppressed) he presently fell into a sudden disease, and so not long after changed that violence for miserable death, which in his whole life he had vsed against his distressed subiects.	1500.
	XXII. Goswinus bishop of Schalholt.		
1445.			
	XXIII. Sueno called ẏ wise, bishop of Schalholt.		
1472.			
	XXIIII. Magnussonne of Eiolphus, Bishop, &c.		
1489.			
	XXV. Stephen.	XX. Ionas Aræsonius.	
1494.	Entreth the see. Then (liuing at one time with Godschalchus bishop of Holen, who seemed worthy to be sirnamed cruel) he had the same commendations for mercy and iustice, that Godschalchus had.	Entreth the see. This man was the last & most earnest mainteiner of Popish superstitions. Who stoutely withstanding Gysserus and Martinus bishops of Schalholt, was commanded by the most religious king Christian the 3.	1525.
1519.	He died: or thereabout.		

An English man bishop of Island.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The bishops of Schalholt.	The bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	XXVI. Augmundus.		
	Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceased.		
1522.	Entreth the see.		
	While he was Bishop, the kings Lieu-tenant with some of his followers being inuited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet, was slaine by certaine conspirators: because hee had in all places wickedly wasted the inhabitants and their goods. But Augmundus as the authour of that murther (although he purged himselfe with an othe) being transported into Denmarke, there ended his life.		
	XXVII. Gysserus.		
1540.	Elected, Augmundus yet liuing.		
1541.	Entred the see.		
	He was the abolisher of Popish traditions about Priests marriages: his owne marriage being solemnized at Schalholt.		
1544.			
	XXVIII. Martinus.		
1547.	Bishop, &c. And the yeeres following.		
	XXIX. Gislau[illegible]		
	This man pre[illegible] the time of bishop Augmund began in his youth to be enflamed with ỹ loue of true pietie, & of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, & being pastour of the Church of Selardal, diligently to aduance the same, by which meanes he did so procure vnto himselfe ỹ hatred of Papists, as being costreined to giue place vnto their craft & crueltie, he departed ouer to Hamburg, from whence coming to Copen H[illegible]n in Denmarke, & painefully proceeding in his former study of diuinitie, he liued in the familiaritie, and fauour of many, but specially of D. D. Peter Palladius: who was at that time bishop there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gaue place vnto	vnder paine of banishment to come with all speed into Denmarke. But neglecting the kings commaundement, hee tooke Martine bishop of Schalholt, and committed him to ward. At length he himselfe also being taken by a man of great name (whom before that time, it is saide, he had prouoked) and being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two sonnes, by the authoritie of the kings Lieutenant beheaded. In reuenge whereof not long after, the saide Lieu-tenant with some of his company, was villanously slaine by certaine roysters, which were once seruants to the parties beheaded.	1551.
	XXX. Olaus Hialterus.		
	Departed his countrey.		1552.
	Entreth the see.		1553.
	This man (being as yet in the life time of his predecessour fellow-labourer with him) was the first that kindled the loue of sincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many: and then being bishop did openly teache and defend the said doctrine.		
	He died.		1568.
	XXII. Gudbrandus Thorlacius.		
	The ornament, not onely of his age, but of posteritie also: who besides that, by the direction of the holy spirit, he hath most notably brought the worke begunne, and left vnto him by his predecessour Olaus to that perfectiõ which it hath pleased God to vouchsafe: (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Gospel, and in abolishing of Popish superstitions) euen in this his countrey hee is the first that hath established a Printing house. For which cause his countrey (besides, for many other books translated into our mother tongue) shalbe eternally bounded vnto him, that the sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is fairely printed	

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The bishops of Schalholt.	The bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
1587.	vnto him of his owne accord. This man died also, hauing for the space of 31. yeres or there abouts, professed the Gospel of Iesus Christ: neither did he helpe & further the Church of God by the sound of his voice onely, but by all other meanes to the vtmost of his abilitie, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his wealth & his counsel.	printed in the language of Island (I say) being at this present, Hee Bishop, when he was about to take his charge:	
	XXX.	Departed his countrey.	1570.
1588. 1589.	Otto Enerus, a graue, godly, and learned man. Being chosen he departeth his country. Hee is consecrated, returneth, and entreth the sea, endeuouring himselfe in the labours of his function.	Returned and entred the see of Holen.	1571.

IN these times therefore light is restored vnto our soules from heauen, and the gate of the kingdome of heauen is opened vnto vs by the sincere preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there is a free schoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that most renoumed King of Denmarke Christian the third: and afterward the sonne following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free schooles by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being called vp to his heauenly countrey in the yeare 1588, haue beene encreased and furthered: which at this day also doe prosper and flourish by the fauour and authoritie of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Islande being instructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred diuinitie, are trained vp to knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of Island downe to this present day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedrall Churches: both of which men, that it would please God long to preserue vnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with feruent prayers beseech him.

The second section.

They inhabite for the most part in caues, or hollowe places within the sides of mountaines. And againe, They haue many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Againe. Many of them also to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselues close in their caues, euen as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heate of the sunne. Also Munster sayth: Many in Island at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales. Munster. Krantzius. Frisius.

HEre the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe vse: namely according to Munster, Krantzius, Frisius &c. Holes and caues of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braueries there is very litle helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth:

truth: and we plainly affirme that Cosmographers and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either sheepe-cots for shepheards, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. But for their houses themselues, and the very dwelling places of men, the Islanders haue had them built from auncient time stately and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, stones, and turfes, vntill such time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to cease betweene them and the Norua-

Traffike with the people of Norway ceaseth.

gians, who were wont to supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses be-

Drift wood not so plentifull now, as in times past.

ginne to decay: whenas neither we haue woods conuenient for building, not yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees cast vpon our shores by the benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieue vs; neither doe outlandish Merchants succour our necessities: whereupon many of our meanest countrey villages are much decayed from their auncient integritie, some whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie, the houses being very large, both in breadth and length, and for the most part in height also. As for example; farmes or granges which conteine chambers in them, more then fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And so other roomes, as a parler, a stoue, a butterie, &c. answering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our countrie buildings both large and wide, neither illfauoured in shewe, nor base in regarde of their workemanship and costly firmenesse or strength, with certaine Churches also, or religious houses built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall seemelinesse and beautie: as the Cathedrall Church of Holen hauing a bodie the fiue pillars whereof on both sides be foure elnes high, and about fiue elnes thicke, as also beames and weather-bourdes, and the rest of the roofe proportionally answering to this lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Frederick, whose memory is most sacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588. did most liberally bestow timber for the reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempest. But the Church it selfe doth manifestly exceed the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somwhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church, and also then the bodie.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our Cathedrall, which hauing now beene twise burnt, is brought to a lesser scantling. Likewise there be some other Churches of our Island, although not matching, yet resembling the auncient magnificence of these. But here the matter seemeth not to require that I should runne into a long description of these things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houses and buildings, so are we nothing ashamed of them: because being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Christ immortall prayse who despiseth not to be receiued of vs vnder a base roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houses, (which Munster, Krantzius and Frisius doe not truely affirme to be built of fishes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the square pauements, and such like ornamentes of Churches and houses in other countries.

The third section.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

They and their cattell vse all one house, all one foode or victuals, all one state (here Krantzius hath it lodging.) Also. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes.

THese be the things together with those that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munsters mouth, so that Munster shall not neede so much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munster, as hee swallowed these reproches, taking them out of Krantzius his preface vpon Norway, so he casteth vp the verie same morsels vndigested and rawe against our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosmographie

cap.

cap. 8. Those things which haue beene hitherto, although they haue sufficiently grieued vs, yet will we let them seeme more tollerable: but this most malitious deuise, and those which follow we cannot easily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place also to auouch the trueth, and to turne the leasing vpon the authors owne head.

House, &c. First, that which they say concerning the same common house (as also liuing, and state) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be false and erronious, not onely the truth it selfe being our witnesse, if any man would make triall, but also the experience of manie strangers, that haue liued some yeeres amongst vs, and haue more minde to speake the trueth then to reuile our nation: who haue seene our house and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many seuerall roomes: namely, in those that were most simple and base, seuen or eight: In others which were greater, sometimes tenne, and sometimes twentie. In the greatest sometimes fortie, and sometimes fiftie. Which for the most part being seuered, both by roofes and walles, doe serue for the dayly and houshold affaires of one owner or master, seldome of two or three, but almost neuer of more: whereupon the Reader may easily iudge, howe true it is that the Islanders and their cattell haue all one house to lie in, when euery husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath seuerall oxe-stalles, sheepe-cotes, stables, lambes-cots separated indifferent spaces one from another, which the seruants goe vnto so oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houses.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Island, concerning the prouince of Skagefiord, that vnder the same roofe, men, dogges, swine and sheepe liue all together, it is partly false, and partly no maruell: for sheepe, as it hath beene sayde, and especially for swine (when as that prouince hath no swine at all) it is vtterly false: for dogges it is no maruell, when as not kings courts were euer, or at this day are destitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But as touching dogges afterward in the seuenth section.

Victuals, &c. Whither beasts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man may iustly doubt: when Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, saith: As for Victus (sayth he) wee will so expound it with the Ciuilians, namely that we comprehend vnder the word of Victus all things necessarie for the life of man, as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And Vlpianus de verborum significatione defineth Victus in the very same words. But in this place the saide authors call beasts meate by the name of Victus.

But let vs see what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in these men. We haue no labouring cattel besides horses and oxen: these haue grasse and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very same writers confesse that the Islanders liue by fish, butter, flesh both beefe, and mutton, and corne also, though it bee scarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the same foode with brute beasts, which notwithstanding the sayde writers affirme in these wordes: They and their cattel vse all one victuals or food. What Munsters meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainely taught.

Island (saith he) conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doletus? Vnlesse perhaps Munster calleth the food of cattell, cattell themselues slaine for the foode of men: whom, as I thinke, the vse of the latine tongue doth gaine say, which hath taught vs that as men doe eate, so beasts do feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattell. But may I thinke that Munster and Krantzius were so mad as to imagine that the Islanders liue vpon grasse and hay: To this passe of miserie was Nabuchodonozor brought vndergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance: Daniel 4. vers. 30. We will easily graunt that beasts, and cattell will not perhaps refuse many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours also eate, if the saide beasts be destitute of their vsuall food: as horses are fedde with corne and barley loaues: they will drinke milke also (like vnto calues and lambes) and ale, if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will deuour any deinty dishes whatsoeuer. May any man therefore say that men vse the same common victuals with dogges and horses? Now,

Now, whatsoeuer things haue happened in the time of grieuous famine ought no to be recorded in historie for the generall custome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for vs to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrie, doe vsually liue by eating of dogs, mise, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or seige or dearth of corne, they haue often bene constrained so to doe.

But that the same drinke is some times common to many men with beasts, we will not greatly gainesay: namely most pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all liuing creatures: which also in some respect Phisicians doe commende, yea, neither the Patriarkes themselues, nor our saiuour Christ despised it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell also vnder the name of Victus) it is no wise common to vs with beasts. For nature hath clad them with haires & bristles (as I dare say Munster and Krantzius cannot be ignorant) men, being otherwise naked, stande in neede of clothes to couer their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore haue properly beene sayde, that sheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countries also weare cloth of sheepes woull, although it be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to seeke for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we are sayd to haue common with beasts: but of what kinde or maner it should be, or our writers would haue it to be, I cannot easily discerne. State (sayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of beasts (for besides our two feet, we haue hands also, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift vpright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellowes, if they know any such matter by themselues or others, let them disclose it. We doe altogether scorne these, being so vaine things, and breeding so great contempt against the Maiesty of God our creator, neither do we vouchsafe them any larger discourse.

But because it is our duety not so highly to regard either the loue of our countrey, or of any other thing whatsoeuer, but that we may be ready at all times, and in all places, to giue trueth the preheminence: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be neere vnto Schalholt, vpon the South shore of Island, three small parishes standing betweene two most swift riuers Thiorsua and Olfwis Aa, being in a maner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fewell of the countrey. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes, and some of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yeere prouide all things necessary for housholde, so especially those things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who, because they want those things at home, and are not able to prouide them from other places, are constrained to vse straw for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigor of snowy Winter commeth on, these poore people betake them to their oxe stalles, & there setting vp sheds, & doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And so they onely, being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enioye, but are constrayned to vse the same common house with their oxen. But for their liuelihoode and state it is farre otherwise with them then with their oxen, of which thing I haue entreated before. This is the lot, & pouertie of certaine men in those pettie parishes, the condition whereof is therefore made a common by-worde of the people amongst vs, though somewhat iniuriously. Where I would willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that vnto the whole nation, which is hard and skantly true of these fewe poore men? I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon suffice, Prouerbs 17. verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath beene poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongest many rich men, it hath susteined so many taunts

and

and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbraide. Verely if there were nothing else common vnto vs with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and haue all one father and God.

The fourth section.

They leade their liues in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whose pouertie no man doth enuie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and siluer like vnto our men. Krantzius. Monstrous.

SImplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy simplicitie is giuen vnto vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found so great a decay of iustice, and good lawes, and so great want of gouernement amongst vs, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences: which all honest and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconuenience doth not happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is, of our most gracious King, but rather by our owne fault: who doe not present these thinges vnto his Maiestie, which are disorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magistrate.

Merchants. Moreouer, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For ẏ Norvagians themselues, the first, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Island, frō whom ẏ Islanders are lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also golde and siluer coine, so that in old time there was no lesse vse of siluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

And it is certaine that before the often nauigations of Danes, Germans, and English men vnto vs, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences of the aged and decayed worlde, both from heauen and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyse places, corne in abundance. Corne of old time growing in Island.

The fift section.

The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth euery yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey. Monstrous. Krantzius.

IN the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and sixe Harald Harfagre (which is to say, golden haires or faire clockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being chosen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full strength, chaunged the forme of the Noruagian gouernment. For whereas before it was deuided into pettie Prouinces (which they called Fylki, and the pettie kings that gouerned them, Fylkis konga) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie. But when some inhabitants of the countrie, being mightie, and descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they chose rather to be banished their countrey, then not to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere aboue named eight hundred seuentie and foure, transported colonies into Island being before discouered by some men and found out, but vnpeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of our nation, they called themselues Islanders, which name their posteritie reteineth vnto this day. And therefore the Islanders liued a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and sixe yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging no submission to any other Nation. And although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway, who reigned longest of any Noruagian king, namely, aboue sixtie sixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambassadours to make the Islanders become tributaries vnto him, notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstoode him, till at length about the yeere of our The occasion of the first inhabiting of Island by the people of Norway. Haquinus [illegible]

our Lord 1260. they performed homage vnto him. And afterward continued alwayes in their promised loyaltie, being subiects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the Noruagians was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto the Danes, they doe honour as their soueraigne Lord and King the most gracious king of Denmarke.

The sixt section.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

All things are common among them except their wiues.

HEre Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreouer, your wit being too hastie in affirming things vnknowen, doth here also diminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proueth your ouer greedie desire of noueltie, of fame and vaine-glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforesayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the Islanders from the beginning haue vsed all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his subiects: of the seate of iustice, and of law-cases which come to be decided there: of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enioyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many broyles and contentions in our courts, and places of iudgement in Island concerning goods moueable, and immoueable: we call to witnesse our kings now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of Island in old time, and of late haue beene often interrupted, for the setting through of controuersies concerning possessions. Wee call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe, whose words in the first section were these. Before the receiuing of Christian faith the Islanders liuing according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe, &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtlesse by that lawe of iustice, which giueth to euery man his owne: If by the lawe of iustice, then certainely distinctions of properties and possessions must needes haue taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that haynously euen in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most iust and good.

The seuenth section.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their shalke.

ALthough in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things which they haue left written concerning Islande, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that fauour may here be shewed by any man whatsoeuer (be he neuer so fauourable, and neuer so sincere) I doe not sufficiently conceiue. For what should moue such great men, following the despightful lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so shamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a carelesse licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a poore and vnknowen Nation, and such other like vices.

But, be it knowen to all men that this vntrueth doth not so much hurt to the Islanders, as to the authors themselues. For in heaping vp this, and a great number of others into their Histories, they cause their credite in other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus much (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake trueth no man will beleeue them without suspition.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the grauitie and wisedome of these great Clarkes: that we may not let passe such a notable commendation of Island. Krantzius and Munster haue hitherto taught, that the Islanders are Christians. Also: that before the receiuing of Christian faith they liued according to the lawe of Nature. Also: that the Islanders

Islanders liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they liued in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the law of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy simplicitie, these authors require, and what markes they shew and describe in the Islanders. There was one of the sayd markes before: namely, that the Islanders doe place hell or the prison of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seuenth section of the former. The seconde marke is, that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular & naturall affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Islanders towards their children, namely that they make the same accompt of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster and Krantzius after this fashion picture out vnto vs the law of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy simplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles: O sharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Christianitie. For we haue the commaundement of God, that euery man should loue his neighbour as himselfe. Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not loue or esteeme more of himselfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee so great fauour, so great estimation, so great loue vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe we owe vnto our children? The most neare and inseparable loue of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly setled in our mindes, the loue of God also commaundeth vs to haue speciall regard in trayning them vp (Exod. 12. 24. Ephes. 6. 4.) namely that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honestie: according to the excellent saying of the Poet.

God will haue each family,
a little Church to be.

Also

Of humane life or mans societie,
a Schole or College is holy matrimonie.

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection towarde our most deare of-spring is plainely seene in the heathen themselues: that whomsoeuer you totally depriue of this, you denie them also to bee men. The mothers of Carthage testifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choyse and gallant young men in all the Citie were sent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they followed vnto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and some of them being with griefe separated from their deare sonnes, when they sawe the sayles hoysed, and the shippes departing out of the hauen, for very anguish cast themselues headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witnesseth. Egæus doth testifie this, who when he sawe the shippe of his sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell. lib. 3. cap. 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Affrica, doth testifie this, who likewise, vpon rumors of the death of his sonne, hanged himselfe. Campoful. lib. 5. cap. 7. Also Iocasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thuscans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch stat. lib. 2. and other authors &c. To these may be added that sentence, Loue descendeth, &c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to loue his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue confessed the Islanders to be men (much lesse to be Christians,) they must, will they nill they, ascribe vnto them this loue and affection towardes their children: if not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them vnder euery

euery brute beast, which euen by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde against this shamelesse vntruth most notable examples of our owne countreymen: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, more ancient then the Islanders themselues, being receiued from the Norwagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Manhelge cap. 5. Whosoeuer selleth a freeman (any man much more a sonne) vnto strangers &c.

Now if any man be driuen to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his own sonne into the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being vrged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hungerstarued for want of sustenance, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be soyd, that he esteemeth equally or more basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countreymen do the same.

The occasion of this slander.

The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst vs certaine beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in iesting maner for they are much giuen to trifling talke, might say: Giue me this, or sell me that: and when the stranger should aske, What will you giue me for it? the beggar might answere; I haue ten or foureteene children, I will giue you some one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggars vseth thus fondly to prate with strangers. Now if there be any well disposed man, who pitying the need and folly of these beggers, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes prouide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being ready to die for hunger and pouerty, yeeldeth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge? Such works of loue and mercie haue bene performed by many, aswell Islanders themselues as strangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Iulius, being sent by the most gracious King of Denmarke into Island in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I haue heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fiftene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported vnto me, that by his good meanes euery one of them being bound to a seuerall trade, proued good and thriftie men.

What if some man be driuen to that passe, that he doth not onely sell his sonne but not finding a chapman, his owne selfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the vnwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by vrgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch against a whole nation? We reade that in the siege of Samaria, two mothers slew their sonnes, and eat them sodden: 4. King. chap. 6. We reade in the siege of Ierusalem, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My sweete babe, sayth she (for I will report Eusebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miserie and mishap, for whom should I conueniently reserue thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and sedition? If we be subdued to the gouernment of the Romans, we shall weare out our vnhappy dayes vnder the yoke of slauery. But I thinke famine will preuent captiuity. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miseries. Come on therefore, my sonne, be thou meat vnto thy mother, a fury to these rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make vp the calamities of the Iewes. These sayings being ended, she killeth her sonne, roasting and eating one halfe, and reseruing the other, &c. Eusebius lib 3. cap. 6. Now, what man will not beleeue that this vnhappy mother would full gladly haue passed ouer this her sonne into the possession of some master or chapman, if she could haue happened vpon any such, with whom she thought he might haue beene preserued: That famine is well knowen which oppressed Calagurium, a city of Spaine, when in olde time Cneius Pompeius layed siege thereunto (Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.) the citizens whereof conuerted their wiues and children into meat for the satisfying of their extreame hunger, whom doubtlesse they would with all their heartes haue solde for other victuals.

tuals. That famine also is well knowen which in the yere of our Lord 851 (Vincent. lib. 25. cap. 26.) afflicted Germany, insomuch that the father was glad to deuoure his owne sonne. It was well knowen after the death of the Emperour Henry the seuenth, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would deuoure their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was such a grieuous dearth of corne in the yerres 1586, and 1587, thorowout Hungary, that some being compelled for want of food were faine to sell their children vnto the most bloudy and barbarous enemy of Christians, and so to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkish slauery: and some are sayd to haue taken their children, whom they could no longer sustaine, and with cruell mercy to haue cast them into Danubius, and drowned them. But should these stories and the like make any man so mad as to affirme that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to sell them willingly vnto the Turks, or to drowne and strangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in Island being enforced through extreame and biting necessitie, do willingly part with their sonnes) is this custome generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of disgrace, by any man, except it be such an one who hath taken his leaue of all modesty, plaine dealing, humanity, and trueth.

But I could wish that the loue of dogges in Islanders might be more sparingly reprehended by those people, whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their bosomes thorow the open streetes: I will not say in Churches: which fashion Cæsar blamed in certaine strangers, whom he saw at Rome carrying about yoong apes and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question: Whether women in their countrey brought foorth children or no? signifying heereby, that they do greatly offend who bestow vpon beasts these naturall affections, wherewith they should be inuited to the loue of mankinde, and specially of their owne ofspring: which strange pleasure neuer ouertooke, nor possessed the nation of the Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde vs out other marks of Christianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

The eight section.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

They honour their Bishop as their King: vnto whose command all the whole people haue respect. Whatsoeuer he prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other nations, they do full holily obserue.

THere was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reuerence had vnto the bishop; but neuer so great, that our politique lawes at the bishops command should giue place to outlandish lawes & customes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authority of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to rebell against them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced some vnder their subiection, and others at that time they cruelly persecuted.

Moreouer, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reuerence, yet now adayes, the darkenesse of popery being dispelled, the deuill assaulteth men after another sort, and euen here amongst vs, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerse stubburnnesse against God, and his holy ministery.

The ninth section.

Munsterus. They liue there for the most part vpon fishes, because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes from thence with great gaine. Also Munster sayth, they do there vse stockefish in stead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

COnsider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe vpon one string, that when he can write nothing of an vnknowen nation which may cary any shew with it, he is faine either to bring in falshood, or often to repeat the same things, & so to become tedious vnto his reader: for he sayd a little before, that the Islanders liue vpon fish. His words aboue recited were these: Island conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the rest in which some trifle might be noted: whereas he sayeth that bread groweth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common therewith to Germany also, because bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munsters field where naturall vineger also doth marueilously encrease. But these toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forsooth, shall be out of danger. Howbeit, vnto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answere, Sect. 15.

The tenth section.

Munsterus. Krantzius. The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

Frisius. There be diuers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play vpon the lute, who with their delectable musicke do ensnare and take both fowles and fishes.

The Islanders preserue in writing the acts of their ancestors. We denie not but that some woorthy actes of our forefathers be reserued in the songs and poemes of our countreymen, as also in prose: but that the same things haue beene engrauen by vs, or by our ancestours, in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge that praise to be due vnto vs, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we holde it to be the part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge vndeserued praise vnto himselfe, nor to accept it being offered.

The eleuenth section.

BVt now, let this be the end of our controuersie with the authours aforesayd, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renoume, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately haue entermedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

But yet there remaines that viperous German brood, the mother whereof would haue it come to light, as it were at a second birth, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venemous sting.

Moreouer, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beast, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I vndertake this enterprise, namely, not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and railing speeches (for as it is in the common prouerbe:

I know, that if I striue with dung most vile,
How ere it be, my selfe I shall defile)

but that I may satisfie all honest and well affected men, euen strangers themselues, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we woorthily sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if it be possible, restraine others (who vse those venemous Germaine rimes to the

the vpbrading of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, and reprochfull taunts to the debasing of vs Iselanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstances, I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane hath heaped vp in his lewd pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating his friendly verses of the Ilanders, within the compasse of this my booke, but that I doe foresee that the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with so many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore haue beene examined) but farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned mens eares to tingle at his lewd and vnseemely rimes: they that are desirous to see or heare him, let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy sinke of his reproches.

The first obiection or reproch.

First therefore, this our goodly Germaine Historiographer obiecteth that there be many Pastours in Island, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter edition doth refute: saying that the sayd Pastours vse to preach but fiue times in an whole yeere: which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, seeing it is manifest that the authour himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarse seene Island. So oftentimes one lie betrayeth another, according to that saying: Trueth agreeth vnto trueth; but falshood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falshood.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this sycophant liued in Island, namely in the yere 1554, were seldomer in vse then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarsely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be vnderstood concerning the Psalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he casteth vs in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their saluation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon, or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath beene (God be thanked) farre otherwise with vs: although we cannot altogether excuse the dulnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of certeine of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countreymen or no, let other nations iudge.

The twelfth section.

The second reproch.

Secondly, the trifler shamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

ALthough indeed these most filthy abominations, euen in our common wealth, be not altogether vnusuall: notwithstanding, since all men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did vndeseruedly, and maliciously note the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wish with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrey, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this iugler, by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely, that these vices by the Iselanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath sworne to obserue the law contained in our statute booke vnder the title of Manhelge chap. 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoeuer committeth adultery with another mans wife the second time, his goods being confiscate, he shall be punished with death? Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dollers vpon a seruant committing adultery with his masters wife? Or in that common wealth which hath decreed that if he doth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed, he shalbe banished the countrey?

countrey? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe streightly command that whosoeuer be according to law found in adultery with another mans wife, by her husband, if he escape, he shall vndergoe the punishment of manslaughter? Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do also enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to haue payed, if he had shed the innocent bloud of the sayd party? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnder the name of a most heinous offence? and do straightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beastly act shalbe punished with death?

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an iniurious Notary we haue, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Island deserueth not the name of sinne and wickednesse: for although some officers let slip this or that vice vnpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accused or euill spoken of.

The thirteenth section.

The third reproch. The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

DOubtles the author of this libell was some vagabond huckster or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to vtter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy rimes, that he had trauailed thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the cousining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are ioyned together, and he hath sufficiently proued himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peraduenture himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this slander against our whole Nation: dissembling in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I haue not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the vndeserued reproches of others against our nation, I do here of purpose surcease.

The foureteenth section.

The 4, 5, 6, & 7 reproches. Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets none of the ghests vse to rise from the table: but that the good wife of the house reacheth to euery one a chamber pot, so oft as need requireth. Moreouer, he noteth much vnmanerlinesse of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he obiecteth customes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten persons, more or lesse, men and women lie altogether in the same bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands and their faces in pisse.

Seuenthly, he despightfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages, spousals, birthdayes, and our customes at burials.

THese, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure slanderer spued foorth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserued right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we altogether disdeigne to make answere vnto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case yeelde vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obserued some such matter among base companions, and the very of-scouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conuersant then with good and honest persons (for he had liued, as his rimes testifie, somewhat long vpon the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do yerely resort, who being naught aswell through their owne leudnesse, as by the wicked behauiour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a badde and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place more manifestly wronged through the knauery of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by his defaming of the whole nation

nation (as others also vsually do) then that it should neede any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselues, who are not a little conuersant in our Iland, may be most sufficient witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, vnmannerly, and baudie fashions noted by others euen in his own countrey. But I detest this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleasure to be witty in the disgracing of others: and yet I will not shew my selfe such a milke-soppe as to be daunted with light words. Onely, let all honest and good men consider, what disposition it argueth, for one to obiect against a whole nation certaine misdemeanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man should trauell thorowout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and most leud maners, the robberies, manslaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy actes, should affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwise to any other whole nation, and should exaggerate all these things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that spends his time in a good argument? But what maruaile is it, though a varlet, and, that I may giue him his true title, a filthy hogge, that rimer (I say) hath bewrayed his nature and disposition in such like reproches? For it is well knowen that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not plucke lillies, or roses, or any other most beautifull and sweet flowers: but thrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and tosse vp and downe whatsoeuer dirt and dung they can finde, vntill they haue rooted vp most vncleane things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themselues: Euen so this hoggish Rimer lightly passeth ouer the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the woorst, and those which haue beene committed by none, or by very few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he might indeed shew himselfe to be the same which we haue termed him) those things (I say) hath he scraped vp together: whereupon hereafter by my consent, for his maners and disposition let him enioy the name of a swine.

The fifteenth section.

The ninth reproch.

WEe will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawn from the maner of liuing, and specially from the meat and drinke of the Islanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large inuectiue: namely, that they eate olde and vnsauoury meates, and that, without the vse of bread. Also that they eate diuers kinds of fishes which are vnknowen to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous pasquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slaunder hath set out at the full.

And albeit we doe scarse vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly obiect it to our nation, we thought good to adde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and those that susteine both themselues, and, amongst others, beggers also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no easie matter to rehearse and examine them: neither, because extreame necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore is it meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we haue also a law among the canons apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things strangled: in the obseruing of which canons, antiquity hath seemed to be very deuout.

Moreouer, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue beene vsed by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other times are scarse meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the most streite siege of Henrie the fourth, King of Nauarre, suffering (as Petrus Lindebergius speaketh the famine of Saguntum; insomuch that they did not onely eate their horses, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a mortar, they mingle therewith a handfull

handfull or two of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen also of other nations who in the like vrgent necessities haue liued by eating of mise, cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we Islanders constrained to doe, not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue absteined from mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mise, and cats) for whereas we prouide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, & no sustenance, or very little is brought vnto vs by strangers: so often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a dreadfull scarsity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are sometimes vexed with grieuous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst vs which vsed to liue from hand to mouth, and had not some prouision of former yeeres remaining, haue beene driuen to great extremities, so often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to minister occasion to a publike and perpetuall reproch against the Islanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the iudge of indifferent and honest mindes.

Moreouer, whereas diuers vse to obiect concerning the proper & accustomed fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt: also concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countrimen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre foorth as ought in a meane to suffice chast and temperate minds, although we haue not any great varitie of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to liue moderately) we cõfesse it to be euen so: namely that the foresaid kinds of victuals are vsed in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I wil further adde, that the very same meats, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselues, when they are among vs do vse to eat them with delight. For albeit for the most part we haue no corne, nor meale, nor yet salt the prouocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to vs all: yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the way, how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nourishing and sustening of vs Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

Want of salt in Island.

The Islanders meanes of preseruing their meates without salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denie that to be a sufficient reason, why they should vpbraid vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter vnto our deinty mouthes: but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant euen vnto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and conuenient nourishment and of a perfect constitution. Besides, our wits are not altogether so grosse and barren, as the philosophers seeme to assigne vnto this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet sayth) enuious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) some of them which would seeme to be wise: namely, that whatsoeuer their vse doth not admit, or that they haue not seene, nor had triall of beforetime, they presently condemne. As for example, he that neuer saw the sea will not be persuaded that there is a mediterrane sea; so doe they measure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their liues. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we haue heard of certaine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom Clitarchus & Megasthenes haue named Mandri, as Agatarchides witnesseth, or of others that liue vpon frogs or sea-crabs, or round shrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I say) we should therefore presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are not accustomed to such sustenance.

The

The sixteenth section.

TEnthly, that vncluill beast casteth our men in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry about money with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be entertained in a strange place, and to haue meat and drinke bestowed of free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreouer, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a base thing) which many of the Islanders haue built in their owne houses: & that first of all in the morning, they haue recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they sing any man before they haue done their deuotion to interrupt them. These be the things which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace vnto the Islanders. And no marueil:

For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,
And hogs vncleane regard not precious stones.

Which I feare, least it may be too truely affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last obiections. The touch reproch.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witnesse of his owne vertues: we will referre the reader, who is desirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes against Island, which we haue now examined in our former sections: at whose railing & filthie speeches we haue bene ashamed on his behalfe: insomuch that those things which he with satyrical, satyrical? nay sathanicall biting and repiling of our nation, hath not blushed to write, are like some for vs to repeat: so great & abominable is his insolency, & his reproches so heinous. Good God! whosoeuer shall view this cartlode of slanders (for we haue mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answere a foole according to his foolishnesse, whereas in his rimes there is not one word without a reproch) will he not iudge the authour of this pasquill to haue bene a most lewde man, yea the very drosse of mankinde, without piedie, without humanitie?

But here I haue iust occasion to doubt whether the authour of these reuilings hath bene the more iniurious to Islanders, or the Printer thereof Ioachimus Leo (and whatsoeuer else they be who in their editions dare neither professe their own name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twise, if not oftener, published the saide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you suffer this to goe vnpunished, O ye counsell and commons of Hamburg? What? Haue you determined to gratifie Island in this sort, which these many yeers, by reason of your abundant traffique with vs, and your transporting home of all our commodities, of our beeues and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fishes, hath bene vnto your Citie in stead of a storehouse: In times past also, certaine Cities of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities of this Isle: Moreouer, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they neuer gained by any of their chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are conteined in this libell: I hath in your, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought foorth, iterated, if not the thirdtime published: which I hath armed other people, vnto whom the name of Island was otherwise scarce knowne, to the disdaine and contempt of this our Nation: and this iniurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Island sustained these 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet sustaine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge of the magistrie, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieued at such infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not published: for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature. Doe not that to another which thou wouldest not haue done vnto thy selfe: and to the wes Emperial of infamous Libels: wherein is enioyned a most grieuous penaltie vnto those who inuent, write, viter, or cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently vpon finding thereof teare them in pieces. The common-fame of Island. The ancient traffik of England with Island. Lawes against libels.

But now time bids vs to sound a retreat: and to returne hoe vnto thee Island (our most deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any ote such inconueniences shall make irksome vnto vs, so long as thou ceasest not to giue hartie and willing entertainment vnto Christ: where, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to a serious and ardent affection, and

and loue of God, and of the heauenly knowledge reuciled vnto vs in Christ: that thou wouldest preferre this before all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme, contemne or hate the holy ministerie and ministers, but reuerence, cherish, and loue them. Accompting those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both priuate and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that vnto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politique may in all things be conformed; and so in either kinde of life relying thy selfe vpon that leuell and line of equitie and iustice, and auoyding others, who vpon stubbernesse and impietie swerue therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict iust punishments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will haue respect vnto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approued fidelitie and honestie, and such as may addoyne vnto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconueniences may ayde be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which beare the best of all good men be chosen to beare publique authoritie, wicked and euill men being altogether reiected; the condition of the subiects shalbe most prosperous: the liues and manners of all men shal proue by so much the more commendable: godlinesse also and honestie shal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the gouernment of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or auarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or conuicted of crimes and dishonestie, or be protectours or vniust fauourers of such persons as are suspected and conuicted; then what will be thy state, oh Island? What will be thy outward shew or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes more suddenly approch to thy ruine and destruction, then if thou committest thy selfe to the gouernment of such men, who to the vttermost of their power although they be of thine owne brood, dayly seeke thine ouerthrow for their owne priuate aduantage and secret malice. Wherefore (to be short) let these be to aduertise my deare Countrey, how behouefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilest I am speaking these things vnto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and dolefull sighes, which lie hid in the former speach, might pierce the eares of our Kings most excellent Maiestie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this respect especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King that many therefore take more libertie, and promise more securitie of offending vnto themselues. But we will commit all these matters to the most iust Iudge of heauen and earth who eholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countrey) that thou wouldest take in good part these my labours employed in thy seruice, and accept them with that fauourable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of such worth as I could wish, yet with a willing minde is worth it. I would not therefore giue ouer because I mistrusted my selfe as one insufficient to counsell for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rher whatsoeuer it be (if it be ought) and how mickle soeuer which for my slender abilitie I as able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to suppresse it: for I esteeme not those men worthy of commendation, who despairing

To ouergrow the limmes of Lyco stoute,
Negle to cure their bodies of the goute.

And in very deed, it doth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatise shall tend neither to thine, nor mine owne disgrace. But if it shall any thing auaile to thine honour or defence, I will take my trauaile right well bestowed. Yea, if by this my slender attempt I may but onely exc other of thy children, and my native Countreymen, being farre my superiours both in lear and industrie to take thy cause in hand, either nowe or hereafter, what reason is there any man should say that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addresse themselues to ite, howsoeuer my fame shalbe obscured, yet will I comfort my selfe with their excellen who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought

to

to haue speciall regard of his name and fame, yet he is to haue more of his Countrey, whose dignitie being safe and sound, we also must needes esteeme our selues to be in safetie.

Written at Holen Hialtedale in Island, the yeere of our Lord 1592. the 17. of the Kalends of May.

A letter written by the graue and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland, &c.

Reuerendissimo viro, eruditione & virtute conspicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Ecclesiæ Harenicensis in Anglia pastori vigilantissimo, fratri & symmystæ obseruando.

MIrabar equidem (vt conjicis, reuerende domine pastor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, scriptis salutari. Cæterùm, cum vlterius progrederer, comperi me, si non aliter, certè nomine tenùs, tibi (quæ tua est humanitas) innotuisse: Simúlq; quòd te nominis Islandorum studiosum experirer, ex animo gauisus sum. Vndè etiam faciam, vt tua pietas, tuúmque nomen, de Euangelio Iesu Christi nobis congratulantis, déque gente nostra tàm benignè támque honorificè sentientis, & scribentis apud nos ignotum esse desinat.

Quòd verò ad antiquitatis monimēta attinet, quæ hic extare creduntur, nihil sanè est (præter illa, quorum in Commentario isto de Islandia, quem vidisse te scribis, fit mentio) de hac nostra insula lectu scriptuuè dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris pauca, præter historiam Regum Noruegiæ, seu veriùs eiusdem historiæ fragmenta; quæ alijs aliter descripta sunt: sunt tamen talia, quæ Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certè pauca. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, vbi ‖ Biarmlandia nuncupatur, & à qua haud vasto interuallo sita sit, circum quasi Islandiam exporrigi. Illic nostrates aliquando commercia exercuisse, & eam terram tempore Pontificiorum suos Episcopos habuisse annales nostri testantur. Cætera nobis incognita. At hodiè fama est, vestris Britannis (quos ego propè maris dominos appellarim) quotannis esse in Gronlandia negotiationes: de qua re, si me certiorem feceris, non erit iniucundum. Etiam velim quæcunque noua erunt de rebus vestratium aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omittas.

Commentarius breuis de Islandia; per Arngrimum Ionam Islandum editus, 1593.

‖ Biarmia.

Gronlandia olim suos habuit Episcopos.

Vale fœliciter (reuerende Dom. pastor) Deo, musis, & commisso gregi quàm diutissime superstes, Amen. Ex Islandia in festo visitationis D. Mariæ Anno 1595.

Human. tuæ studiosus Gudbrandus Thorlacius Episcopus Holensis in Islandia.

The same in English.

To the reuerend, learned, and vertuous, Master Hugh Branham minister of the Church of Harewich in England, his brother and felow-pastour. &c.

I Much marueiled (euen as your selfe, reuerend sir, coniectured that I would) at the first sight of your letters, that being a stranger I should be saluted in writing by one altogether vnknowen vnto mee. Howbeit, reading a litle further, I found my selfe, if not otherwise, yet by name at least (which proceedeth of your courtesie) knowen vnto you: And also, for that I saw you desirous of the credite and honest report of vs Islanders, I greatly reioyced. Wherefore I my selfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (because you congratulate with vs for the gospel of Christ here published, and doe thinke and write so louingly and honourably of our nation) may cease hereafter to be vnknowen amongst vs.

As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deede, nothing (except those particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary which you write vnto me that you haue seene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbour Countreys we haue litle to shewe, besides the history of the Kings of Norway, (or rather some fragments of the same history) which others haue otherwise described: howbeit they are all in a maner such things as Crantzius neuer mentioned: vnlesse it be some fewe relations. Moreouer, as touching Gronland,

This is the briefe Commentarie of Ionas Arngrimus [illegible] there.

Groenland, we holde this from the opinion of our ancesteurs; that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called ‖ Biarmlandia, and from whence the saide Groenland is not farre distant, it fetcheth about the Northren coast of Island with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. Our Chronicles likewise doe testifie that our owne countreymen in times past resorted thither for traffique, and also that the very same countrey of Groenland had certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot auouch. But now it is reported that your Englishmen (whom I may almost call the lordes of the Ocean sea) make yeerely voyages vnto Groenland: concerning which matter if you please to giue me further aduertisement, you shall doe me an especial fauour. Moreouer, whatsoeuer newes you heare concerning the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make me acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend sir) wishing you long life, for the seruice of God and the increase of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I take my farewel. From Island vpon the feast of the visitation of the blessed Virgine Mary. Anno Dom. 1595.

‖ Biarmia.

Groenland in old time had Christian Bishops.

Yours Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of
Hola in Island.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

HAKLUYT SOCIETY

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